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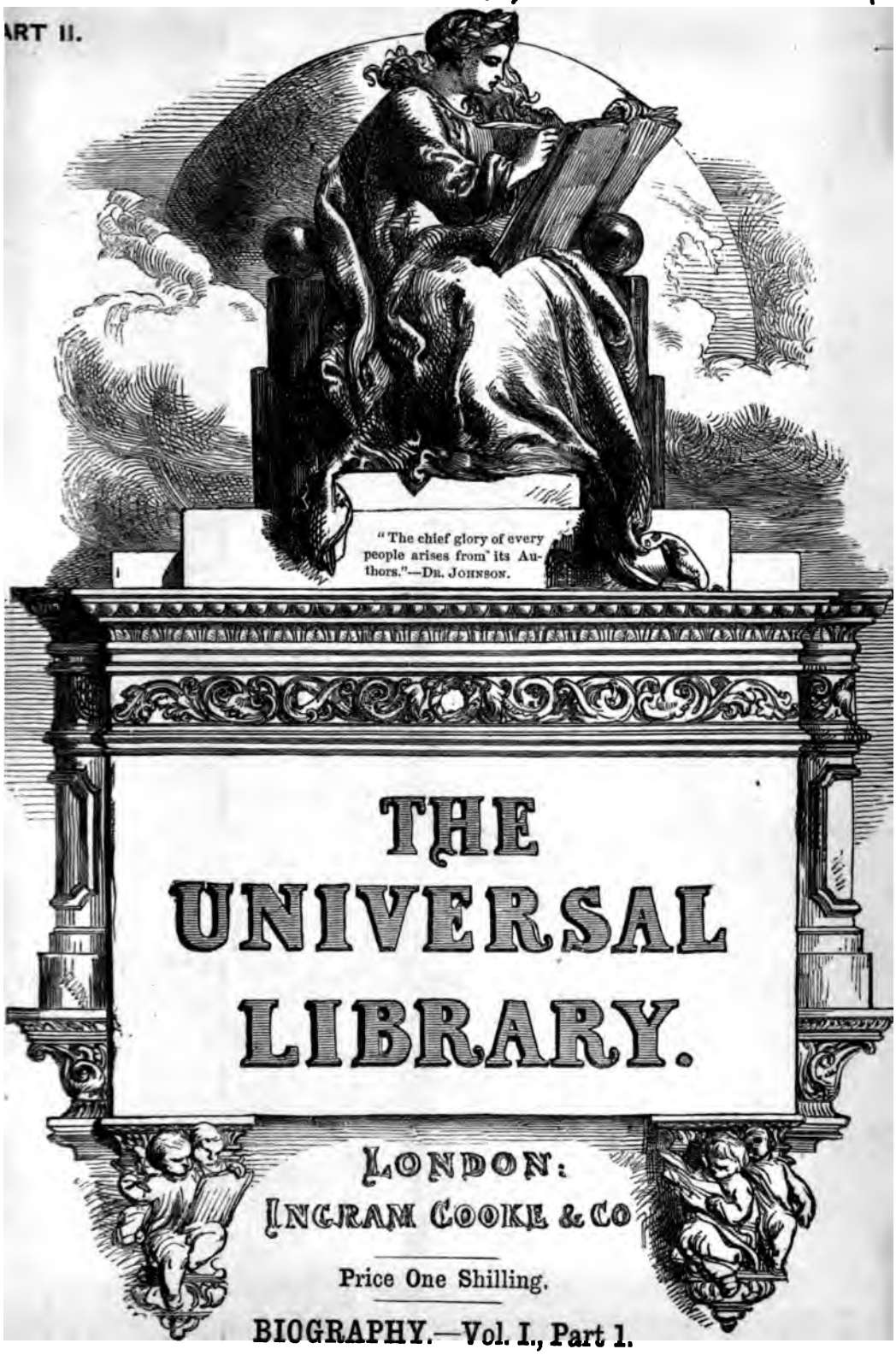

WALTON'S LIVES OF DONNE, WOTTON, HOOKER, HERBERT; AND SANDERSON.

DONNE
WOTTON
HOOKER
HERBERT
SANDERSON

THE LIVES

OF

DONNE, WOTTON, HOOKER, HERBERT,

AND

SANDERSON.

WRITTEN

BY IZAAK WALTON.

LONDON:
INGRAM, COOKE, AND CO. 227, STRAND.
1853.

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THE LIVES

OF

DONNE, WOTTON, HOOKER, HERBERT

AND

SANDERSON.

WRITTEN

BY IZAAK WALTON.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

"These were honourable men in their generations."

ECCLES. xliv. 7.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

GEORGE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND

PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER*.

My Lord,

I did, some years past, present you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whose memory, princes and the most learned of this nation, have paid a reverence at the mention of his name. And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I present you, also, the life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and with his the life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted. The two first were written under your roof: for which reason, if they were worth it, you might justly challenge a Dedication. And indeed, so you might of Dr. Donne's, and Sir Henry Wotton's: because, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or study, but by the advantage of forty years' friendship, and thereby, with hearing and discoursing with your Lordship, that hath enabled me to make the relation of these Lives passable—if they prove so—in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men; yet I have so little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for superscribing your name to them: and desire all that know your Lordship, to apprehend this not as a dedication,—at least by which you receive any addition of honour;—but rather as an humble, and a more public acknowledgement, of your long-continued, and your now daily favours to

My Lord,

Your most affectionate, and most humble servant,

Izaak Walton.

TO THE READER.

Though the several introductions to these several lives have partly declared the reasons how and why I undertook them, yet since they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four† are now become one book, I desire leave to inform you that shall become my reader, that when I sometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without some little wonder at myself, that I am come to be publicly in print. And though I have in those introductions declared some of the accidental reasons that occasioned me to be so, yet let me add this to what is there said: that by my undertaking to collect some notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne, and by Sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like those men that enter easily into a law-suit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet, when they desire it: and really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of writing the life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitness: but, about that time, Dr. Gauden‡, then Lord Bishop of Exeter, published the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, so he called it, with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace, Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and a truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books, than that bishop had done: and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not

* Dr. George Morley, who was distinguished for his unshaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I., and by his exemplary conduct as a divine. Though nominated one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, he refused to take part in their councils, and sought a refuge abroad, where he continued constantly and scrupulously to exercise his pastoral functions among his fellow-exiles at Antwerp, and subsequently at Breda. Until the Scottish expedition he was a constant attendant on Charles II., who, however, prohibited him from following on that occasion; but when he returned at the Restoration, Dr. Morley was first made Dean of Christchurch, and then Bishop of Worcester, and in 1662 was translated to the see of Winchester. For further particulars, see Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

† The Life of Dr. Sanderson was not written when this address was first published.

‡ Dr. Gauden is now, upon sufficient evidence, believed to have been the author of the greater part, if not the whole of that remarkable book, the Eikon Basilike, which was long attributed to Charles I. Dr. Gauden certainly had a great share in it; but Mr. D'Israeli is still of opinion that some passages in it could not have been written by any other than Charles himself. Dr. Gauden was a conscientious man, and was celebrated as a preacher.

admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it: but when he had twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding that, if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience, and indeed of ingratitude for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself; but yet not without some respect to posterity: for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition, especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this Life of Mr. Herbert was not writ by me in haste, yet I intended it a review, before it should be made public: but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing; so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great, as may not by this confession purchase pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wish that as that learned Jew, Josephus, and others, so these men had also writ their own lives: but since it is not the fashion of these times, I wish their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I desire this the more, because it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to those that shall live, and succeed us, and would to them prove both a content and satisfaction. For when the next age shall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reason which that excellent casuist, Doctor Sanderson (the late Bishop of Lincoln), hath demonstrated in his sermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know that this good man was as remarkable for the meekness and innocence of his life as for his great and useful learning, and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient suffering (under them that then called themselves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation's and the church's peace? and who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field*, that great schoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reason can persuade to this undertaking, yet I please myself, that I shall conclude my Preface with wishing that it were so.

I. W.

* Dr. Richard Field, chaplain to James I., and Dean of Gloucester, died Nov. 21st, 1616. He was the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the most learned men of the age. But although well skilled to shine in the scholastic disputes of his time, he discouraged such vain exhibitions of worldly learning; for, as has been well said of him, "it was his ambition to conciliate, not to irritate."

THE

COPY OF A LETTER WRIT TO MR. IZAAK WALTON,

BY

DR. KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER†

Honest Izaak,

Though a familiarity of more than forty years' continuance and the constant experience of your love, even in the worst of the late sad times, be sufficient to endear our friendship; yet I must confess my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private respect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonstration of a public spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful collection of so many material passages as you have now afforded me in the life of venerable Mr. Hooker: of which, since desired by such a friend as yourself, I shall not deny to give the testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books: but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in choosing to write the lives of three such persons, as posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen: of all which I shall give you my unfeigned censure ‡.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable friend, Dr. Donne, late dean of St. Paul's church, who not only trusted me as his executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent

† Dr. Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, son of Dr. John King, Bishop of London, and great-nephew of Robert King, the first Bishop of Oxford and the last Abbot of Osney. He was the author of a metrical translation of the Psalms,—of several poems in English, Latin, and Greek; and he also published several sermons and religious tracts. Being disinclined to go all lengths with the high-church party, he was suspected of puritanism; and at a time when the king judged it advisable to conciliate that party—"when," says Jacob, "it was conceived that the most effectual method for the restitution of episcopacy was to prefer persons not only of unblameable lives and eminent for their learning, but such as were generally beloved by all disinterested people," Dr. King, then Dean of Rochester, was advanced to the see of Chichester. But his merits could not save him, and during the ascendancy of Cromwell, Dr. King was obliged to leave the kingdom. He returned at the Restoration, and survived that event nine years, dying on the 1st of October, 1669.

‡ Censure is here and in other places used in the sense of judgment.

sermons of his, now made public; professing before Dr. Winniff*, Dr. Monford†, and, I think, yourself then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity, that he had prepared them for the press: together with which (as his best legacy) he gave me all his sermon notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the messenger for them, and how lost both to me and yourself, is not now seasonable to complain: but since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general demonstration of his worth was so fairly preserved and represented to the world by your pen in the history of his life; indeed, so well, that, beside others, the best critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales‡, of Eton College) affirmed to me, "he had not seen a life written with more advantage to the subject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne."

After the performance of this task for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotton: betwixt which two there was a friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendship of age; and doubtless this excellent person had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means, his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious persuasions had not been stronger than your modest resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad that the first life was so imposed upon you, because it gave an unavoidable cause of writing the second: if not, it is too probable we had wanted both; which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this testimony added to yours; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (of ours, which in that kind is most excellent) age hath ever produced.

And now, having made this voluntary observation of our two deceased friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was "schismaticorum malleus," so great a champion for the church of England's rights, against the factious torrent of separatists that then ran high against church discipline; and in his unanswerable books continues to be so against the unquiet disciples of their schism, which now, under other names, still carry on their design; and who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the scarce closed wounds of a newly bleeding state and church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet as our ecclesiastical history reports to the honour of St. Ignatius, "that he lived in the time of St. John, and had seen him in his childhood;" so I also joy that in my minority I have often seen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Bishop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the history of his life; and from my father received such a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that, like jewels of unvaluable price, they still cast such a lustre, as envy or the rust of time shall never darken.

From my father I have also heard all the circumstances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accusers, and gained their confession: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same grave with the malicious authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his unvaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect: for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles too like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer§, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot‖, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of

* Dr. Thomas Winniff, successively Dean of Gloucester and of St. Paul's, was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1641, on the translation of Dr. Williams to York. His promotion, in consequence of his principles, which were suspected to lean too much towards puritanism, became a source of care and discomfort, and he was at last under the necessity of retiring to a country parish, Lambourn in Essex, where he died in 1654. Lord Clarendon, in such a case an impartial witness, naming this prelate and four other divines who were appointed bishops at the same time as he, characterises them all as "of the greatest eminency in the church, frequent preachers, and not a man to whom the faults of the then governing clergy were imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made."

† Dr. Thomas Mountfort, canon residentiary of St. Paul's, died February 27th, 1632.

‡ John Hales, an eminent divine and critic, usually distinguished by the appellation of "The ever-memorable;" Greek Professor in the University of Oxford, and afterwards Fellow of Eton College. From his vast erudition, he was called "The Walking Library," and was esteemed one of the greatest scholars in Europe. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, who edited a beautiful edition of his works, says, that "they who are acquainted with the literary and political history of England, will perceive that the leading men of all parties, however different and discordant, have, with a wonderful unanimity, concurred in praise of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton." Hales was a staunch royalist, and suffered severely during the usurpation of Cromwell, and was reduced to sell a part of his valuable library to Cornelius Bee, a bookseller in London, for 700*l.*; but there appears no reason to give credit to the story generally current that he died in extreme poverty, since in his will, which is dated on the day of his death, he bequeathes several legacies, as well in money as in books and rings. He died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged 72 years.

§ President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. After the death of Mr. Hooker he published the five books of Ecclesiastical Polity, with an excellent preface.

‖ Dr. George Abbot, a man of great learning and piety, but whose character has, in consequence of the part he took in the political and religious controversies of the times, been very roughly handled by many historians of opposite opinions. He was much favoured by James I., but his opposition to the projects of Laud brought him into disgrace with Charles. His life has been well written, and his character set in a true light, by Mr. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons. He says, that "if he had some narrow notions in divinity, they were rather the faults of the age he had his education in, than his; and the same imputation may be laid on the best and most learned of the reformers. His parts seem to have been strong and masterly, his preaching grave and eloquent, and his style equal to any of that time. He was eminent for piety, and a care for the poor; and his hospitality fully answered the injunction King James laid on him, which was to carry his house nobly and live like an archbishop."

my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham *, to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth: at which time, I have heard, they were put into the bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud; and were then by the brethren of that faction given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters †, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the church's confusion. And, though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was, to subject the sovereign power to the people.

But I need not strive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular: his known loyalty to his prince whilst he lived, the sorrow expressed by King James at his death, the value our late sovereign (of ever-blessed memory) put upon his works, and now the singular character of his worth by you given in the passages of his life, especially in your appendix to it, do sufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men of the Romish persuasion, have put upon his books; having been told the same in my youth by persons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers, (my old friends also,) who have been men of noted wisdom; especially Mr. George Cranmer, whose prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very useful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchless books: one of their letters I herewith send you, to make use of, if you think fit. And let me say further, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's best friends then living: namely, from the ever-renowned Archbishop Whitgift, of whose incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more short and significant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongst the surviving monuments of whose learning (give me leave to tell you so) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid, but especially his translation of King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, into elegant Latin: which flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the pope and conclave sent to Salamanca unto Franciscus Suarez‡, (then residing there as president of that college,) with a command to answer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work, which he calls, "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ," it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the Inquisitors; who, according to their custom, blotted out what they pleased, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been used since his death) added whatsoever might advance the pope's supremacy, or carry on their own interest; commonly coupling together "deponere et occidere," the deposing and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchristian language Mr. John Saltkel§, the emanuensis to Suarez, when he wrote that answer, (but since a convert, and living long in my father's house,) often professed the good old man (whose piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further; your reader, (if, according to your desire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will here find many just reasons to thank you for it; and possibly for this circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wishes your happiness, and is unfeignedly,

Sir,
Your ever faithful
and affectionate old Friend,
HENRY CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Nov. 17, 1664.

* Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, as well as to his successor, Dr. Abbot, and Dean of Bocking in Essex; an able divine and an amiable man. To his knowledge in divinity he added other literary accomplishments, being an accurate historian, well skilled in coins and antiquities, and so great a proficient in heraldry, that he is generally supposed to have been the author of that celebrated work which was published in the name of John Guillim.

† The history of this warlike chaplain of Cromwell's is too well known to need further notice here. He was a man of considerable talents, but very little principle. Of his behaviour during his trial and at his execution, see the State Trials.

‡ A celebrated Jesuit, the author of many controversial and other tracts. He was born in 1548, and died in 1617.

§ Mr. John Saltkel, or Saltkeld, was for some years a member of the church of Rome and a Jesuit. He was profoundly read in theological and other authors; but being for the fame of his learning brought before King James, he was so far convinced by his majesty's arguments as to come over to the church of England, for which he was wont to style himself "The Royal Convert;" and the king honoured him so far as to call him "The learned Salkeld," in his works and writings. Mr. Salkeld became rector of Church Taunton in Devonshire, in 1635, and was afterwards, for his loyalty, deprived of his preferment. He died at Ulculm, in February 1659-60.

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There are no colours in the fairest sky
So fair as these. The feather whence the pen
Was shaped that traced the lives of these good men,
Dropped from an angel's wing. With moistened eye
We read of faith and purest charity
In statesman, priest, and humble citizen.
Oh could we copy their mild virtues, then
What joy to live, what blessedness to die!
Methinks their very names shine still and bright,
Apart—like glow-worms on a summer night;
Or lonely tapers when from far they fling
A guiding ray or seen—like stars on high,
Satellites burning in a lucid ring
Around meek Walton's heavenly memory.

WORDSWORTH.

THE

LIFE OF DR. JOHN DONNE,

LATE

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, LONDON.

INTRODUCTION,

AS ORIGINALLY PREFIXED TO THE FIRST COLLECTION OF HIS SERMONS IN 1640.

If that great master of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provost of Eton College, had lived to see the publication of these sermons, he had presented the world with the author's life exactly written; and it was pity he did not, for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom and the author there was so mutual a knowledge, and such a friendship contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a separation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not; for that learned knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave; which he testified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his design, to inquire of some particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence useful. I did most gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content, till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchless pen; but then death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that sad news, and heard also that these sermons were to be printed, and want the author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable, indignation or grief—indeed I know not which—transported me so far, that I reviewed my forsaken collections, and resolved the world should see the best plain picture of the author's life that my artless pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could present to it.

And if I shall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bond-man was*, "the grateful wretch had been left alone on the sea-shore, with the forsaken dead body of his once glorious lord and master; and was then gathering the scattered pieces of an old broken boat, to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the custom of the Romans—Who art thou, that alone hast the honour to bury the body of Pompey the Great?" So, who am I, that do thus officiously set the author's memory on fire? I hope the question will prove to have in it more of wonder than disdain; but wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profess myself artless, should presume with my faint light to show forth his life, whose very name makes it illustrious! But be this to the disadvantage of the person represented: certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who shall here see the author's picture in a natural dress, which ought to beget faith in what is spoken; for he that wants skill to deceive may safely be trusted.

* Plutarch.

And if the author's glorious spirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leisure to look down and see me, the poorest, the meanest of all his friends, in the midst of this officious duty, confident I am that he will not disdain this well-meant sacrifice to his memory; for whilst his conversation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleness were then eminent; and I have heard divines say, those virtues that were but sparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Doctor Donne's Sermons were first printed, this was then my excuse for daring to write his life; and I dare not now appear without it.

Master John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas More, some time lord chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious judge Rastall†,

† William Rastall, the son of John Rastall, a celebrated printer, who married Elizabeth, the sister of Sir Thomas More. William Rastall was born in London in 1508. He studied at Oxford, and afterwards entered at Lincoln's Inn, but upon the change of religion retired to Louvain. On the accession of Queen Mary he returned to England, and in 1554 was made a serjeant-at-law, one of the commissioners for the prosecution of heretics, and a little before Mary's death, one of the justices of Common Pleas. Queen Elizabeth renewed his patent as justice, but he preferred retiring to Louvain, where he died on the 27th of August, 1565. It does not appear certain whether it were he or his brother John, who being a justice of the peace was commonly but improperly called "Justice Rastall," who published "A Collection (abridged) of the Statutes in force and use," in 1557, often reprinted. It contains copies of statutes not elsewhere extant, and in some instances more complete transcripts of several acts than are commonly printed in the Statutes at large.

who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh year, was sent to the University of Oxford, having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him: "That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula*, of whom story says that he was rather born than made wise by study."

There he remained for some years in Hart Hall, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to attend and instruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning expressed in public exercises declared him worthy, to receive his first degree in the schools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who, being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times, and not to be refused by those that expect the titulary honour of their studies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge, where, that he might receive nourishment from both soils, he staid till his seventeenth year; all which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reasons formerly mentioned.

About the seventeenth year of his age he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to study the law; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profession, which never served him for other use than an ornament and self-satisfaction.

His father died before his admission into this society; and, being a merchant, left him his portion in money. It was 3000*l.* His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors, both in the mathematics and in all the other liberal sciences, to attend him. But with these arts, they were advised to instil into him particular principles of the Romish church; of which those tutors professed, though secretly, themselves to be members.

They had almost obliged him to their faith, having for their advantage, besides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a most powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professeth in his Preface to his Pseudo-Martyr, a book of which the reader shall have some account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him that there could be no such sin as schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary.

About the nineteenth year of his age, he, being then unresolved what religion to adhere to, and considering how much it concerned his soul to choose the most orthodox, did therefore, though his youth and health promised him a long life, to rectify all scruples that might concern that, presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and began seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman church. And as God's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him (they be his own words)†, so he calls the same Holy Spirit to witness this protestation; that in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and by that which he took to be the safest way, namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties; and, indeed, Truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine‡ to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience: he therefore proceeded in this search with all moderate haste, and about the twentieth year of his age did show the then Dean of Gloucester§, whose name my memory hath now lost, all the cardinal's works marked with many weighty observations under his own hand, which works were bequeathed by him, at his death, as a legacy to a most dear friend.

About a year following, he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going first the Cales‖, and after the Island voyages—the first anno 1596, the second 1597, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments.

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years, first in Italy and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, denied him that happiness, which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the

* Picus, prince of Mirandula, was born in 1463, and having resigned his sovereignty to his nephew, he died in 1494. He is said to have made such a wonderful progress in study, as to understand twenty-two languages at the age of eighteen years, and at the age of twenty-four to dispute with great success "de omni scibili."

† In his Preface to Pseudo-Martyr.

‡ One of the most celebrated controversial writers of his time, and a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus. He died on the 17th Sept., 1621, aged sixty-nine years. The work alluded to in the text is entitled, "Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ Fidei, adversus sui temporis Hereticus." Cologne, 1610, folio, 4 vols.

§ Dr. Anthony Rudd, born in Yorkshire, and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Bishop of St. David's in 1614.

‖ Cadiz.

Lord Ellesmere *, then keeper of the great seal, and Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his person and behaviour, took him to be his chief secretary, supposing and intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state; for which, his lordship did often protest, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his lordship, in this time of Master Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be so much his servant, as to forget he was his friend; and, to testify it, did always use him with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he, I dare not say unhappily, fell into such a liking as, with her approbation, increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Ellesmere†, and daughter to Sir George More ‡, then chancellor of the garter and lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and, knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the county of Surrey; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves; and the friends of both parties used much diligence and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other, but in vain; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father; a passion, that carries us to commit errors with as much ease as whirlwinds move feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire. And such an industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together—I forbear to tell the manner how, and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends whose approbation always was, and ever will be, necessary to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so, and that pre-apprehensions might make it the less enormous when it was known, it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George, doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear, the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry, Earl of Northumberland §; but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and so transported him, that, as though his passion of anger and inconsideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his sister, the Lady Ellesmere, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his lordship. This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered that errors might be over punished, and desired therefore to forbear, till second considerations might clear some scruples, yet he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the lord chancellor did not, at Mr. Donne's dismission, give him such a commendation as the great emperor Charles the Fifth did of his secretary Eraso, when he parted with him, to his son and successor, Philip the Second, saying, "That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift than all his estate, and all the kingdoms which he then resigned to him;" yet the lord chancellor said, "He parted with a friend, and such a secretary as was fitter to serve a king than a subject."

Immediately after his dismission from his service, he sent a sad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it: and after the subscription of his name, writ—

"JOHN DONNE, ANNE DONNE, UN-DONE."

And God knows it proved too true; for this bitter

* Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, in Cheshire, was born about the year 1540. He was early distinguished at the bar, and on the 6th of May, 1596, the great seal was committed to him, with the title of lord-keeper. James I. created him Baron Ellesmere, and constituted him Lord Chancellor of England, an office which he filled to within a very short time of his death in the most upright and exemplary manner. When at last, being overwhelmed by age, he had by repeated entreaties prevailed on the king to relieve him from the burden which pressed too heavily on one weighed down by the load of seventy-six years, James did so with expressions of heartfelt sorrow at parting with so valued a servant, and testified his sense of his merit by creating him Viscount of Brackley. He shortly after announced his intention of raising him to an earldom, an honour which, although he did not live to receive, was conferred on his son, John Egerton, who was created Earl of Bridgwater. Lord Ellesmere was distinguished for his literary acquirements as well as by legal knowledge. His person was singularly dignified. Lloyd, in his State Worthies, page 756, observes that "Christendom afforded not a person which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour than Sir Thomas Egerton, insomuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpose only to see his venerable garb (happy they who had no other business), and were highly pleased at so acceptable a picture." He died at York House in the Strand, on the 15th of March, 1617, in his seventy-seventh year, "in a good old age, and full of virtuous fame." He was buried at Doddlestone, in Cheshire, on the 6th of April following.

† This lady was sister to Sir George More, and widow of Sir John Wooley, of Pirford in Surrey, knight. Sir Francis Wooley, hereafter mentioned, was her son.

‡ Only son and heir of Sir William More. He was born Nov. 28th, 1553, and was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, whence he removed to the inns of court. About 1587, he was knighted; in 1610, was made Chancellor of the Garter; and in 1615, Lieutenant of the Tower. He frequently sat in Parliament for the borough of Guildford. He died Oct. 16th, 1632.

§ Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, born in April, 1564. Though not himself engaged in the Gunpowder Plot, but being a stanch supporter of the Stuarts he suffered severely for the share which his cousin Thomas Percy took in that affair. He was imprisoned fifteen years in the Tower, and only released upon payment of £20,000. He died Nov. 5th, 1632. He was particularly distinguished for his attachment to learning; and during his confinement he allowed salaries for eminent scholars to attend upon him; and he also enjoyed the converse of Sir Walter Raleigh, his fellow prisoner. He had a peculiar talent for the mathematics; and, on account of his love for the occult sciences, he was sometimes called Henry the Wizard.

physic of Mr. Donne's dismission was not enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime compupil in Cambridge, that married him, namely, Samuel Brooke, who was after doctor in divinity and master of Trinity College, and his brother Mr. Christopher Brooke, sometime Mr. Donne's chamber-fellow in Lincoln's Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to three several prisons.

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy: and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him; for his wife was, to her extreme sorrow, detained from him; and though, with Jacob, he endured not an hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get possession of her by a long and restless suit in law; which proved troublesome and sadly chargeable to him, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass.

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour, which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art. These and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son; and this at last melted him into so much remorse—for love and anger are so like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat—that he laboured his son's restoration to his place, using to that end both his own and his sister's power to her lord, but with no success: for his answer was, that though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners.

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmission was by all means to be kept secret; for men do more naturally reluct for errors than submit to put on those blemishes that attend their visible acknowledgment. But, however, it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness, and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive, courtesies: these and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented, by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, Sir Francis Wolly, of Pirford, in Surrey, who entreated them to a cohabitation with him; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for some years; and as their charge increased—she had yearly a child—so did his love and bounty.

It hath been observed by wise and considering men, that wealth hath seldom been the portion, and never the mark to discover good people; but that Almighty God, who disposeth all things wisely, hath of his abundant goodness denied it—he only knows why—to many, whose minds he hath enriched with the greater blessings of knowledge and virtue, as the fairer testimonies of his love to mankind: and this was the present condition of this man of so excellent erudition and endowments; whose necessary and daily expenses were hardly reconcilable with his uncertain and narrow estate. Which I mention, for that at this time there was a most generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares, the declaration of which shall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been so good to his church, as to afford it in every age some such men to serve at his altar as have been piously ambitious of doing good to mankind; a disposition, that is so like to God himself, that it owes itself only to Him who takes a pleasure to behold it in his creatures. These times* he did bless with many such, some of which still live to be patterns of apostolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have said this, because I have occasion to mention one of them in my following discourse—namely, Dr. Morton†, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham; one that God hath blessed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart at the age of ninety-four years, and is yet living; one, that in his days of plenty had so large a heart as to use his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now, be it spoken with sorrow, reduced to a narrow estate, which he embraces without repining; and still shows the beauty of his mind by so liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itself. I have taken a pleasure in giving the reader a short but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation. He sent to Mr. Donne, and entreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes

* 1648.

† Dr. Morton was a most excellent prelate, zealous, learned, and charitable. He was descended from the same family as the celebrated Cardinal Morton, the zealous adherent of the unfortunate Henry VI. and the calumniated minister of Henry VII. Dr. Morton suffered much during the ascendancy of the parliament, and in his time of need found an asylum under the roof of Sir Christopher Yelverton, where he undertook the education of that gentleman's son, the celebrated Sir Henry Yelverton. His grateful pupil thus commemorates his ancient tutor. "He was an ancient bishop, and had all the qualifications fit for his order, either to adorn or govern a church; but above all, he was eminent for his invincible patience under so many violent persecutions and almost necessities, always rejoicing in his losses, and protesting that he thought himself richer with nothing and a good conscience than those who had devoured his goodly bishopric." He died on the 22nd of September, 1659, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

passed before he spake to Mr. Donne to this purpose:—"Mr. Donne, the occasion of sending for you is to propose to you what I have often revolved in my own thought since I last saw you, which, nevertheless, I will not declare but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear three days, and bestow some part of that time in fasting and prayer; and after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, then return to me with your answer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne; for it is the effect of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to me."

This request being granted, the doctor expressed himself thus:—

"Mr. Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation of a state-employment, and I know your fitness for it; and I know too the many delays and contingencies that attend court promises: and let me tell you that my love, begot by our long friendship and your merits, hath prompted me to such an inquisition after your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities, which I know to be such as your generous spirit could not bear, if it were not supported with a pious patience. You know I have formerly persuaded you to wave your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders, which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request:—the king hath yesterday made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am also possessed of a benefice, the profits of which are equal to those of my deanery; I will think my deanery enough for my maintenance, who am, and resolve to die, a single man, and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it; which the patron is willing I shall do, if God shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment, which is to be an ambassador for the God of glory—that God, who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:—

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you, I have been faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude; but that it cannot do; and more I cannot return you; and I do that with a heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your offer: but, sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted with God's grace and humility, render me in some measure fit for it: but I dare make so dear a friend as you are, my confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from a dishonour. And besides, whereas it is determined by the best of casuists, that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling; and though each man may propose to himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which he that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcilable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, sir, who says, 'Happy is that man whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.' To these I might add other reasons that dissuade me; but I crave your favour that I may forbear to express them, and thankfully decline your offer."

This was his present resolution, but the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance; of which I shall give the reader an account before I shall give a rest to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death*: a little before which time, Sir Francis was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George, and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond, to pay to Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with Sir Francis, he studied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. Donne took for himself a house in Mitcham,—near to Croydon in Surrey,—a place noted for good air and choice company: there his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near to Whitehall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited, by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration, and with some rewards for his better subsistence.

Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London; but he still denied it, having settled his dear wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: and that you may the better now judge of the then present condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract collected out of some few of his many letters.

—— And the reason why I did not send an answer to your last week's letter, was, because it

* In 1610.

then found me under too great a sadness; and at present 'tis thus with me: There is not one person, but myself, well of my family: I have already lost half a child, and, with that mischance of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure, as would afflict her too extremely, but that the sickness of all her other children stupifies her, of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope: and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that: but I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too; for I cannot waste faster than by such griefs. As for,——

From my hospital at Mitcham,

Aug. 10. JOHN DONNE.

Thus he did bemoan himself: and thus in other letters.

—— For, we hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act: with this or the former I have often suspected myself to be overtaken; which is, with an over-earnest desire of the next life: and, though I know it is not merely a weariness of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have increased it: 'tis now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me; every other tree blossoms, and I wither: I grow older, and not better; my strength diminisheth, and my load grows heavier; and yet I would fain be or do something; but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this time of my sadness; for to choose is to do; but to be no part of any body, is as to be nothing: And so I am, and shall so judge myself, unless I could be so incorporated into a part of the world, as by business to contribute some sustentation to the whole. This I made account; I began early, when I understood the study of our laws; but was diverted by leaving that, and embracing the worst voluptuousness, an hydroptic immoderate desire of human learning and languages: beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes, but mine was grown so low as to need an occupation; which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities: and there I stumbled, and fell too; and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters.—Sir, I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it, nor life; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as you should not repent loving me: Sir, your own soul cannot be more zealous for your good, than I am; and God, who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it: You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with mine own weary soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either mending or dying on my side: but, if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, that my blessed Saviour in exercising his justice upon my two worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves all his mercy for that which most needs it, my soul! which is, I doubt, too like a porter, that is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my loathness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign that I shall write no more.——

Your poor friend, and
God's poor patient,

Sept. 7. JOHN DONNE.

By this you have seen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; and to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Roman Church, and especially those of Supremacy and Allegiance: and to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life: but the earnest persuasion of friends became at last to be so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry*, a gentleman of a very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him and his wife an useful apartment in his own large house in Drury-lane, and not only rent free, but was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his, in all their joy and sorrows.

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's house, the Lord Hay was, by King James, sent upon a glorious embassy to the then French king, Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a sudden resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to solicit Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, Her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence; and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it.

* The eldest son of Sir William Drury of Howsted, in Suffolk, who was killed in a duel in France in 1589. When he was not more than fourteen, he accompanied the Earl of Essex to the unsuccessful siege of Rouen, and was knighted on that occasion. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, in Suffolk. In 1610 he lost his daughter Dorothy, to whose memory Dr. Donne composed two poems, "An Anatomie of the World," and "The Progresse of the Soule." In March of the same year, Sir Robert built and endowed an almshouse for widows, at Hawsted; and in 1612, went with Dr. Donne to Paris. Walton seems to have fallen into an error respecting the date and occasion of this journey, since Lord Hay was not sent as ambassador to Paris until July, 1616, and Sir Robert Drury died on the 2d of April, 1615. Drury House stood at the lower end of Drury-lane and upper end of Wych-street. It was afterwards the seat of William, Earl of Craven, who made considerable additions to it, and gave it the name of Craven House. The remains of Craven House were taken down in 1809, and the Olympic theatre now stands on part of its site.

But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty, when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him; and told his wife so; who did therefore, with an unwilling-willingness, give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne, left London; and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room, in which Sir Robert, and he and some other friends, had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found, Mr. Donne alone: but in such an ecstacy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer: but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, sir, you have slept since I saw you; and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was: "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you: and am as sure, that at her second appearing, she stopped, and looked me in the face, and vanished."—Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the vision was true.—It is truly said, that desire and doubt have no rest; and it proved so with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant to Drewry-house, with a charge to hasten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive; and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her health. The twelfth day the messenger returned with this account,—that he found and left Mrs. Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget some wonder, and it well may; for most of our world are at present possessed with an opinion, that visions and miracles are ceased. And, though it is most certain, that two lutes being both strung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other, that is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit distance, will—like an echo to a trumpet—warble a faint audible harmony in answer to the same tune; yet many will not believe there is any such thing as a sympathy of souls; and I am well pleased, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion. But if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this story a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wish him to consider, many wise men have believed that the ghost of Julius Cæsar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Austin, and Monica his mother, had visions in order to his conversion. And though these, and many others—too many to name—have but the authority of human story, yet the incredible reader may find in the Sacred story*, that Samuel did appear to Saul eve after his death—whether really or not I undertake not to determine.—And Bildad, in the Book of Job, says these words†: "A spirit passed before my face; the hair of my head stood up; fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to shake." Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be considered by the incredulous reader; to whom I will also commend this following consideration: That there be many pious and learned men, that believe our merciful God hath assigned to every man a particular guardian angel, to be his constant monitor; and to attend him in all his dangers, both of body and soul. And the opinion that every man hath his particular angel may gain some authority by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of prison ‡, not by many, but by one angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's considering, that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John, and Rhode, the maid-servant, being surprised with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haste, and told the disciples—who were then and there met together—that Peter was at the door; and they, not believing it, said she was mad: yet, when she again affirmed it, though they then believed it not, yet they concluded, and said, "It is his angel."

More observations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation of a firmer belief: but I forbear, lest I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged person for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myself bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himself, it was told me—now long since—by a person of honour, and of such intimacy with him, that he knew more of the secrets of his soul than any person then living: and I think he told me the truth; for it was told with such circumstances, and such asseveration, that—to say nothing of my own thoughts—I verily believe he that told it me, did himself believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation, and what concerns it; and will conclude mine, with commending to his view a copy of verses given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time he then parted from her. And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard some critics, learned both in languages and poetry, say, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

A VALEDICTION, FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men pass mildly away,
And whisper to their souls, to go,
While some of their sad friends do say,
"The breath goes now," and some say, "No:"

So let us melt, and make no noise,
No tear-floods, nor sigh tempests move;
'Twere profanation of our joys,
To tell the laity our love.

* 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. † Job iv. 13-16.
‡ Acts xii. 7-10. Ib. 13-15.

Moving of th' earth brings harms and fears:
Men reckon what it did or meant:
But trepidation of the spheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull sublunary lovers' love
—Whose soul is sense—cannot admit
Absence, because that doth remove
Those things which elemented it.

But we, by a love so far refined,
That ourselves know not what it is,
Inter-assured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miss.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
—Though I must go,—endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If we be two? we are two so
As stiff twin-compasses are two:
Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no shew
To move, but does if th' other do.

And though thine in the centre sit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must,
Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the vision, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others that were powerful at court, were watchful and solicitous to the king for some secular employment for him. The king had formerly both known and put a value upon his company, and had also given him some hopes of a state employment; being always much pleased when Mr. Donne attended him, especially at his meals; where there were usually many deep discourses of general learning, and very often friendly disputes, or debates of religion, betwixt his majesty and those divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times: particularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bishop Montague* — the publisher of the learned and eloquent works of his majesty—and the most Reverend Doctor Andrews†, the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the king's almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes, that concerned the oath of supremacy and allegiance, in which the king had appeared, and engaged himself by his public writings now extant; and his majesty discoursing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reasons which are usually urged against the taking of those oaths, apprehended such a validity and clearness in his stating the questions, and his answers to them, that his majesty commanded him to bestow some time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his answers to them; and, having done that, not to send, but be his own messenger, and bring them to him. To this he presently and diligently applied himself, and within six weeks brought them to him under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of Pseudo-Martyr, printed anno 1610.

When the king had read and considered that book, he persuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the ministry; to which, at that time, he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it—such was his mistaken modesty—to be too weighty for his abilities; and though his majesty had promised him a favour, and many persons of worth mediated with his majesty for some secular employment for him,—to which his education had apted him—and particularly the Earl of Somerset‡, when in his greatest height of favour; who being then at Theobald's with the king, where one of the clerks of the council died that night, the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the king, and bring you word that you are clerk of the council: doubt not my doing this, for I know the king loves you, and know the king will not deny me." But the king gave a positive denial to all requests, and, having a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth§, the king descended to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to enter into sacred orders: which, though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years. All which time he applied himself to an incessant

* The fifth son to Sir Edward Montague, and brother to Edward, the first lord Montague, of Broughton, eminent for his learning and liberality, and usually called "King James's Ecclesiastical Favourite." He was created Bishop of Bath and Wells by King James, and afterwards translated to the see of Winchester, which he filled only two years, dying in 1618. He was buried in the Abbey church of Bath, which, while he filled the see of Bath and Wells, he repaired and beautified at a great expense, having been incited to this act of munificence in the following manner. When he held his primary visitation in the church at Bath, the business being done and the benediction given, Sir John Harrington stood up in the midst of the congregation, and addressed his lordship in a Latin poem on the ruinous state of the buildings of the church, and concluded with a prophecy of its future flourishing and beautiful condition under the auspices of the bishop.

Te nempe ad decus hoc peperit Natura; replevit
Dolibus eximiis Deus: ars perfecta polivit;
In gremio refoves ter magni gratia regis
Ditavitque bonis tanta ad molimina natis.
Huc tua te virtus sorte ancillante, propelilt,
Euge; opus hoc mirae pietatis perfice.

The bishop, so far from being displeased at this bold and unusual address, answered it in a short Latin speech, and promised to restore the cathedral.

† One of the translators of King James's Bible; a man celebrated for his learning and piety. He is said to have possessed a critical and accurate knowledge of at least fifteen modern tongues. His writings were numerous; but that best known, and perhaps most deservedly so, is his Manual of Devotion, which was seldom out of his hand for some time before his death, and was found worn with his fingers and wet with his tears. A modern editor thus recommends it to the reader:—"When thou hast bought the book, enter into thy closet and shut the door; pray with Bishop Andrews for one week, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years; he will be pleasant in thy life, and in thy death he will not forsake thee." He departed this life at Winchester House in Southwark, on the 25th of September 1626, in the seventy-first year of his age.

‡ The notorious Robert Carr.

§ In his Book of Devotions.

study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In the first and most blessed times of Christianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deserved it, when they overcame their opposers by high examples of virtue, by a blessed patience and long-suffering, those only were then judged worthy the ministry, whose quiet and meek spirits did make them look upon that sacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires such great degrees of humility, and labour, and care, that none but such were then thought worthy of that celestial dignity. And such only were then sought out, and solicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, because forwardness and inconsideration could not, in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of insufficiency or unfitness; for he had considered long, and had many strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life, and competency of learning, required in such as enter into sacred orders; and doubtless, considering his own demerits, did humbly ask God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is sufficient for these things?" and with meek Moses, "Lord, who am I?" And sure, if he had consulted with flesh and blood, he had not for these reasons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the angel did with Jacob, and marked him; marked him for his own; marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to the motions of his blessed Spirit. And then, as he had formerly asked God with Moses, "Who am I?" so now, being inspired with an apprehension of God's particular mercy to him, in the king's and others' solicitations of him, he came to ask King David's thankful question, "Lord, who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?" So mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderness of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; so merciful to me, as to move the learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at the altar! So merciful to me, as at last to move my heart to embrace this holy motion! Thy motions I will and do embrace: and I now say with the blessed Virgin, "Be it with thy servant as seemeth best in thy sight:" and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy gospel.

Such strifes as these St. Austin had, when St. Ambrose endeavoured his conversion to Christianity; with which he confesseth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author,—a man fit to write after no mean copy—did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Bishop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no stranger to Mr. Donne's abilities,—for he had been chaplain to the lord chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his lordship's secretary—that reverend man did receive the news with much gladness; and, after some expressions of joy, and a persuasion to be constant in his pious purpose, he proceeded with all convenient speed to ordain him first deacon, and then priest not long after.

Now the English church had gained a second St. Austin; for I think none was so like him before his conversion, none so like St. Ambrose after it: and if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holiness of both.

And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now, all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others; in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence: and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with David, "O how amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord God of hosts!" Now he declared openly, that when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing. And that he was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments.

Presently after he entered into his holy profession, the king sent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promised to take a particular care for his preferment.

And, though his long familiarity with scholars and persons of greatest quality, was such as might have given some men boldness enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modesty in this employment was such that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually accompanied with some one friend to preach privately in some village, not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and, though much were expected from him, both by his majesty and others, yet he was so happy—which few are—as to satisfy and exceed their expectations: preaching the word so, as showed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives: here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it; and a virtue so as to make it beloved, even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

There may be some that may incline to think—such indeed as have not heard him—that my affection to my friend hath transported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching. If this meets with any such, let me entreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witness for what I say; it being attested by a gentleman of worth,—Mr. Chidley*, a frequent hearer of his sermons—in part of a funeral elegy writ by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth, though it be in verse.

——— Each altar had his fire———
He kept his love, but not his object; wit
He did not banish, but transplanted it;

* Mr. John Chudleigh, M.A., of Wadham College in Oxford, and the eldest son of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart., of Alston, in Devonshire.

Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To piety, which it doth best become.

* * * * *

For say, had ever pleasure such a dress?
Have you seen crimes so shaped, or loveliness
Such as his lips did clothe Religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty passing Sin?
Corrupted Nature sorrow'd that she stood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And, when he preach'd, she wish'd her ears exempt
From piety, that had such power to tempt.
How did his sacred flattery beguile
Men to amend?——

More of this, and more witnesses, might be brought; but I forbear and return.

That summer, in the very same month in which he entered into sacred orders, and was made the king's chaplain, his majesty then going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge: and Mr. Donne attending his majesty at that time, his majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made doctor in divinity. Doctor Harsnett*—after Archbishop of York—was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the Pseudo Martyr, required no other proof of his abilities, but proposed it to the University, who presently assented, and expressed a gladness, that they had such an occasion to entitle him to be theirs.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, and he so known and so beloved by persons of quality, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders, he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life; but an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died†, leaving him a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and—having buried five—the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave, and betook himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became crucified to the world, and all those vanities, those imaginary pleasures, that are daily acted on that restless stage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think—being, passions may be both changed and heightened by accidents—but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes, and the companion of his youth; her with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears as common people are not capable of;—not hard to think but that she being now removed by death, a commeasurable grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did; for now his very soul was elemented of nothing but sadness; now grief took so full a possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy. If it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction. Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for! For then, as the grave is become her house, so I would hasten to make it mine also; that we two might there make our beds together in the dark. Thus, as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued, till a consideration of his new engagements to God, and St. Paul's—"Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!" dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried,—in St. Clement's church, near Temple Bar, London,—and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremy's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction."

And, indeed, his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness; and so they left the congregation; but then their houses presented them with objects of diversion, and his presented him with nothing but fresh objects of sorrow, in beholding many helpless children, a narrow fortune, and a consideration of the many cares and casualties that attend their education.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the grave benchers of Lincoln's Inn—who were once the companions and friends of his youth—to accept of their Lecture, which, by reason of Dr. Gataker's‡ removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved, and where he had been a Saul,—though not to persecute Christianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the visible practice of it,—there to become a Paul, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a shining light among his old friends; now he gave an ocular testimony of the strictness and regularity of it: now he might say, as St. Paul adviseth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as I follow Christ, and

* Dr. Samuel Harsnett, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was vice-chancellor of that university in 1605 and 1614, successively Bishop of Chichester and of Norwich, and Archbishop of York. He died March 12, 1630.

† Mrs. Donne died August 15th, 1617, on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the parish church of St. Clement Danes, where a monument is erected to her memory.

‡ Mr. Thomas Gataker was, in the words of Echard, "remarkable for his skill in Greek and Hebrew, and the most celebrated among the assembly of divines;" and he adds, "It is hard to say which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferment." He died in 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.

walk as ye have me for an example;" not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmless, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

The love of that noble Society was expressed to him many ways; for, besides fair lodgings that were set apart and newly furnished for him with all necessaries, other courtesies were also daily added; indeed so many, and so freely, as if they meant their gratitude should exceed his merits: and in this love-strife of desert and liberality, they continued for the space of two years, he preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the palsgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the king's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries in that nation.

King James, whose motto—*Beati pacifici*—did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavoured first to prevent, and after to compose, the discords of that discomposed state; and, amongst other his endeavours, did then send the Lord Hay, Earl of Doncaster, his ambassador to those unsettled princes; and, by a special command from his majesty, Dr. Donne was appointed to assist and attend that employment to the Princes of the Union; for which the earl was most glad, who had always put a great value on him, and taken a great pleasure in his conversation and discourse: and his friends at Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate study, and sadness for his wife's death, would, as Jacob said, "make his days few," and, respecting his bodily health, "evil" too; and of this there were many visible signs.

At his going, he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him, with many reluctations: for, though he could not say as St. Paul to his Ephesians, "Behold, you, to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more;" yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it: all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But God, who is the God of all wisdom and goodness, turned it to the best; for this employment—to say nothing of the event of it—did not only divert him from those too serious studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress, the Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation; and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him: who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey* was made bishop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the king sent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his majesty was sat down, before he had eat any meat, he said after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and, though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for, knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and, when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you."

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel; suffering, as holy David once vowed, "his eyes and temples to take no rest, till he had first beautified the house of God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moore,—whom time had made a lover and admirer of him—came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it; and said—as good Jacob did when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, "'It is enough.'—You have been kind to me and mine: I know your present condition is such as not to abound, and I hope mine is, or will be such as not to need it: I will therefore receive no more from you upon that contract;" and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White†, the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend Richard Earl of Dorset, then the patron, and confirmed by his brother the late deceased Edward ‡, both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor, and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation, and about that time was appointed by his majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross, and other places. All which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the king's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whis-

* Valentine Carey, Master of Christ's College in Cambridge and Dean of St. Paul's, is said to have been born in Northumberland. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter November 20th, 1620. He died on the 10th of June, 1626.

† Dr. Thomas White was a native of Bristol, where his memory yet flourishes, being preserved by the almshouses which he erected and endowed there. He was also a benefactor to Sion College, and founded a lecture on moral philosophy at Oxford. He stood high as a preacher, but was not known as an author otherwise than by the publication of some sermons. He died 1st March, 16x3.

‡ A nobleman of high talents and accomplishments. His name is familiar to us as having been one of the parties concerned in the melancholy duel with his intimate friend Lord Bruce, the particulars of which are related in the Guardian, Nos. 129-133.

perer, who had told his majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to popery, and a dislike of his government; and particularly for the king's then turning the Evening Lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief, and Commandments. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that a person of nobility, and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court—I shall forbear his name, unless I had a fairer occasion—and justly committed to prison; which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise, unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The king received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt; but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the king said, he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion. When the king had said this, Doctor Donne kneeled down, and thanked his majesty, and protested his answer was faithful, and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise, till, as in like cases, he always had from God, so he might have from his majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion. At which the king raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested he believed him; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And, having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said, with much earnestness, "My Doctor is an honest man; and, my lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me; and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a divine."

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age; and in his fifty-fourth year, a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption: but God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, "preserved his spirit," and kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that sickness first seized his body; but it continued long, and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this distemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King,—then chief residentiary of that church, and late Bishop of Chichester—a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, visited him daily; and observing that his sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, he chose a seasonable time to speak to him to this purpose.

"Mr. Dean, I am, by your favour, no stranger to your temporal estate, and you are no stranger to the offer lately made us, for the renewing a lease of the best prebend's corps belonging to our church; and you know it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich, offered to fine at so low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages: but I will either raise him to an higher sum, or procure that the other residentiaries shall join to accept of what was offered: one of these, I can and will by your favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or mind. I beseech you to accept of my offer, for I know it will be a considerable addition to your present estate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a short pause, and raising himself upon his bed, he made this reply:—

"My most dear friend, I most humbly thank you for your many favours, and this in particular; but in my present condition I shall not accept of your proposal; for doubtless there is such a sin as sacrilege; if there were not, it could not have a name in Scripture: and the primitive clergy were watchful against all appearances of that evil; and indeed then all Christians looked upon it with horror and detestation, judging it to be even an open defiance of the power and providence of Almighty God, and a sad presage of a declining religion. But instead of such Christians, who had selected times set apart to fast and pray to God, for a pious clergy, which they then did obey, our times abound with men that are busy and litigious about trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet so far from scrupling sacrilege, that they make not so much as a quære what it is: but I thank God I have; and dare not now upon my sick bed, when Almighty God hath made me useless to the service of the church, make any advantages out of it. But if he shall again restore me to such a degree of health as again to serve at his altar, I shall then gladly take the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have designed me; for God knows my children and relations will need it. In which number, my mother,—whose credulity and charity has contracted a very plentiful to a very narrow estate—must not be forgotten. But Dr. King, if I recover not, that little worldly estate that I shall leave behind me—that very little, when divided into eight parts—must, if you deny me not so charitable a favour, fall into your hands, as my most faithful friend and executor; of whose care and justice I make no more doubt, than of God's blessing, on that which I have conscientiously collected for them; but it shall not be augmented on my sick-bed; and this I declare to be my unalterable resolution."

The reply to this was only a promise to observe his request.

Within a few days, his distempers abated; and as his strength increased, so did his thankfulness to Almighty God, testified in his most excellent Book of Devotions, which he published at his recovery; in which the reader may see the most secret thoughts that then possessed his soul, paraphrased and made public: a book that may not unfitly be called a "Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstacies," occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sickness; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions, and prayers, he writ on his sick bed; herein imitating the holy patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their blessings.

This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he would often say, his recovery was supernatural: but that God that then restored his health, continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life; and then, in August, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Harvey, at Abury Hatch, in Essex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity—vapours from

the spleen—hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as St. Paul of himself, "He dies daily;" and he might say with Job, "My welfare passeth away as a cloud, the days of my affliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for me."

Reader, this sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearying him so much, that my desire is, he may now take some rest; and that before I speak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digression to look back with me upon some observations of his life, which, whilst a gentle slumber gives rest to his spirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exercise thy consideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error, which, though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxes, yet he was very far from justifying it: and though his wife's competent years, and other reasons, might be justly urged to moderate severe censures, yet he would occasionally condemn himself for it: and doubtless it had been attended with a heavy repentance, if God had not blessed them with so mutual and cordial affections, as in the midst of their sufferings made their bread of sorrow taste more pleasantly, than the banquets of dull and low-spirited people.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was so happy, as if nature and all her varieties had been made only to exercise his sharp wit and high fancy; and in those pieces which were facetiously composed and carelessly scattered, —most of them being written before the twentieth year of his age—it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both nature and all the arts joined to assist him with their utmost skill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely—God knows, too loosely—scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals: but, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry, as to forsake that; no, not in his declining age; witnessed then by many divine sonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious composures. Yea, even on his former sick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy that then possessed his soul, in the assurance of God's favour to him when he composed it:—

AN HYMN

TO GOD THE FATHER.

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still, though still I do deplore?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two,—but wallow'd in a score?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
But swear by thyself, that at my death thy Son
Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
And having done that, thou hast done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he caused it to be set to a most grave and solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ by the choristers of St. Paul's church, in his own hearing; especially at the evening service; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, did occasionally say to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same thoughts of joy that possessed my soul in my sickness, when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music! that harmony added to this hymn has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an unexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

After this manner did the disciples of our Saviour, and the best of Christians in those ages of the church nearest to his time, offer their praises to Almighty God. And the reader of St. Augustine's life may there find, that towards his dissolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Christianity had broke in upon them, and profaned and ruined their sanctuaries, and because their public hymns and lauds were lost out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout souls lifted up their hands, and offered acceptable sacrifices unto Almighty God, where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.

But now*, oh Lord, how is that place become desolate!

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of the body of Christ extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw, when they would present us with the picture of Christ crucified on the cross: his varying no otherwise, than to affix him not to a cross, but to an anchor—the emblem of Hope;—this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small in helitropium stones, and set in gold; and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals, or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier†, and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number; nor could the Lady Magdalen Herbert‡, the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken possession of the grave before him: but Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Hall §, the then late deceased bishop of Norwich,

* 1656.

† Son and heir of Sir William Goodier, of Monkskirby, in Warwickshire, knight, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to King James I.

‡ The mother of Mr. George Herbert and of the celebrated Lord Herbert, of Cherbury. She survived her husband, Richard Herbert, Esq., many years; and after his death distinguished herself by the care she gave to the education of her children, who both owed much of their future fame to her attention. She died 11th of July, 1627, and was buried at Chelsea.

§ Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, thus characterised by Camden:—"The learned have given him this character,—that he was 'our English Seneca;' dexterous at controversy, not unhappy at Comments, very good at Characters, better in Sermons, best of all in Meditations and Contemplations." He died on the 8th of September, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried

were; and so were Dr. Duppa*, bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Henry King, bishop of Chichester, lately deceased—men in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility, that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not. I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Ejaculations." A book, in which by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts: a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and heaven: and may, by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments; of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui priùs assuetus serpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostræ symbola parva domûs,
Adscitus domui Domini——

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The cross, my seal in baptism, spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou shouldst do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ, who there is crucified for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
—God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old—
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be;
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.
And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the cross, my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucified there before.
When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
O! may that Saint that rides on our great seal,
To you that bear his name, large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quòd crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
—Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,—
Tuive Christum——

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto 't, but he ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whilst thou speak'st—this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that, besides these verses to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be sung in the choir of St. Paul's church, he did also shorten and beguile many sad hours by composing other sacred ditties; and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title,

AN HYMN TO MY GOD, IN MY SICKNESS.

March 23, 1630.

Since I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy choir of saints, for evermore
I shall be made thy music, as I come
I tune my instrument here at the door,
And, what I must do then, think here before.

Since my physicians by their loves are grown
Cosmographers; and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed——

* * * * *

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
By these, his thorns, give me his other crown:
And, as to other souls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my sermon to mine own,
"That he may raise therefore the Lord throws down."

If these fall under the censure of a soul, whose too much mixture with earth makes it unfit to judge of these high raptures and illuminations, let him know, that many holy and devout men have thought the soul of Prudentius to be most refined, when, not many days before his death, he charged it to present his God each morning and evening with a new and spiritual song; justified by the example of king David and the good king Hezekiah, who, upon the renovation of his years, paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in these words; "The Lord was ready to save; therefore I will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of my life in the temple of my God."

The latter part of his life may be said to be a continued study; for as he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never

in the churchyard of Higham, in compliance with the express directions in his will, that he should not be buried in the church. "I do not," said he, "hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints."

*Dr. Bryan Duppa, translated from the see of Chichester to that of Salisbury, was deprived of all his preferment at the breaking out of the rebellion. Having faithfully continued his attendance on the king to the time of his death, he retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he passed his time in study and devotion. At the Restoration he was promoted to Winchester, and died March 26, 1662. He was, says Wood, "a person of so clear and eminent candour, that he left not the least spot upon his life or function."

gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he usually gave himself and his mind a rest from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, or some other diversions of his thoughts; and would say, that "he gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common business that drew him out of his chamber till past ten: all which time was employed in study; though he took great liberty after it. And if this seem strange, it may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours; some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written: for he left the resultance of 1400 authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand: he left also six score of his sermons, all written with his own hand; also an exact and laborious treatise concerning self-murder, called Biathanatos; wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently surveyed, and judiciously censured: a treatise written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the civil and canon law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were these only found in his study, but all businesses that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by himself.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him; making his will when no faculty of his soul was damped or made defective by pain or sickness, or he surprised by a sudden apprehension of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's portions equal; and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and discreetly chosen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of some of them; for methinks they be persons that seem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that striking clock, which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor, Dr. King, —late bishop of Chichester, that model of gold of the Synod of Dort, with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo and Fulgentio, men of his acquaintance when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.

To his ancient friend, Dr. Brook,—that married him—Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the Blessed Virgin and Joseph. —To Dr. Winniff—who succeeded him in the deanery—he gave a picture called the "Skeleton." —To the succeeding dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle he gave several pictures; and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection, than to make any addition to their estates; but unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his constant and long-continued bounty, might entitle themselves to be his alms-people: for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience: but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

"In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity,—Amen. I, John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding,—praised be God therefore—do hereby make my last will and testament in manner and form following:

"First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution, which the same Spirit hath established in me, to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried—in the most private manner that may be—in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.—And this my last will and testament, made in the fear of God,—whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ—and in perfect love and charity with all the world—whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors—written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

"Sealed December 13, 1630."

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous: he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from prison, that lay for their fees or small debts: he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and care-

lessness, became decayed in his estate ; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman's saying, "he wanted not,"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty, rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it ; so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind ;—which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was, "I know you want not what will sustain nature ; for a little will do that ; but my desire is, that you, who in the days of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of so many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own ;" and upon these terms it was received. He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred, which he never undertook faintly ; for such undertakings have usually faint effects, and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her supportation, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities ; who, having sucked in the religion of the Roman church with the mother's milk, spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his house but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know that, after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he, at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witnesses with him, computed first his revenue, then what was given to the poor and other pious uses, and lastly, what rested for him and his ; and having done that, he then blessed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer ; which, for that they discover a more than common devotion, the reader shall partake some of them in his own words :—

So all is that remains this year ——

Deo Opt. Max. benigno largitori, à me, et ab iis quibus hæc à me reservantur, gloria et gratia in æternum. Amen.

TRANSLATED THUS.

To God, all good, all great, the benevolent bestower, by me, and by them, for whom, by me, these sums are laid up, be glory and grace ascribed for ever. Amen.

So that this year, God hath blessed me and mine with,—

Multiplicatæ sunt super nos misericordiæ tuæ, Domine.

TRANSLATED THUS.

Thy mercies, Oh Lord, are multiplied upon us.

Da, Domine, ut quæ ex immensâ bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri dignatus sis, in quorumcunque manus devenerint, in tuam semper cedant gloriam. Amen.

TRANSLATED THUS.

Grant, oh Lord, that what out of thine infinite bounty thou hast vouchsafed to lavish upon us, into whosesoever hands it may devolve, may always be improved to thy glory. Amen.

Infine horum sex annorum manet :—

Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino ? Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus est sua iterum fiant, bono eorum usu ; ut quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi, nec loci in quo me posuit dignitati, nec servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni curriculo mihi conscius sum me defuisse ; ita et liberi, quibus quæ supersunt, supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant, et beneficum authorem recognoscant. Amen.

TRANSLATED THUS.

At the end of these six years remains :—

What have I which I have not received from the Lord ? He bestows, also, to the intent that what he hath bestowed may revert to him by the proper use of it : that, as I have not consciously been wanting to myself during the whole course of the past year, either in discharging my secular duties, in retaining the dignity of my station, or in my conduct towards my servants and the poor,—so my children, for whom remains whatever is remaining, may receive it with gratitude, and acknowledge the beneficent giver. Amen.

But I return from my long digression.

We left the author sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from that place ; and having never, for almost twenty years, omitted his personal attendance on his majesty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent preachers, and there being then (in January, 1630) a report brought to London, or raised there, that Dr. Donne was dead, that report gave him occasion to write the following letter to a dear friend :—

"Sir,

"This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of heaven ; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness ; and I doubt not, among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die, if there were no other benefit in death, to hear of so much sorrow and so much good testimony from good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death ; yet I perceive it went not through all ; for one writ to me, that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and, God knows, an ill-grounded interpretation ; for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit ; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit ; that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent sermon at court, except my lord chamberlain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll : but as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write than you to read, yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter. God so bless you and your son, as I wish to

"Your poor friend and servant

"In Christ Jesus,

"J. Donne."

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent. He had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London some few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends, who with sorrow saw his sickness had left him but so much flesh as did only cover his bones, doubted his strength to perform that task, and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him, however, it was like to shorten his life; but he passionately denied their requests, saying, he would not doubt that that God, who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment; professing an holy ambition to perform that sacred work. And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and a dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in Ezekiel*. Do these bones live? or, can that soul organise that tongue, to speak so long time as the sand in that glass will move towards its centre, and measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? Doubtless it cannot. And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying, the text being, "To God the Lord belong the issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. Donne had preached his own funeral sermon.

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house; out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, he was carried by devout men to his grave.

The next day after his sermon, his strength being much wasted, and his spirits so spent as indisposed him to business or to talk, a friend, that had often been a witness of his free and facetious discourse, asked him, "Why are you sad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world; and said,——

"I am not sad; but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return; and that within a few days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But at this present time, I was in a serious contemplation of the Providence and Goodness of God to me; to me, who am less than the least of his mercies; and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment; and that it was his will I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry; in which I have now lived almost twenty years—I hope to his glory,—and by which, I most humbly thank him, I have been enabled to requite most of those friends which showed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was: and,—as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude,—I thank God most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir George More, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses. I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God, after a plentiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many that have groaned under the burthen of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth; but I am to be judged by a merciful God, who is not willing to see what I have done amiss. And though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery, yet I know he looks not upon me now as I am of myself, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me, even at this present time, some testimonies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his elect: I am therefore full of inexpressible joy, and shall die in peace."

I must here look so far back, as to tell the reader that at his first return out of Essex, to preach his last sermon, his old friend and physician, Dr. Fox—a man of great worth—came to him to consult his health; and that after a sight of him, and some queries concerning his distempers, he told him, that by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, there was a probability of his restoration to health; but he passionately denied to drink it. Nevertheless, Dr. Fox, who loved him most entirely, wearied him with solicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days; at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, he had drunk it more to satisfy him, than to recover his health; and that he would not drink it ten days longer, upon the best moral assurance of having twenty years added to his life; for he loved it not; and was so far from fearing death, which to others is the king of terrors, that he longed for the day of his dissolution.

It is observed, that a desire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that those of the severest and most mortified lives, though they may become so humble as to banish self-flattery, and such weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this desire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die with us; and many think it should do so; and we want not sacred examples to justify the desire of having our memory to outlive our lives; which I mention, because Dr. Donne, by the persuasion of Dr. Fox, easily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to persuade him how, or what monument it should be; that was left to Dr. Donne himself.

A monument being resolved upon, Dr. Donne sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it; and to bring with it a board, of the just height of his body. "These being got, then without delay a choice painter was got to be in readiness to draw his picture, which

* Chap. xxxvii. 3.

was taken as followeth :—Several charcoal fires being first made in his large study, he brought with him into that place his winding-sheet in his hand, and having put off all his clothes, had this sheet put on him, and so tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed, as dead bodies are usually fitted, to be shrouded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus stood, with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside as might show his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purposely turned towards the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our Saviour Jesus." In this posture he was drawn at his just height ; and when the picture was fully finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor Dr. Henry King, then chief residentiary of St. Paul's, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in that church ; and by Dr. Donne's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as an epitaph :

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA, QUIBUS AB ANNIS
TENERRIMIS FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER
INCUBUIT ;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS,
ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS,
XXVII. NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII, MDCXXXI.
HIC, LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE, ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now, having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave ; my desire is, he may rest, till I have told my reader that I have seen many pictures of him, in several habits, and at several ages, and in several postures : and I now mention this, because I have seen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand, at his age of eighteen, with his sword, and what other adornments might then suit with the present fashions of youth, and the giddy gaieties of that age ; and his motto then was——

How much shall I be changed,
Before I am changed !

And if that young and his now dying picture were at this time set together, every beholder might say, " Lord ! how much is Dr. Donne already changed before he is changed !" And the view of them might give my reader occasion to ask himself with some amazement, " Lord ! how much may I also, that am now in health, be changed before I am changed ; before this vile, this changeable body shall put off mortality !" and therefore to prepare for it. But this is not writ so much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private discourses, and often publicly in his sermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind ; especially of his mind from a vertiginous giddiness ; and would as often say, His great and most blessed change was from a temporal to a spiritual employment ; in which he was so happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be lost ; and the beginning of it to be from his first entering into sacred orders, and serving his most merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his last leave of his beloved study ; and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber ; and that week sent at several times for many of his most considerable friends, with whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives ; and then dismissed them, as good Jacob did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next ; for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with anything that concerned this world ; nor ever did ; but, as Job, so he waited for the appointed day of his dissolution.

And now he was so happy as to have nothing to do but to die, to do which, he stood in need of no longer time ; for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called God to witness* he was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands, if that minute God would determine his dissolution. In that sickness he begged of God the constancy to be preserved in that estate for ever ; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident, that he now had a modest assurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change ; and in the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away, and vapoured into spirit, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatifical vision, he said, " I were miserable if I might not die ;" and after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, " Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, not to serve another master—for who speaks like him—but died before him ; for that it was then become useless to him, that now conversed with God on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, and seeing heaven by that illumination by which he saw it, he did, as St. Stephen, look steadfastly into it, till he saw the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God his father ; and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus virtuous was the life : thus excellent, thus exemplary was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's church, which he had appointed for that use some years before his death ; and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God—who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place :—but he was not buried privately, though he desired it ; for,

* In his Book of Devotions, written then.

beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did show it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers; which course, they,—who were never yet known,—continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing, till the stones, that were taken up in that church, to give his body admission into the cold earth—now his bed of rest—were again by the mason's art so levelled and firmed as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

The next day after his burial, some unknown friend, some one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:—

Reader! I am to let thee know,
Donne's body only lies below;
For, could the grave his soul comprise,
Earth would be richer than the skies!

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes; for, as there be some persons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himself a debtor, persons that dare trust God with their charity, and without a witness; so there was by some grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks sent to his two faithful friends* and executors, towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but, after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that sent it; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express: a statue indeed so like Dr. Donne, that—as his friend Sir Henry Wotton hath expressed himself,—It seems to breathe faintly, and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle.

He was of stature moderately tall; of a straight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an unexpressible addition of comeliness.

The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made useful by a commanding judgment.

His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself.

His melting eye showed that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate—especially after he entered into his sacred calling—the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of Heaven: and would often say in a kind of sacred ecstacy,—"Blessed be God that he is God, only and divinely like himself."

* Dr. King and Dr. Montford.

He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to relent at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge, with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body: that body, which once was a temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian dust:—

But I shall see it re-animated.

Feb. 15, 1639. I. W.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET†, LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND DR. DONNE.

He that would write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, must first begin to be
Such as thou wert; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath lived so:
He must have wit to spare, and to hurl down,
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He must have learning plenty; both the laws,
Civil and common, to judge any cause.
Divinity, great store, above the rest,
Not of the last edition, but the best.
He must have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to use, or else he wants thy parts.
He must have friends the highest, able to do,
Such as Mæcenas and Augustus too.
He must have such a sickness, such a death,
Or else his vain descriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee,
Should first be dead;—let it alone for me.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY EVER-DESIRED FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

To have lived eminent, in a degree
Beyond our loftiest thoughts, that is, like thee;
Or t' have had too much merit is not safe,
For such excesses find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes
Can melt themselves in easy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verse,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearse;
But at thine, poem or inscription
—Rich soul of wit and language—we have none.
Indeed a silence does that tomb befit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention justly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whose prerogative
Maintain'd and clothed her so, as none alive
Must now presume to keep her at thy rate,
Tho' he the Indies for her dower estate.

† Dr. Richard Corbet, in 1632 translated from the see of Oxford to that of Norwich, died in 1635. He was in his younger years one of the most celebrated wits in the university of Oxford, afterwards admired for his quaint and eloquent preaching, and much commended for his great liberality and munificence, and particularly in promoting the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Or else, that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there, to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a style
Unworthy such a theme, does but revile
Thy precious dust, and wakes a learned spirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit:
For all a low-pitch'd fancy can devise
Will prove at best but hallow'd injuries.

Thou like the dying swan didst lately sing,
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the king;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath,
Presented so to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and prophesied by all
Thou thither cam'st to preach thy funeral.
Oh! hadst thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewell,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The solemn measures of thy grieved retreat,
Thou might'st the poet's service now have miss'd
As well as then thou didst prevent the priest;
And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office; nor is't fit
Thou, who didst lend our age such sums of wit,
Shouldst now re-borrow from her bankrupt mine
That ore to bury thee which first was thine:
Rather still leave us in thy debt; and know,
Exalted soul, more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory what we can never pay,
Than with embased coin those rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyself, nor blame
Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own frame
Leave thee executor, since but thine own
No pen could do thee justice, nor bays crown
Thy vast deserts; save that we nothing can
Depute, to be thy ashes' guardian.

So jewellers no art or metal trust,
To form the diamond, but the diamond's dust.

H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DR. DONNE.

BY ISAAK WALTON.

Our Donne is dead! and we may sighing say,
We had that man, where language chose to stay,
And show her utmost power. I would not praise
That, and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but as these served to unlock
That cabinet his mind, where such a stock
Of knowledge was reposed, that I lament
Our just and general cause of discontent.

And I rejoice I am not so severe,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his decease; such sad extremities
Can make such men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when so great a loss
Falls on a nation, and they slight the cross,
God hath raised prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witness my pen,
Not used to upbraid the world, though now it must
Freely and boldly, for the cause is just.

Dull age! Oh, I would spare thee, but thou 'rt worse:
Thou art not only dull, but hast a curse
Of black ingratitude; if not, couldst thou
Part with this matchless man, and make no vow
For thee and thine successively to pay
Some sad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth scatter Poetry, wherein
Lay Love's Philosophy? was every sin
Pictured in his sharp Satires, made so foul,
That some have fear'd sin's shapes, and kept their
Safer by reading verse; did he give days,
Past marble monuments, to those whose praise
He would perpetuate? did he—I fear
Envy will doubt—these at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd, did his rich soul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A Crown of Sacred Sonnets,* fit t' adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that blest head of Mary Magdalen,
After she wiped Christ's feet, but not till then;
Did he—fit for such penitents as she
And he to use—leave us a Litany,
Which all devout men love, and doubtless shall,
As times grow better, grow more classical?
Did he write Hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to those great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? knew he all laws?
The grounds and use of physic; but, because
'Twas mercenary, waved it? went to see
That happy place of Christ's nativity?
Did he return and preach him? preach him so,
As since St. Paul none ever did? they know—
Those happy souls that heard him—know this tr
Did he confirm thy aged? convert thy youth?
Did he these wonders? and is his dear loss
Mourn'd by so few? few for so great a cross.

But sure the silent are ambitious all
To be close mourners of his funeral.
If not, in common pity they forbear
By repetitions to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceived and hid, consumes
Man's life insensibly,—as poison's fumes
Corrupt the brain,—take silence for the way
T' enlarge the soul from these walls, mud and cl
—Materials of this body—to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiscuous pai
Lessens those joys we have; for with him all
Are satisfied with joys essential.

Dwell on these joys, my thoughts! Oh! do not
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he loved me: waste not my swift years,
Which haste to David's seventy, fill'd with fear
And sorrows for his death; forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my first is daily paid for sin,
Forget to pay my second sigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching, and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let
My flesh be no more heard; it will obtrude
This lethargy: so should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should so be broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: for which cause, I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and parting with it, griev
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument, as matchless as his worth.

IZ. WA

April 7, 1631.

* La Corona.

THE

LIFE OF SIR HENRY WOTTON, KNIGHT,

LATE

PROVOST OF ETON COLLEGE.

Sir Henry Wotton—whose life I now intend to write—was born in the year of our redemption 1568, in Bocton-hall,—commonly called Bocton, or Boughton-place, or palace,—in the parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent. Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying and being beautified by the parish church of Bocton Malherbe adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill, as gives the advantage of a large prospect, and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much, as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts, and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negociations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any, that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part—and but a part—of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, knight, was born about the year of Christ 1460: he, living in the reign of King Edward the Fourth, was by him trusted to be Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, knight, —son and heir of the said Sir Robert—was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh; he was made treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England: but, saith Holinshed*, out of a virtuous modesty, he refused it.

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and heir of the said Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry, that occasions this relation, was born in the year of Christ 1521. He was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had—besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors—many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood,—she was then with him at his Bocton-hall,—and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity of mind. A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary, Mr. William Lambarde†, in his "Perambulation of Kent."

* In his Chronicle.

† This celebrated lawyer and antiquary was born 18th Oct. 1536. He was bred to the law, and in 1597 was made Keeper of the Rolls, and in 1600 Keeper of the Records in the Tower. His principal works were a collection and Latin translation of the Saxon laws; a Discourse on the English Courts of Justice; another on the office of justices; and the Perambulation of Kent. He died on the 19th of August, 1601.

This Thomas had four sons, Sir **Edward**, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for many and great employments in the state, during her reign, and sent several times ambassador into foreign nations. After her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Household, and called to be of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was, in the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth's reign—with Robert, Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio, king of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour—knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries, by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account:—

"The descent of these fore-named Wottons was all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed; but if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton, who lived in the reign of King Richard the Second, or before him upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was doctor of law, and sometime dean both of York and Canterbury; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments*, having been sent nine times ambassador unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Councillor to King Henry the Eighth, to Edward the Sixth, to Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times—and not unsuccessfully—employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, died, saith learned Camden, "full of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also, by the will of King Henry the Eighth, made one of his executors, and chief secretary of state to his son, that pious prince, Edward the Sixth. Concerning which Nicholas Wotton, I shall say but this little more; that he refused—being offered it by Queen Elizabeth—to be Archbishop of Canterbury†,—and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred, as left a stock of reputation to their posterity: such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments, had been pleased to have commended his to posterity; but since some years are now past, and they have all—I know not why—forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some‡ that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with distrust of mine own abilities; and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, knight, after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law; in the prosecution whereof, which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents, he was, by divers of his friends, earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, that if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons; namely,

Those that had children;
Those that had law-suits;
And those that were of his kindred.

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met, in Westminster Hall, with Mrs. Eleonora Morton, widow to Robert Morton, of Kent, Esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law: and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition and affect her person; for the tears of lovers, or beauty dressed in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted; which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong that he resolved to solicit her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her, who was the daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent, he had only Henry, his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood, for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble; which she was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to a higher form,

* Camden in his Britannia. † Holinshed.

‡ Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nic. Oudart, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant.

which was very early, he was sent to Winchester school; a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was, at a fit age, removed from that school, to be a commoner of New College, in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College; where, within that year, he was, by the chief of that college, persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use. It was the Tragedy of Tancredo, which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared, he had, in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight, Baptista Guarini*, whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments, thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded master of arts, and at that time read in Latin three lectures De Oculo; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger, teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this optic question:—Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without? And after that and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of seeing; by which we do not only discover Nature's secrets, but, with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing), behold the great light of the world, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order and motion of the celestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our common mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralise his own condition, who, in a short time, like those very flowers, decays, withers, and quickly returns again to that earth from which both had their first being.

* The celebrated author of Il Pastor Fido. He was born at Ferrara in 1537, and died at Venice the 7th Oct. 1612.

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis †, then professor of the civil law in Oxford, to call him *Henrice mi ocelle*; which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the university.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded master of arts, his father, whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some like reverential expression, as, "That good man, my father," or, "My father, the best of men;" about that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of a hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concerns him may not be buried without a relation, which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, whom I formerly mentioned, being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest, and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But, though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased, yet doubtless he could not but consider that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside than intend totally to lose it; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh, of which double dreams the learned have made many observations, and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica ‡, the mother of St. Austin, that he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly, and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian. This, I believe, the good dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God, though the causes of dreams be often unknown, hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human

† This noted civilian having left Italy along with his father, Matthew Gentilis, who had embraced the reformed religion, came into England, and died at London in 1608, aged 58 years. He published three books; "De Jure Belli," which proved very useful to Grotius in his great work; "De Jure Belli et Pacis;" and also a tractate, "De Latinitate Veteris Bibliorum Versionis," with other works.

‡ St. Austin's Confession.

wisdom could not foresee; upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the queen (it was Queen Mary), and besought her that she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable prison; declaring that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see and speak to her majesty*.

It was done as the dean desired, and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary and Philip, king of Spain; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her privy council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation, yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it; believing, as they said, it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number, Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley Abbey, in Kent, betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship, was the principal actor; who, having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry, especially of Kent, to side with him, and he being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life; so did the Duke of Suffolk and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he could not be ignorant that another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions, and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it; that God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in showing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past, and the particular is this.—This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the university treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains as, by a postscript in his letter, to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter, which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before, came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the university to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both, being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer, foresee and foretell the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who, being then in London, where he died, and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Boeton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the cathedral church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral. This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis, whom I formerly named, that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry, for so Gentilis used to call him; and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that the friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the university.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne, sometime dean of St. Paul's; a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say anything, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in a university, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

* The author of the "Account of the Deans of Canterbury," has ingeniously conjectured that this dream of the good dean was a mere political contrivance, the result of deep deliberation, to preserve the life of his nephew, whose intimacy with Sir Thomas Wyatt would probably have induced him to join in the conspiracy.

In Oxford he staid till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the twenty-second year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure; as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he staid but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza*, then very aged, and with Isaac Casaubon†, in whose house, if I be rightly informed, Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy, the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life; where, both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning and all manner of arts, as picture, sculpture, chemistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour, which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that, by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert, earl of Essex, then one of the darlings of fortune, and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth, invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries; the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe‡, sometime of Merton College in Oxford, and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth; Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the university for his learning; nor, after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniard, and also in that, which was the earl's last, into Ireland; that voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the queen to anger, and worse at his return into England, upon whose immoveable favour the earl had built such sandy hopes as encouraged him to those undertakings which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation, yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention, by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was, by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard, shortly after, that the earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England: having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence, which city is not more eminent for the great duke's court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts, in which number he

* This well known reformer, the successor of Calvin, died at Geneva the 13th of October, 1605, aged eighty-six years.

† This illustrious scholar, pronounced by Joseph Scaliger to be the best Grecian of his time, was born at Geneva in 1588. He read lectures on the belles-lettres, first at his native place, and afterwards at Paris. Henry IV. of France appointed him his librarian, and in vain attempted to withdraw him from his profession of the reformed religion. After that king's death he obtained the permission of the queen regent to visit England for a limited time, and he accompanied Sir Henry Wotton thither in October 1610. He was received with much distinction by King James, who granted him a pension of three hundred pounds, as also two prebends, one at Canterbury and the other at Westminster. He likewise wrote to the queen regent, to desire Casaubon might remain longer in England than she had first allowed him. But Casaubon did not long enjoy these advantages, as a painful disease in the bladder proved fatal on the 1st of July, 1614, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory by Morton, Bishop of Durham.

‡ A man of considerable wit, learning, and talents, who was ruined by an ambitious and restless disposition. He was born at Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire, about 1560. In 1576 he was entered of Trinity College, Oxford, but was expelled from thence for some sarcasms on the founder. His learning obtained him admission into Merton College, where he was made Greek professor; but this office he abandoned to follow the fortunes of the Earl of Essex, over whose mind he contrived to gain great ascendancy. He is said to have been mainly instrumental in persuading Essex to engage in the mad scheme which terminated with his ruin. Cuffe shared his patron's fate. He was hanged at Tyburn on the 30th of March, 1601.

there met with his old friend Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where, in the English College, he had very many friends; their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion; and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befel him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and interest with our King James, then king of Scotland, which I shall proceed to relate.

But first I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth, or she and her council, were never willing to declare her successor, yet James, then king of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion, even Rome itself, and those of this nation, knowing that the death of the queen and the establishing of her successor were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a protestant prince to succeed her. And as the pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth * had, both by the judgment and practice of the jesuited papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so, if we may believe an angry adversary, a secular priest †, against a jesuit, you may believe that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence, which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth, Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence ‡ had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then king of Scots. The duke abhorring this fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that king; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the duke, and the duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, despatched him into Scotland with letters to the king, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the king at Stirling. Being there, he used means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the king's bed-chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his majesty, assuring him, that the business which he was to negociate was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his king.

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the king, the king, after a little wonder—mixed with jealousy—to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name,—which was said to be Octavio Baldi, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier—which, Italian-like, he then wore; and being entered the chamber, he found there with the king three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber: at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the king observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the king in Italian; which when the king had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the king in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and really performed by the king, during all his abode there, which was about three months; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the king, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead; and James, king of the Scots, proclaimed king of England. The duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the king with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found amongst other of the late queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was after Lord Wotton, comptroller of the house, of whom he demanded, if he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign travel? The lord replied he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the king, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice

* Pope Pius V., without any previous admonition or citation, had passed a private sentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth, which in 1576 he caused to be published, and to be fixed upon the gate of the palace of the Bishop of London.

† William Watson, a secular priest, published a book known as his Quodlibets, written with great acrimony against the Jesuits, exhibiting their arts of equivocation and mental reservation. He was, however, himself hanged for high treason in conspiring the death of King James I., together with William Clark, a popish priest, and George Brook, brother to Lord Cobham, in 1603. He practised the arts he had deprecated, for he deceived his accomplices by persuading them "that the king before his coronation was not an actual but a political king, and therefore no treason could be committed against him."

‡ Ferdinand I., of the house of the Medici.

or Florence; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the king, "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the king if he knew him. To which the king answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the king, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying, he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with: and said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose: which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the king did so, most of those two-and-twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the king having resolved according to his motto—*beati pacifici*—to have a friendship with his neighbour kingdoms of France and Spain; and also, for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an allianee with the State of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who, considering the smallness of his own estate,—which he never took care to augment,—and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having, after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the king for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name; but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton,* his nephew, who went his secretary, and William Bedel,† a man of choice learning and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain.

And though his dear friend Dr. Donne—then a private gentleman—was not one of the number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter, sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

Sir,

After those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good and great king's loved hand and fear'd name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
And, how he may, makes you almost the same;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream:

After those learned papers, which your hand
Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too;
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers which friends send
With glad grief to your seaward steps, farewell,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell:

Admit this honest paper, and allow
It such an audience as yourself would ask;
What you would say at Venice, this says now,
And has for nature what you have for task.

To swear much love; nor to be changed before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting wit.

But 'tis an easier load—though both oppress—
To want, than govern greatness; for we are
In that, our own and only business;
In this, we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are placed
In their last furnace, in activity,
Which fits them; schools, and courts, and wars o'erpast
To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me:—if there be such a thing as I—
Fortune—if there be such a thing as she—
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But, though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increase, God is as near me here:
And, to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length and ease are alike everywhere.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then duke; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such—Sir Henry Wotton would often say it—as the State of Venice could not then have wanted; there having been formerly, in the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magistrate; of which, for the information of common readers I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of

* Son of Sir George Morton, of Esture, in Kent. He was several times employed as an envoy by King James, and at one period officiated as secretary to the Princess Elizabeth at Heidelberg. He sat in Parliament as representative of the University of Cambridge. He died Nov. 1625.

† Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland. See more of him, page 34.

the Ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof—the lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess,—the clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all public service and taxes, and from all secular judgment; so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the abbot of Nervesa, and a canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name: nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling;—for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders,—and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation. These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the Eighth and that republic: I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering, as I conceive, that in the late council of Trent, it was at last, after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the pope's present power, in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by that council, "That though discipline and especial excommunication be one of the chief sinews of Church-government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it; for which end it was declared to be very profitable; yet it was also declared, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care, because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly, it became more contemned than feared." And, though this was the advice of that council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians; yet this prudent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the Fifth, who succeeded him,—though not immediately, yet in the same year,—being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that State to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening if he were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the republic, who still offered to show both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year, the pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance; till at last the pope's zeal to the Apostolic See did make him to excommunicate the duke, the whole senate, and all their dominions, and, that done, to shut up all their churches; charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him: and to that end, upon the hearing of the pope's interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:—

"That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a Papal Interdict, published there, as well against the law of God, as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the Council of Ten, upon pain of death. And made it loss of estate and nobility, but to speak in the behalf of the Jesuits*."

Then was Duado their ambassador called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by order of the state: and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit, might safely vent it against the pope, either by free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the State advised with Father Paul, a holy and learned friar, (the author of the History of the Council of Trent,) whose advice was, neither to provoke the pope, nor lose their own right: he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the State, "That the pope was trusted to keep two keys, one of prudence, and the other of power: and that, if they were not both used together, power alone is not effectual in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned Protestants; which was believed by many, for that it was observed that the English Ambassador was so often in conference with the senate, and his chaplain Mr. Bedel, more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: and also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the king of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the mean time they required the king's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England;—that pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church;—namely, To endeavour the calling of a free council, for the settlement of peace in Christendom; and that he doubted not but that the French king, and divers other princes, would join to assist in so good a work; and, in the mean time, the sin of this breach, both with his and the Venetian dominions, must of necessity lie at the pope's door.

In this contention—which lasted almost two years—the pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his pen to defend their just cause: which was by him so performed, that the pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a show of acknowledging it: for they

* The Venetians had at this time banished the Jesuits from their territories, because they had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their implicit adherence to the papal power.

made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James; for whose sake principally, Padre Paulo compiled that eminent history of the remarkable Council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the king's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta; where, having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness,—those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation,—with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo;—a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them:—and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador in these very words:

"Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ."

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished:

"An ambassador is an honest man, sent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country."

But the word for *lie*—being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn—was not so expressed in Latin, as would admit, in the hands of an enemy especially, so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this Albo, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius,* a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the king, and his ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the king to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus, one of the chiefs of Augusta, in the universal language,† which he caused to be printed, and given and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another apology to King James; which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his majesty, who was a pure judge of it, could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, that Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And, as that man of great wit and useful fancy, his friend Dr. Donne, gave in a will of his, a will of conceits, his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both; so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and—which is the best fruit error can bring forth—for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest—as though it had been an entailed love—was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for, by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious, and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse—with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the State of Venice, that it was observed—such was either his merit or his modesty—they never denied him any request.

But all this shows but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the reader what use he made of the interest which these procured him: and that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German Empire and in Italy; where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and, by his interest, shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

* A German, educated as a Protestant, but who embraced the tenets of the Romish church on reading the Annals of Baronius. His writings are virulent in the extreme, and nothing but the utter extirpation of the Protestants could satisfy his fiery zeal. In his latter days he pretended to prophesy, but could obtain little attention to his vaticinations. He died at Padua in 1640.

† Mark Velser, or Welser, was born at Augsburg, June 20th, 1558, of a noble and ancient German family. He pursued his studies at Rome under the celebrated Muretus, and upon his return into his native city, having acquired great reputation at the bar, became one of its first magistrates. He was distinguished for his learning, and was a patron of learned men.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples: one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk: and those English, having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those—which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment and unpitied poverty in a strange nation—were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him, for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that besides several other foreign employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice ambassador to the Republic of Venice. And at his last going thither, he was employed ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando the Second; and that his employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was, by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the emperor, his court, and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion, without bloodshed. But there were at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating, there was a battle fought*, in the managery whereof there were so many miserable errors on the one side,—so Sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the king—and so advantageous events to the emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty; so that Sir Henry, seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the emperor, was so bold as to remember him, That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace. Which advice, though it seemed to be spoken with some passion,—his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it—was yet taken in good part by the Emperor; who replied, That he would consider his advice. And though he looked on the king his master, as an abettor of his enemy, the Palsgrave; yet for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit; and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him: which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina,—an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained—acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohemia; for so she was pleased he should always call her. Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon; as, namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German Princes, and the Republic of Venice, for the English Merchants: and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's† return to the Church of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me,—his late Majesty's Letter-Office having now suffered a strange alienation,—and indeed I want time too; for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective

* The fatal battle near Prague in November 1620, when the Prince of Anhalt, general of the Bohemian forces, was totally defeated.

† Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, was born about 1561 at Arba, and educated at Padua. This very remarkable man was one among the very few who having once become members of the Jesuits' Society have renounced the doctrines of that order. His books, "De Republica Ecclesiastica," introduced him to Bedel, who has been before mentioned, who, when at Venice in the capacity of chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, read and corrected them. De Dominis returned to England with Bedel, and published his work in London. Having reconciled himself to the English church, he was received with all possible marks of respect. He preached and wrote against the Romish religion, and the king gave him the deanery of Windsor, the mastership of the Savoy, and the rich living of West Ildesley, in Berkshire. Ambition appears to have been the ruling spirit with De Dominis; he could not be content with the marks of distinction he received in England, and evidently had expected to have greater things done for him. This frame of mind led him to give ready ear to Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, one of the most accomplished intriguers and finished ambassadors, according to the worst version of Sir Henry Wotton's definition, that ever existed. He returned to Rome in 1622 and abjured his errors. But he was disappointed in his hopes of promotion there, for the very first opportunity was taken of taxing him with heresy. He was seized and thrown into prison, where he died in 1625. It was discovered after his death that his opinions were not agreeable to the church of Rome; upon which his corpse was dug up, and burnt with his writings, in Flora's Field, by a decree of the Inquisition. We are indebted to him for Father Paul's "History of the Council of Trent," the manuscript of which he procured for Archbishop Abbot.

in this place, by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last embassy into England.

Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natu minimus, à Serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem ; semel ad Unitos Superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremò ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates Imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.

To London he came the year before King James died ; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office, which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities ; and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls' place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæsar*, who then possessed it, and then grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope ; and his condition required a present support : for in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father ; and—which is worse—was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the king's payment of his arrears, due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists : this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day : for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very measure of congruity," he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, "Care not for to-morrow," were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of Providence, that in this juncture of time, the provostship of his majesty's college of Eton, became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray†, for which there were, as the place deserved, many earnest and powerful suitors to the king. And Sir Henry, who had for many years—like Sisyphus—rolled the restless stone of a state-employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age—being now almost threescore years—seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends, to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the king of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy,—which I have not time to relate,—he got a grant of it from his majesty‡.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind : but money was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place ; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother ; and by him, when he was comptroller of the king's household, was made a great officer in his majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey—in whom there was a radical honesty—were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expressed by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears,—for less would not settle him in the college ; and the want of such a sum wrinkled his face with care,—'twas his own expression,—and, that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his college, and Invidiæ remedium writ over his study door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was, by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest at court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the college ; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning, the college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage ; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in

* Sir Julius Cæsar, alias Adelmare, was the eldest son of Cæsar Dalmarius, an Italian, physician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. His bounty was so extensive that he might be called "the almoner general of the nation." He printed a catalogue of the books, parchments, and papers belonging to the Court of Requests, in quarto, of singular use to antiquaries, but now almost as scarce as the MSS. themselves. (Peck's Desid. Cur. lib. xiv. p. 17.) This venerable lawyer died on the 28th of April, 1639, in the 79th year of his age. He lies buried in Great St. Helen's Church, London, under a monument, having an inscription importing that "He was willing to pay his debt to nature whenever God pleased," engraven on the representation of a deed with a seal annexed to it.

† The successor of Sir Henry Savile in the provostship of Eton College. He was a native of Scotland, tutor and secretary to Prince Charles. His zeal in opposing the marriage of the prince with the Infanta of Spain, occasioned his imprisonment for some time, along with Dr. George Hackwell, Archdeacon of Surrey, the author of "A Discourse against the Spanish Match." He died on the 1st of April, 1623.

‡ He was instituted to the provostship on the 26th of July, 1623, having obtained the appointment by surrendering a grant of the reversion of the mastership of the Rolls and of another office. Although his two immediate predecessors were laymen, yet he took orders (probably from some legal doubt, as we find that in the reign of Charles II. upon the application of Waller for the same post, the council decided that the office could only be held by a clergyman), and was ordained deacon in 1627. The value of this preferment in the reign of Henry VIII. is known from the following story, told by Lloyd in his "State Worthies," p. 79. "Sir Thomas Wyatt one day told the king that he had found out a living of one hundred pounds in the year, more than enough, and prayed him to bestow it upon him. 'Truly,' said the king, 'we have no such in England.' 'Yes, sir,' said Sir Thomas, 'the Provostship of Eton, where a man has his diet, his lodging, his horsemeat, his servants' wages, his riding charges, and a one hundred pounds per annum besides.'"

kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers; and, as Sir William Davenant * has happily expressed the like of another person,

> Laugh at the graver business of the state,
> Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the statutes of the college; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did, being made deacon with all convenient speed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit. To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the king, by whose goodness I now am in this condition—a condition which that emperor Charles the Fifth seemed to approve; who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might, by devout meditations, consult with God, which the rich or busy men seldom do, and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions: and after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him that makes the outgoings of the morning to praise him; even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the college. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call his idle time not idly spent, saying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was, beside many other things of necessity and beauty, at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators, persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon. And he would often say, "That none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school, without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education; of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to show the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church, the priest seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him, by a boy of the choir, this question, writ in a small piece of paper: "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written word of God."

The next vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest: "Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were damned, that were excommunicated because the Pope and the Duke of Venice could not agree about their temporal power? even those poor Christians that knew not why they quarrelled. Speak your conscience." To which he underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez-moi."

To one that asked him, "Whether a papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the papists, he gave this advice: "Pray, sir, forbear till you have studied the points better; for the wise Italians have this proverb, 'He that understands amiss concludes worse.' And take heed of thinking the farther you go from the church of Rome, the nearer you are to God."

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:—

"In my travel towards Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Ley-

* Well known as the godson, or as some say, and he himself was not unwilling to have believed, a rather nearer relation than *god-son*, to Shakspeare. He succeeded Ben Jonson in the office of poet laureate, but his productions, suited only to the vitiated taste of the times, have now lost all consideration. He died in April, 1668, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

den, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius, then the professor of divinity in that university—a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions, as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do, then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins * of Cambridge, from whose book, "Of the Order and Causes of Salvation," which first was writ in Latin, Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequents of his doctrine; intending them, it is said, to come privately to Mr. Perkins' own hands, and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him, and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him; for, though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them, but since his death his sons did not. And it is pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though, since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet for the most part they have rather satisfied themselves than convinced the dissenting party. And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which yet may mean well, many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning, which yet may preach well, men that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the church of England, if there be any, will yet in this world be tampering with and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not."

And here it offers itself, I think not unfitly, to tell the reader that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's being designed for the employment of an ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negotiations. To whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism: that, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth; it seems a state paradox, for, says Sir Henry Wotton, "you shall never be believed, and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and it will also put your adversaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the reader to look back with me, whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

* Mr. William Perkins, of Christ College, in the University of Cambridge, where he died in 1602. He was minister of St. Andrew's parish, in Cambridge. "His life," says Fuller, "was so pious, so spotless, that malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which she knew her teeth could not enter."

I have told you that are my reader, that, at Sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his secretary; and I am next to tell you, that Sir Albertus died secretary of state to our late king; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton, at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly guess by these following expressions; the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

"—— And, my dear Nich., when I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton his departure out of this world, who was dearer to me than mine own being in it: what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but our Creator's will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature and of all fortune, when he taketh to himself now one and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we must study upon earth; let us therefore, that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it. And my good Nich." &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nich. Pey: the other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

Silence, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell:
Yet, let me borrow from mine own unrest,
A time to bid him, whom I loved, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have served my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now, congealed with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent, Here my Albertus lies.

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
And womb of earth, that doth his corse embrace:
While others sing his praise, let me engrave
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful tears in showers shall flow,
To humanize the flints on which I tread.

Where, though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
And none between my weakness judge and me;
Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here,
As if some muse would listen to my lay?
When all, distuned, sit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
Discharged from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;
Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton ambassador to the State of Venice, he sent also an ambassador to the King of France *, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall, late Bishop of Norwich, whose many and useful works speak his great merit; with the ambassador to Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors were all bred in one university, all of one college†, all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain, Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him (who of the three was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the church of England, and to declare himself for the church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the ambassador, and betaking himself to a monasterial life, in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bishop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth (it is the first epistle in his printed Decades) to persuade his return, or to show the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed, betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth, divers letters, which be extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles the First:

"May it please your most gracious Majesty,

"Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel—now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk—governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there, I am bound in all conscience and truth—so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment—to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rights of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travails abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known to the king your father, of most blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

"Your majesty's
"Most humble and faithful servant,
"H. WOTTON."

To this letter I shall add this; that he was—to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton—made governor of the said college ‡; and that, after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be bishop of Kilmore §. In both places his life was so holy, as seemed to equal the primitive Christians: for as they, so he kept all the ember-weeks, observed—besides his private devotions—the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such, as showed his affections were set upon things that are above; for indeed, his whole life brought forth the fruits of the Spirit; there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop, "that he have a good report of those that be without ‖;" so had he: for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion, —of which there were very many in his diocese,— did yet—such is the power of visible piety—ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing, and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned writings which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain; and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, doctor in divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merits of many others, that had the happiness to attend Sir

* James Hay, then Viscount Doncaster, a great favourite with James I., and employed by him on many missions, and created successively Baron Hay, of Sanley in Yorkshire, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle. He was famed for his high breeding and graceful manners, and particularly distinguished himself by expensive magnificence, which he carried to such an excess as to leave no relics of a large fortune behind him at his death, which took place 25th April 1636.

† Emanuel College in Cambridge.

‡ Aug. 1627. § Sept. 3, 1629. ‖ 1 Tim. iii. 7.

Henry in his foreign employments: but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther, and in it the history of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire; by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend, Dr. Duppa, the late reverend bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late majesty King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a persuasive loving violence—to which may be added a promise of 500*l.* a year—force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the history of England; in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the Sixth, the founder of that college, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being. But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained; he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the king would have made satisfaction: but being still delayed with court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscionable policy. But there is no doubt but that his chief design was a christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

In the name of God Almighty and all-merciful, I, Henry Wotton, provost of his majesty's college by Eton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last will and testament thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed redeemer and mediator, through his all sole-sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect; in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his Holy Spirit, the true eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at or near Eton, to be buried in the chapel of the said college, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived—my God knows—in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Bocton Malherbe, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that parish church, as near as may be to the sepulchre of my good father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly: and considering that time moulders even marble to dust,—for *—monuments themselves must die; therefore did he—waving the common way—think fit rather to preserve his name—to which the son of Sirach adviseth all men—by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition, and preserve his memory.

It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author:

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

Nomen alias quære.

Which may be Englished thus.

Here lies the first author of this sentence:

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

Inquire his name elsewhere.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence: but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, "Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun." But grant, that in his various reading he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of saints which is above, that a holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that, in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant, into which he daily expected his admission; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell

* Juven. Sat. x. 146.

the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous and more destructive to humble piety; and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, our reverend Hooker says, "former simplicity, and softness of spirit, is not now to be found, because Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness." It will be good to think, that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph; the rest of his will follows in his own words.

"Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last will and testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton, knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of the fellows of Eton College, best acquainted with my books, and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last will and testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his majesty's exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my forenamed executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my testament, by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands, or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison. And first, to my most dear sovereign and master, of incomparable goodness,—in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man,—I leave four pictures at large of those dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the back side, which hang in my great ordinary dining-room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto: likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous Duke Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item. The picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand, long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

"Item. I leave his said majesty all the papers and negotiations of Sir Nich. Throgmorton, knight, during his famous employment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his majesty will think fit to be preserved in his paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank*, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton, his son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. Item. I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo, in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful prince, the picture of the elected and crowned queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues, through the clouds of her fortune. To my lord's grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my picture of divine love, rarely copied from one in the king's galleries, of my presentation to his majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy lord bishop of London, lord high treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world; most humbly beseeching the said lord archbishop his grace, and the lord bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services,—wherein I more studied the public honour than mine own utility,—some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last will and testament shall present unto their lordships, without their farther trouble; hoping likewise in his majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears. To —— for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great loadstone, and a piece of amber, of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece of crystal sexangular—as they grow all—grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhætian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most humbly unto his lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed spiritual lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item. I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state,—whom I found my great friend in point of necessity,—the Four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour, being in little form, which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

* Son of Sir John Windebank, of Haines Hill in Berkshire. He was knighted and made secretary of state in 1632, but in 1646, being accused of protecting Romish priests and recusants, he was obliged to fly to Paris, where he died in exile.

"To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this will. I leave to him likewise my viol de gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremoveable affection. To my other supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof, are some * fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no farther to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the library at Eton College, I leave all my manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the fellows a plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the verge, with this motto within, Amor unit omnia.

"This is my last will and testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our redemption 1637, and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

"Nich. Oudert. "HENRY WOTTON."
Geo. Lash."

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the king,—than whom none was more willing—conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Boeton Hall, where, he would say, he found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful company, which he called the living furniture of that place: and a restoration of his strength, by the connaturalness of that which he called his genial air.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Boeton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, how useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there! And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that school, and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me: sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed when time—which I therefore thought slow-paced—had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me that those were but empty hopes; for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretell, "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and, questionless, possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death.

After his return from Winchester to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative: in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales†,—learned Mr. John Hales,—then a fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose: "I have, in my passage to my grave, met with most of those joys of which a discoursive soul is capable; and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content; but have often met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, though I have been, and am a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise him for it: and I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let him take the glory of his great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death; that harbour that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world wherein dwelleth righteousness; and I long for it!"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting: but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they, and those other common infirmities that accompany age, were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him,—came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretell that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to

* In it were Italian locks, picklocks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

† See page 40.

be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever; in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life —that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom— that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy and second year of his age, at Eton College; where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain gravestone over him: dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory, and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

Iz. Wa.

AN

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON

WRIT BY

MR. ABRAHAM COWLEY.

What shall we say, since silent now is he,
Who when he spoke all things would silent be?
Who had so many languages in store,
That only Fame shall speak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd, must see;
He's gone to Heaven, on his fourth embassy.
On earth he travell'd often, not to say,
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away;
For in whatever land he chanced to come,
He read the men and manners, bringing home
Their wisdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer, not to see.
So well he understood the most and best
Of tongues that Babel sent into the west;
Spoke them so truly, that he had, you'd swear,
Not only lived, but been born everywhere.
Justly each nation's speech to him was known,
Who for the world was made, not us alone;
Nor ought the language of that man be less,
Who in his breast had all things to express.
We say that learning's endless, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date,
He did the utmost bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not so large as was his mind;
But, like the brave Pellean youth, did moan,
Because that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he saw that he through all had past,
He died—lest he should idle grow at last.

A. Cowley.

THE

LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS

OF

THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

TO THE READER.

I THINK it necessary to inform my reader, that Dr. Camden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by design to oppose what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a necessity to say, that in it there be many material mistakes, and more omissions. I conceive some of his mistakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the bishop's omissions, I suppose his more weighty business and want of time made him pass over many things without that due examination, which my better leisure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myself, I can say, I hope, or rather know, there are no material mistakes in what I here present to you that shall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this distance of time undertake to justify; for, though I have used great diligence, and compared relations and circumstances, and probable results and expressions; yet I shall not impose my belief upon my reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: but, if there shall appear any material omission, I desire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectify any such mistake in a second impression, which the printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak but faithful endeavours may become a better monument, and in some degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confess, that when I consider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what satisfaction and advantages many eminent scholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in sixty years no man did undertake to tell posterity of the excellences of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more at myself, that I have been persuaded to it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader shall, unless my introduction shall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been persuaded, by a friend whom I reverence, and ought to obey, to write the Life of RICHARD HOOKER; the happy author of five—if not more—of the eight learned books of The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with some unwillingness: because I foresee that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my age, a work of much labour, to inquire, consider, research, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and must therefore not only look back to his death,—now sixty-four years past—but almost fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth; and gather thence such observations and prognostics, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee, and foresee also that it is impossible to escape censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me,—for I consider the age in which I live—and shall therefore but entreat of my reader a suspension of his censures, till I have made known unto him some reasons, which I myself would now gladly believe do make me in some measure fit for this undertaking: and if these reasons shall not acquit me from all censures, they may at least abate of their severity, and this is all I can probably hope for. My reasons follow.

About forty years past—for I am now past the seventy of my age—I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer,—now with God,—grand-nephew unto the great archbishop of that name; a family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his sisters I had an entire and free friendship; one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer*, a bosom friend and sometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and after president of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have occasion to mention them in the following discourse; as also George Cranmer, their brother, of whose useful abilities my reader may have a more authentic testimony than my pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer and his two fore-named sisters had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their education with him in his house, when he was parson of Bishops'-

* A noted preacher, and chaplain to James I. He published Hooker's five books of Ecclesiastical Polity, with an excellent preface, about four years after Hooke s death. He died on the 3rd of April 1614, and was buried at Oxford.

Bourne, near Canterbury, in which city their good father then lived. They had, I say, a part of their education with him, as myself, since that time, a happy cohabitation with them; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquisitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his person, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which enquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher*, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham: as also the learned John Hales, of Eton College; and with them also—who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker—I have had many discourses concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitness, for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend; in the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to my introduction.

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It is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born at Heavy-tree, near, or within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter; a city which may justly boast that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as, indeed, the county may, in which it stands, that it hath furnished this nation with Bishop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of parents that were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in some degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair testimony, and that nature is not so partial as always to give the great blessings of wisdom and learning, and with them the greater blessings of virtue and government, to those only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion—if we may guess by him at the age of forty—was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was slow even in his youth, and so was his speech, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed, —so far as inquiry is able to look back at this distance of time,—that at his being a school-boy he was an early questionist, quietly inquisitive Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with them a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning, imposed then upon him as a scholar, made his master and others to believe him to have an inward blessed divine light, and therefore to consider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better age.

This meekness and conjuncture of knowledge, with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his parents—who intended him for an apprentice—to continue him at school till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. And the good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward than the content of so hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety, those conscientious principles of loving and fearing God, of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls; that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare. These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did after attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover,—and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar, —was very solicitous with John Hooker, then chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college, though it were but in a mean degree; still urging and assuring him, that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These reasons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good master, and God's blessing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promise, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed by him, and with the assistance of the learned Mr. John Jewel†; of whom this may be

* James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, was born in Dublin on the 4th of January, 1580. He was educated at Trinity College; in 1620 was made Bishop of Meath, and in 1625 was translated to Armagh. He was a severe sufferer in the Irish rebellion, in which he lost everything except his library, which he fortunately succeeded in preserving. With this chosen treasure he retreated to England, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement. He died on the 25th of March 1655-56.

† Dr. John Jewel, whose name is so well known as one among the illustrious list of the champions of the reformed

noted, that he left, or was about the first of Queen Mary's reign expelled out of, Corpus Christi college in Oxford,—of which he was a fellow,—for adhering to the truth of those principles of religion, to which he had assented and given testimony in the days of her brother and predecessor, Edward the Sixth; and this John Jewel, having within a short time after, a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, was forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; and, with that safety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worship for which he suffered.

But the cloud of that persecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and state did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and with him many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into England about the first of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was sent a commissioner, or visitor, of the churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendship with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

About the second or third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good, and to oblige his friends, and now a power added to this willingness; this John Hooker gave him a visit in Salisbury, and besought him for charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman, for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place: which was done accordingly; and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave his schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents; promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment, which he performed: for about the fifteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi college *. Which he did; and Dr. Cole had—according to a promise made to the bishop—provided for him both a tutor—which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds †—and a clerk's place in that college: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued pension of his patron, the good bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost; and even, like St. John Baptist, to be sanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as Monica, the mother of St. Augustine did, that he might become a true Christian; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for hers, as for his own sake.

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table: which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother and friends: and at the bishop's parting with him, the bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which, when the bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return, the bishop said to him, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse: be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats, to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: and so God bless you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which happy change may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it

religion, was born in the parish of Berry Narber, Devon, on the 24th of May, 1522. During the reign of Queen Mary he was forced to take refuge abroad, where he was subjected to trials and sufferings which materially injured his health. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and was made bishop of Salisbury in 1559. He died on the 23rd of Sept. 1571. His "Apology for the Church of England," was widely celebrated and translated into many languages.

* Dr. John Cole, who exchanged the office of presidentship of Corpus Christi College for that of dean of Lincoln with Dr. Reynolds, suffered persecution under the reign of Queen Mary, and was forced to take refuge in Germany. He is favourably known as one of the assistants of Miles Coverdale in his translation of the Bible.

† Dr. Reynolds was highly celebrated among the church reformers. He was professor of divinity at Oxford, and the successor of Dr. Cole in the presidentship of Corpus Christi College. He died on the 21st of May, 1607.

became a religious question, Whether his last ejaculations or his soul, did first enter into heaven?

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. Cole raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his studies, and assuring him, he should neither want food nor raiment,—which was the utmost of his hopes,—for he would become his patron.

And so he was for about nine months, and not longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys*—sometime bishop of London, and after archbishop of York—had also been in the days of Queen Mary, forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for some years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship as lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in September, 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel had an occasion to begin a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr. Hooker then was: for the bishop said, "I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example: and my greatest care shall be of the last; and, God willing, this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin." And the bishop did so about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

And doubtless, as to these two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had spent five in the university; and had, by a constant, unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted studies, he had made the subtlety of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers. So that by these, added to his great reason, and his restless industry added to both, he did not only know more of causes and effects, but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a most blessed and clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils,—which in time were many,—but especially to his two first, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair testimony in the ensuing relation.

This for Mr. Hooker's learning. And for his behaviour, amongst other testimonies, this still remains of him, that in four years he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was such, as showed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is observable, that he was never known to be angry or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires; never heard to repine or dispute with providence, but, by a quiet gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his person, even from those that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his wit was never blemished with scoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looseness in his hearers. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age, he was, December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation; being elected and so admitted as born in Devon or Hantshire; out of which counties a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's statutes. And now as he was much encouraged, so now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Cardinal Poole†, but more that it had Bishop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackson‡, of that foundation. The first famous for his learned Apology for the Church of England, and his Defence of it against Harding. The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart, of the Romish persuasion, about the head and faith of the church,

* Edwin Sandys, one of the translators of the Bible, early embraced the Protestant faith. He was born in 1519, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He suffered imprisonment for advocating, in the pulpit, the cause of Lady Jane Grey. He, however, obtained his liberty, and hastened abroad, where he remained until the accession of Elizabeth. She made him bishop of Worcester; in 1570 he was translated to London, and in 1576 he was created archbishop of York. He died in the year 1588. His sermons retain their reputation to the present day. His son, Sir Edwin Sandys, prebendary of York, was born about 1561, and is well known as the author of the tract entitled, "Europæ Speculum." He was knighted by King James, and died about 1629.

† Reginald Pole, descended from the blood-royal of England, was born at Stourton, in Staffordshire, in 1500. Although advanced to the dignity of cardinal, he had not taken priest's orders, and his noble birth and popular character caused him to be proposed to Queen Mary as a fitting match in the early part of her reign. After the death of Cranmer, he became archbishop of Canterbury. He died the same day with Queen Mary, the 18th of November, 1558. His character is thus favourably portrayed by Hume:—"The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit."

‡ Dr. Thomas Jackson was born at Witton-on-the-Wear, in Durham, in 1579, and was educated at Queen's and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was made prebendary of Winchester in 1635, and Dean of Peterborough in 1638. His principal work is a Commentary on the Creed. He died in 1640.

and after printed by consent of both parties. And the third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed, and other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was Dr. Jackson more note-worthy for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and meekness, and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling*, a man of note for learning, being then vice-chancellor: and the act following he was completed master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being vice-chancellor that year, and his dear friend, Henry Savile† of Merton College, being then one of the proctors. 'Twas that Henry Savile, that was after Sir Henry Savile, warden of Merton College, and provost of Eton; he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures; and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

It was that Sir Henry Savile that translated and enlightened the history of Cornelius Tacitus, with a most excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the scattered pieces of St. Chrysostom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a most judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savile that had the happiness to be a contemporary and familiar friend to Mr. Hooker; and let posterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was so happy as to be admitted Fellow of the College; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of that Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made presidents of Corpus Christi College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his Speculum Europæ, as his brother George for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable Travels; and for his harmonious translation of the Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into most high and elegant verse. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I shall refer my reader to the printed testimonies of our learned Mr. Camden, of Fynes Moryson and others.

"This Cranmer,"—says Mr. Camden in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth,—"whose christian name was George, was a gentleman of singular hopes, the eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother: he spent much of his youth in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, where he continued master of arts for some time before he removed, and then betook himself to travel, accompanying that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the space of three years; and after their happy return, he betook himself to an employment under Secretary Davison, a privy councillor of note, who, for an unhappy undertaking, became clouded and pitied: after whose fall, he went in place of secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embassage into France: and after his death he was sought after by the most noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained, until in a battle against the rebels near Carlingford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him, he being then but in the thirty-sixth year of his age."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and these his two pupils, there was a sacred friendship; a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations to the same recreations and studies; a friendship elemented in youth, and in an university, free from self-ends, which the friendships of age usually are not. And in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual amity, they went on for many years: and as the holy prophet saith, so they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends. By which means they improved this friendship to such a degree of holy amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in that next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleasure equal to such a friendship; yet obedience to parents, and a desire to know the affairs, manners, laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave the college and Mr. Hooker to his studies, in which he was daily more assiduous, still enriching his quiet and capacious soul with the precious learning of the philosophers, casuists, and schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reason of all laws, both sacred and civil; and indeed with such other learning as lay most remote from the track of common studies. And, as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which, he seemed to be assisted by the same Spirit with which they were written; He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to understand wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, that God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature; and as often say, That the Scripture was not writ to beget disputations and pride, and opposition to government; but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind; of which virtues, he would as often say, no man did ever repent himself on his death-bed. And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as music and poetry; all which he had digested and made useful; and of all which the reader will have a fair testimony in what will follow.

* A native of Germany, as his name denotes. He was canon of Christchurch, vice-chancellor of the University, and in 1585-6 was consecrated bishop of Hereford. He was a man of great piety, and so remarkable for the gravity of his demeanour, that it was said he was scarcely ever seen to laugh.

† Sir Henry Savile was born at Over Bradley, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, on the 30th November 1547, and was educated at Merton College, Oxford. He was Greek and mathematical preceptor to Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the translators of James the First's Bible. He was knighted in 1604, and died provost of Eton College, on the 19th of February 1621-22.

In the year 1579, the chancellor of the University was given to understand, that the public Hebrew lecture was not read according to the statutes; nor could be, by reason of a distemper, that had then seized the brain of Mr. Kingsmill, who was to read it; so that it lay long unread, to the great detriment of those that were studious of that language. Therefore, the chancellor writ to his vice-chancellor, and the University, that he had heard such commendations of the excellent knowledge of Mr. Richard Hooker in that tongue, that he desired he might be procured to read it: and he did, and continued to do so till he left Oxford.

Within three months after his undertaking this lecture,—namely, in October 1579,—he was, with Dr. Reynolds and others, expelled his college; and this letter, transcribed from Dr. Reynolds his own hand, may give some account of it.

To Sir Francis Knolles.

I am sorry, right honourable, that I am enforced to make unto you such a suit, which I cannot move, but I must complain of the unrighteous dealing of one of our college; who hath taken upon him, against all law and reason, to expel out of our house both me and Mr. Hooker, and three other of our fellows, for doing that which by oath we were bound to do. Our matter must be heard before the Bishop of Winchester, with whom I do not doubt but we shall find equity. Howbeit, forasmuch as some of our adversaries have said that the bishop is already forestalled, and will not give us such audience as we look for; therefore I am humbly to beseech your honour, that you will desire the bishop, by your letters, to let us have justice; though it be with rigour, so it be justice: our cause is so good, that I am sure we shall prevail by it. Thus much I am bold to request of your honour for Corpus Christi College sake, or rather for Christ's sake; whom I beseech to bless you with daily increase of his manifold gifts, and the blessed graces of his Holy Spirit.

Your honour's in Christ to command,
London, October 9, 1579. John Reynolds.

This expulsion was by Dr. John Barfoote, then vice-president of the college, and chaplain to Ambrose Earl of Warwick. I cannot learn the pretended cause; but that they were restored the same month is most certain.

I return to Mr. Hooker in his college, where he continued his studies with all quietness, for the space of three years; about which time he entered into sacred orders, being then made deacon and priest, and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to which sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamite's House, which is a house so called, for that, besides the stipend paid the preacher, there is provision made also for his lodging and diet for two days before, and one day after his sermon. This house was then kept by John Churchman, sometime a draper of good note in Watling-street, upon whom poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man. I shall not yet give the like testimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this house Mr. Hooker came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and for finding him no easier horse, supposing the horse trotted when he did not; and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days' rest and quietness, or any other means could be used, to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Mrs. Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first public appearance to the world, he was not so happy as to be free from exceptions against a point of doctrine delivered in his sermon, which was, "That in God there were two wills, an antecedent and a consequent will; his first will, that all mankind should be saved; but his second will was, that those only should be saved that did live answerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him before, and hath been since by Master Henry Mason, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion entrenches upon the honour and justice of our merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. Hooker declares in his rational Answer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer *, then bishop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at last one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accused for it.

But the justifying of this doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that he was a man of a tender constitution, and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life and make it more comfortable, and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. And he, not considering that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," but, like a true Nathaniel, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with (you may read it in the book of Genesis), when he was sent to choose a wife for Isaac; for even so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or about the year following. Now the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's

* Or rather Aylmer, the tutor of Lady Jane Grey. He was obliged to take refuge at Zurich during the reign of Queen Mary, but returning on the accession of Elizabeth, he was in 1576 advanced to the bishopric of London. He died in 1594.

which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house: so that the good man had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth; but too just cause to say with the holy prophet, "Woe is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's, if it were his choice, may be wondered at; but let us consider that the prophet Ezekiel says, "There is a wheel within a wheel," a secret sacred wheel of Providence, most visible in marriages, guided by His hand, that allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good wives to good men: and He that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to this reason) only knows why this blessing was denied to patient Job, to meek Moses, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But so it was; and let the reader cease to wonder, for affliction is a divine diet, which, though it be not pleasing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often, imposed it as good, though bitter, physic to those children whose souls are dearest to him.

And by this marriage the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world; into those corroding cares that attend a married priest, and a country parsonage, which was Drayton-Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, not far from Aylesbury, and in the diocese of Lincoln; to which he was presented by John Cheney, Esq., then patron of it, the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil, but, as St. Paul adviseth a minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering, yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, took a journey to see their tutor, where they found him with a book in his hand—it was the Odes of Horace; he being then, like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. But when his servant returned and released him, then his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them, for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and they having in that time rejoiced in the remembrance, and then paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and other like diversions, and thereby given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion, after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father, who was then Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more quiet and a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. Alvey, Master of the Temple, died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of so venerable behaviour as to gain so high a degree of love and reverence from all men that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvey. And at the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvey, he, the said Archbishop of York, being then at dinner with the judges, the reader, and the benchers of that society, met with a general condolement for the death of Father Alvey, and with a high commendation of his saint-like life, and of his great merit both towards God and man; and as they bewailed his death, so they wished for a like pattern of virtue and learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the bishop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvey's place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other testimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was sent for from Drayton-Beauchamp to London, and there the mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the bishop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantages of a better society, and a more liberal pension than his country parsonage did afford him. But these reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better country living, where he might see God's blessings spring out of the earth, and be free from noise, so he expressed the desire of his heart, and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the bishop's proposal; and was, by* patent for life, made master of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admission into this place—a place which he accepted rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for, that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted

* This you may find in the Temple Records. William Ermstead was Master of the Temple at the dissolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. (1559).

Richard Alvey, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Febr. 2 Eliz. Magister, sive Custos Domûs et Ecclesiæ Novi Templi, died 27 Eliz. (1585).

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvey had it, and he left it 33 Eliz. (1591).

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

prayers and praises. For this he always thirsted and prayed; but Almighty God did not grant it, for his admission into this place was the very beginning of those oppositions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a stranger to, and of which the reader may guess by what follows.

In this character of the times, I shall, by the reader's favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time, in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treasons, the doubts of her successor, the late civil war, and the sharp persecution for religion that raged to the effusion of so much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were fresh in the memory of all men; and begot fears in the most pious and wisest of this nation, lest the like days should return again to them, or their present posterity. And the apprehension of these dangers begot a hearty desire of a settlement in the church and state; believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot self-ends; and these begot animosities, envy, opposition, and unthankfulness for those very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the very utmost of their desires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning of her reign; and thus it continued too long; for those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome, became at last so like the grave, as never to be satisfied, but were still thirsting for more and more; neglecting to pay that obedience, and perform those vows, which they made in their days of adversities and fear: so that in short time there appeared three several interests, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their designs: they may for distinction be called, the active Romanists, the restless non-conformists, of which there were many sorts, and the passive peaceable Protestant. The counsels of the first considered and resolved on in Rome: the second both in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cause by established laws, both ecclesiastical and civil: and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known laws happily established to them and their posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romanists against the church and state; because what is principally intended in this digression, is an account of the opinions and activity of the non-conformists; against whose judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason.

In which number of non-conformists, though some might be sincere, well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors; yet of this party there were many that were possessed with a high degree of spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate restless pride and malice; I do not mean the visible carnal sins of gluttony and drunkenness, and the like,—from which, good Lord, deliver us!—but sins of a higher nature, because they are more unlike God, who is the God of love, and mercy, and order, and peace; and more like the devil, who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil: but I mean those spiritual wickednesses of malice and revenge, and an opposition to government: men that joyed to be the authors of misery, which is properly his work that is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and thereby greater sinners than the glutton or drunkard, though some will not believe it. And of this party there were also many, whom prejudice and a furious zeal had so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: men, that were the very dregs and pest of mankind; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to overvalue their own pitiful croked wisdom so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men, that laboured and joyed first to find out the faults, and then speak evil of government, and to be the authors of confusion; men, whom company, and conversation, and custom, had at last so blinded, and made so insensible that these were sins, that like those that perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these died without repenting of these spiritual wickednesses; of which the practices of Coppinger and Hacket in their lives, and the death of them and their adherents, are, God knows, too sad examples, and ought to be cautions to those men that are inclined to the like spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times, which tended thus to confusion, there were also many of these scruple-mongers, that pretended a tenderness of conscience, refusing to take an oath before a lawful magistrate: and yet these very men in their secret conventicles did covenant and swear to each other, to be assiduous and faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian doctrine and discipline; and both in such a manner as they themselves had not yet agreed on; but up that government must. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing discontents and sedition, by venomous and secret murmurings, and a dispersion of scurrilous pamphlets and libels against the church and state; but especially against the bishops; by which means, together with venomous and indiscreet sermons, the common people became so fanatic, as to believe the bishops to be Antichrist, and the only obstructers of God's discipline; and at last some of them were given over to so bloody a zeal, and such other desperate delusions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that Antichrist was to be overcome by the sword. So that those very men, that began with tender and meek petitions, proceeded to admonitions; then to satirical remonstrances: and at last—having, like Absalom, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cause—they got a supposed certainty of so great a party, that they durst threaten first the bishops, and then the queen and parliament, to all which they were secretly encouraged by the earl of Leicester, then in great favour with her majesty, and the reputed cherisher and patron-general of these pretenders to tenderness of con-

science; his design being, by their means, to bring such an odium upon the bishops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which avaricious desire had at last so blinded his reason, that his ambitious and greedy hopes seemed to put him into a present possession of Lambeth-house.

And to these undertakings the non-conformists of this nation, were much encouraged and heightened by a correspondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; so that here they became so bold, that one* told the queen openly in a sermon, she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline. And in Scotland they were more confident; for there† they declared her an atheist, and grew to such a height, as not to be accountable for anything spoken against her, nor for treason against their own king, if it were but spoken in the pulpit; showing at last such a disobedience to him, that his mother being in England, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of death, the church denied the king their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feasting, the church declared for a general fast, in opposition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by these means there was distilled into the minds of the common people such other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the church and state: and these opinions vented so daringly, that, beside the loss of life and limbs, the governors of the church and state were forced to use such other severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent the gangrene of confusion, and the perilous consequences of it; which, without such prevention, would have been first confusion, and then ruin and misery to this numerous nation.

These errors and animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, and considering them, writ scoffingly to a friend in his own country, to this purpose: "That the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and to determine what laws were fit to be made concerning church-government; and then, what were fit to be obeyed or abolished. That they were more able, or at least thought so, to raise and determine perplexed cases of conscience, than the wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy. That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." And he concluded his letter with this observation, "That those very men that were most busy in oppositions, and disputations, and controversies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had usually the least of humility and mortification, or of the power of godliness."

And to heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of His Spirit, and the inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not believe, into a belief, which is repugnant even to human nature;—for the heathens believe that there are many gods;—but these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God! and so, finding nothing in themselves but what was worse than nothing, began to wish what they were not able to hope for, namely, that they might be like the beasts that perish! and in wicked company—which is the atheist's sanctuary—were so bold as to say so: though the worst of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wish, but is not then able to think it: even into a belief that there is no God. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then sinned themselves.

And now, when the church was pestered with them, and with all those other fore-named irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at least neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin;—for heresies do usually outlive their first authors;—when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied: when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others; and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority; in this extremity of fear, and danger of the church and state, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blessed in all by John Whitgift his being made archbishop of Canterbury; of whom Sir Henry Wotton—that knew him well in his youth, and had studied him in his age,—gives this true character: "That he was a man of reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper; such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue." And indeed this man proved so.

And though I dare not undertake to add to this excellent and true character, of Sir Henry Wotton; yet I shall neither do right to this discourse, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it shall be short, for I long to end this digression, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lin-

* Edward Dering, a puritan divine, and a native of Kent, educated at Christ College, Cambridge. He was suspended from his lectureships on account of his nonconformity, but he is commended as a truly religious man, whose pure and virtuous life was followed by a happy death in 1576. He wrote some sermons and a defence of Bishop Jewel's Apology for the Church.

† Vide Bishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.

coln,* of a family that was ancient; and noted to be both prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke Hall, where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter House; from thence to be master of Pembroke Hall; and from thence to the mastership of Trinity College. About which time the queen made him her chaplain; and not long after prebend of Ely, and then dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the bishopric of Worcester, and, which was not with her a usual favour, forgiving him his first fruits; then by constituting him vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth of her reign, 1583, made him archbishop of Canterbury, and, not long after, of her privy council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada, that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares: in which place, to speak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his church. And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness of Bishop Grindal†, his immediate predecessor, the activity of the non-conformists, and their chief assistant the earl of Leicester; and, indeed, by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage, nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach, that had been lately made into the lands and immunities of the church, or indeed to maintain the remaining lands and rights of it. And, therefore, by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa,—Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest, he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a great degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now both entered.

His merits to the queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him her little black husband, and called his servants her servants: and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was, that she would never eat flesh in Lent, without obtaining a licence from her little black husband: and would often say, "She pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which he managed with prudence and piety."

I shall not keep myself within the promised rules of brevity in this account of his interest with her majesty, and his care of the church's rights, if in this digression I should enlarge to particulars; and therefore my desire is, that one example may serve for a testimony of both. And, that the reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbishop, there passed an act, or acts of parliament, intending the better preservation of the church-lands, by recalling a power which was vested in others to sell or lease them, by lodging and trusting the future care and protection of them only in the crown: and amongst many that made a bad use of this power or trust of the queen's, the earl of Leicester was one; and the bishop having, by his interest with her majesty, put a stop to the earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the bishop made a sudden and seasonable return to her majesty, for he found her alone, and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose.

"I beseech your majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that yours and the church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege; and that, if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, he judged no man; and, to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser, and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider, that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, and yet committed sacrilege; thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit

* He was born in 1530 at Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, and died at Lambeth on the 29th of February 1603.

† Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Hinsingham, in Cumberland, in 1519. He was educated at Cambridge, but adhering to the reformed religion, retired to Strasburg during the persecutions of Queen Mary's days. Returning at the accession of Elizabeth, she promoted him first to the bishopric of London, thence he was translated to York, and in 1575 to Canterbury. His indulgence to the puritans brought him into disgrace with the queen, and for some time he was sequestered and confined to his house. In 1582 he resigned his office, and died on the 6th of July 1583.

sacrilege! supposing, I think, sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and Helena, his mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor; and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God: and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them: God prevent your majesty and your successors from being liable to that curse, which will cleave unto church-lands as the leprosy to the Jews.

"And to make you, that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you, forget not, that, to prevent these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved, as far as human reason and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them, by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, to maintain the church-lands, and the rights belonging to it; and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes, have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta; a curse like the leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews: for as that, so these curses have, and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath, and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.

"And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors; but let God and his church have their inheritance; and though I pretend not to prophesy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; that church-land added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both: or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasures left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them.

"And consider, that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as King Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament, entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands; yet dispose of them, for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion, I beseech you, and to the approaching ruins of his church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for kings must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour; and the Lord still continue you in his."

The queen's patient hearing this affectionate speech, and her future care to preserve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair testimony, that he made hers and the church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many; nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years; in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester: so that God seemed still to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining church-lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eased her of all her church-cares by his wise manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, that he was the chief mourner at her sad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that, within a few hours after her death he was the happy proclaimer, that King James—her peaceful successor—was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more, of this good bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the bishop's charity and

humility; but this of both. He built a large almshouse near to his own palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters; and whensoever the queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth,—which was very often,—he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair free-school, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars. Which gave just occasion for Boyse Sisi, then ambassador for the French king, and resident here, at the bishop's death, to say, "The bishop had published many learned books; but a free-school to train up youth, and an hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the best evidences of Christian learning that a bishop could leave to posterity." This good bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell into an extreme sickness at his palace in Lambeth; of which when the king had notice, he went presently to visit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition and very weak; and after some short discourse betwixt them, the king at his departure assured him, "He had a great affection for him, and a very high value for his prudence and virtues, and would endeavour to beg his life of God for the good of his church." To which the good bishop replied, "Pro Ecclesia Dei! Pro Ecclesia Dei!" which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, that as in his life, so at his death, his chiefest care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made archbishop in the year 1583. In which busy place he continued twenty years and some months; and in which time you may believe he had many trials of his courage and patience: but his motto was "Vincit qui patitur;" and he made it good.

Many of his trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still—but secretly—raise and cherish a faction of Non-conformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright,* a man of noted learning, sometime contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college, of which the bishop had been master: in which place there began some emulations,—the particulars I forbear,—and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the earl's death,—which was 1588,—Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of a party that were for the Geneva church-government; and, to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed: and to which the bishop made a first answer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the bishop having rejoined to his first reply, Mr. Cartwright either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied; for he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason. After some silence, Mr. Cartwright received from the bishop many personal favours and betook himself to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he was made master of an hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promises not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a controversy with Walter Travers,†—a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's—as the bishop had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himself, and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and the bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new generation of restless men, that by company and clamours became possessed of a faith, which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: men that were become positive in asserting, That a papist cannot be saved: insomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the bishop that preached her funeral sermon—which was Dr. Howland, then Bishop of Peterborough—was reviled for not being positive for her damnation. And besides this boldness of their becoming Gods, so far as to set limits to His mercies, there was not only one Martin Mar-prelate, but other venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they; Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these, or like titles; An Almond for a Parrot; A Fig for my Godson; Come crack me this Nut, and the like; so that this merry wit made some sport, and such a discovery of their absurdities, as —which is strange—he put a greater stop to these malicious pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvey, who was master of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening sermons, which he preached with great approbation, especially of some citizens, and

* A puritan divine, born in Hertfordshire, about 1535, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. On his expulsion from the university he went abroad, and became minister to the English at Antwerp and Middleburgh. Besides his controversial tracts, he wrote a Commentary on the Proverbs, and a Harmony of the Gospels.

† Walter Travers had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was the intimate friend of Cartwright at the university, and joined him as preacher at Antwerp. Returning to England he was entertained by Lord Burghleigh as chaplain, and by his interest appointed lecturer at the Temple.

the younger gentlemen of that society; and for the most part approved by Mr. Hooker himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameless life. But he had taken orders by the presbytery in Antwerp,—and with them some opinions, that could never be eradicated,—and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire to set up that government in this nation; for the promoting of which he had a correspondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefest assistants to Mr. Cartwright in that design.

Mr. Travers had also a particular hope to set up this government in the Temple, and to that end used his most zealous endeavours to be master of it; and his being disappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved the occasion of a public opposition betwixt them in their sermons: many of which were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this church: insomuch that, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons: for, as one hath pleasantly expressed it, The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury; and the afternoon Geneva.

In these sermons there was little of bitterness, but each party brought all the reasons he was able to prove his adversary's opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppositions became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that the prudent archbishop put a stop to Mr. Travers his preaching, by a positive prohibition. Against which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned Her Majesty's privy council to have it recalled; where, besides his patron, the Earl of Leicester, he met also with many assisting friends; but they were not able to prevail with, or against the archbishop, whom the queen had intrusted with all church-power; and he had received so fair a testimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withstood all solicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers, was unpleasant to divers of his party; and the reasonableness of it became at last to be so publicly magnified by them, and many others of that party, as never to be answered: so that, intending the bishop's and Mr. Hooker's disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and scattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear, and make as public an answer; which he did, and dedicated it to the archbishop; and it proved so full an answer, an answer that had in it so much of clear reason, and writ with so much meekness and majesty of style, that the bishop began to have him in admiration, and to rejoice that he had appeared in his cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his friendship; even a familiar friendship with a man of so much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers dissented,—all, or most of which I have seen written,—would prove at least tedious: and therefore I shall impose upon my reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the rest.

Mr. Travers excepted against Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his sermons he declared, That the assurance of what we believe by the word of God is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense. And Mr. Hooker confesseth he said so, and endeavours to justify it by the reasons following.

First; I taught that the things which God promises in his word are surer than what we touch, handle, or see: but are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his promises to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our sensible experience? For we must be surer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwise it is no proof. For example; how is it that many men looking on the moon, at the same time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth; but many believing one and the same promise, have not all one and the same fulness of persuasion. For how falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; when as the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth hath always need to labour, strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented?

The sermon that gave him the cause of this his justification, makes the case more plain, by declaring that there is, besides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence. In which having most excellently demonstrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable use of it, comfortable, he says, as to weak believers, who suppose themselves to be faithless, not to believe, when notwithstanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh secretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward testimony of it.

Tell this, saith he, to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that, by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants faith, because he wants the comfortable assurance of it; and his answer will be, Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself: I do not, I know, I do not believe.—Mr. Hooker's own words follow.—Well then, to favour such men a little in their weakness, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promises, but are faithless, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confess they are; do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking, that they have of those things believed? For no man can love those things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think those things to be, which they shew they love, when they desire to believe them; then must it be, that, by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the subtilties of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve. This is an abridgment of part of the reasons Mr. Hooker gives for his justification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted against by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Travers, for that he in one of his sermons had declared, That he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our forefathers living in popish superstı-

tion, for as much as they sinned ignorantly: and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reasons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first, he states the question about justification and works, and how the foundation of faith without works is overthrown; and then he proceeds to discover that way which natural men and some others have mistaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlasting happiness: and having discovered the mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable. And these two ways he demonstrates thus:—they be his own words that follow:—"That, the way of nature; this, the way of grace; the end of that way, salvation merited, pre-supposing the righteousness of men's works; their righteousness, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodness of God, which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, salvation bestowed upon men as a gift: pre-supposing not their righteousness, but the forgiveness of their unrighteousness, justification; their justification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty sorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in Him, for whose sake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of lost children; their election, a mediator in whom to be elected; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; this mercy, supposing their misery for whom He vouchsafed to die, and make himself a mediator."

And he also declareth, There is no meritorious cause for our justification, but Christ: no effectual, but his mercy; and says also, We deny the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we abuse, disannul, and annihilate the benefit of his passion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlasting life, or can be worthy of it. This belief, he declareth, is to destroy the very essence of our justification; and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. Yet nevertheless,—and for this he was accused,—"considering how many virtuous and just men, how many saints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongst which this was one, that they hoped to make God some part of amends, by voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves: because by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by consequence overthrow the merits of Christ, shall man be so bold as to write on their graves, Such men are damned; there is for them no salvation! St. Austin says, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obstinately persist in it, how is it possible that any man should hope to be saved! Give me a pope or a cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sins, and filled with a love of Christ and his gospel; whose eyes are willingly open to see the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error,—this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands;—and because he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, Lord, cleanse me from all my secret sins! shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment! If they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtu proceed from Christ to save them! No, not be afraid to say to such a one, You err i opinion; but be of good comfort; you have with a merciful God, who will make the b that little which you hold well; and not v captious sophister, who gathereth the worst every thing in which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, says Mr. Hooker, t mittance of merit in any degree overthrow foundation, excludeth from the hope of r from all possibility of salvation. (And no Hooker's own words follow.)

"What, though they hold the truth since all other parts of Christian faith; althoug have in some measure all the virtues and of the Spirit, although they have all other of God's children in them! although they from having any proud opinion, that they a saved by the worthiness of their deeds! alt the only thing that troubleth and molesteth be a little too much dejection, somewhat too a fear arising from an erroneous conceit tha will require a worthiness in them, which th grieved to find wanting in themselves! alt they be not obstinate in this opinion! alt they be willing, and would be glad to forsak any one reason were brought sufficient to dis it! although the only cause why they do n sake it ere they die, be their ignorance o means by which it might be disproved! alt the cause why the ignorance in this point removed, be the want of knowledge in su should be able, and are not, to remove it!" me die, says Mr. Hooker, if it be ever prove simply an error doth exclude a pope or ca in such a case utterly from hope of life. "S I must confess, that if it be an error to thin God may be merciful to save men, even whe err, my greatest comfort is my error: were for the love I bear to this error, I would wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two as supposing them to be very material; an as they are thus contracted, they may prove to my reader; as also for that the answ arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear r and equal charity. Other exceptions wer made against him by Mr. Travers, as t prayed before, and not after, his sermons in his prayers he named bishops; that he k both when he prayed and when he receiv sacrament; and, says Mr. Hooker, in his de other exceptions so like these, as but to m should have thought a greater fault than t mit them.

And it is not unworthy the noting, that, manage of so great a controversy, a sharp proof than this, and one like it, did never fal the happy pen of this humble man. That was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to his answer was, "Your next argument cons railing and of reasons: to your railing I s thing; to your reasons I say what follows." I am glad of this fair occasion to testify the like temper of this meek, this matchless And doubtless, if Almighty God had blest t senters from the ceremonies and discipline church, with a like measure of wisdom and lity, instead of their pertinacious zeal, then

ence and truth had kissed each other, then peace and piety had flourished in our nation, and this church and state had been blessed like Jerusalem, that is at unity with itself; but this can never be expected, till God shall bless the common people of this nation with a belief that schism is a sin, and they not fit to judge what is schism; and bless them also with a belief, that there may be offences taken which are not given, and that laws are not made for private men to dispute, but to obey.

And this also may be worthy of noting, that these exceptions of Mr. Travers against Mr. Hooker proved to be *felix error*, for they were the cause of his transcribing those few of his sermons which we now see printed with his books, and of his answer to Mr. Travers his Supplication, and of his most learned and useful Discourse of Justification, of Faith, and Works; and by their transcription they fell into such hands as have preserved them from being lost, as too many of his other matchless writings were; and from these I have gathered many observations in this discourse of his life.

After the publication of his answer to the petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the most learned and wise of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple, that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church discipline; insomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the seeds of discontent could not be rooted out of that society, by the great reason, and as great meekness, of this humble man; for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Master Travers' judgment, insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and, that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate, sober treatise of the church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, intending therein to show such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a commixture of that love with reason, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon, than which none ever was more like this epistle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his studies, Dr. Spencer, might, after his death, justly say, "What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man—great in all wise men's eyes, except his own; with what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries; whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghost, the dove, had wanted gall: let those that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple, but he found it no fit place to finish what he had there designed; he therefore earnestly solicited the archbishop for a remove from that place, to whom he spake to this purpose: "My lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage; but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place, and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man, and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and other tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity; in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

About this time the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, and six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that see, which was three years betwixt the translation of Bishop Pierce to the see of York and Bishop Caldwell's admission into it, the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to that see, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he presented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was also in the said year instituted, July 17, to be a minor prebend of Salisbury, the corps to it being Nether-Haven, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church. In this Boscum he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were entered into the register-book in Stationers' Hall, the 9th of March, 1592, but not published till the year 1594, and then were with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs to them that seek, as they term it, the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the church of England; of which books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life; of all which more properly hereafter, but at Boscum he finished and published but only the first four, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop Caldwell; and he presented Benjamin Russel, who was instituted into it the 23rd of June in the same year.

The parsonage of Bishop's Bourne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that archbishop's gift; but, in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Bishop of Norwich, by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro eâ vice* in the queen; and she presented Richard Hooker, whom she loved well, to this good living of Bourne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place to this where he found a grave, I shall only give some account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parsonage of Bourne, and then give a rest both to myself and my reader.

His first four books and large epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boscum, anno 1594. Next I am to tell, that at the end of these four books there was, when he first printed them, this advertisement to the reader. "I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the meantime the reader is requested to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book, which is larger than his first four, was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron, for till then he chose none, the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself also into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that either Cardinal Allen or learned Dr. Stapleton*, both Englishmen, and in Italy about the time when Hooker's four books were first printed, meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that both the reformed and the learned of their own Romish church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for to Rome; and after reading them, boasted to the pope, which then was Clement the Eighth, that though he had lately said, he never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of author, yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be so to his holiness, if it were in Latin; for a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of laws and church polity, and in a style that expressed such a grave and so humble a majesty, with such clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him: and this begot in the pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin; which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book, at the conclusion of which, the pope spake to this purpose:—"There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age; for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that, if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the king replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, from whose books I have received such satisfaction: indeed, my lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, or church-music, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very learned men: and I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, the fathers, and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author." And it is so truly true, that the king thought what he spake, that, as the most learned of the nation have, and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the epithet of learned, or judicious, or reverend, or venerable Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his son, our late King Charles the First, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his son, our now gracious king, to be studious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden†, mentioning the death, the modesty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wished, that, for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the universal language. Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forsaken it: but the reader may now expect it, having been long since begun and lately finished, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle, now lord bishop of Salisbury, of whom I may justly say,—and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be concealed from posterity, or those that now live, and yet know him not,—that since Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath blessed with more innocent wisdom, more sanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy, in knowing what

* Thomas Stapleton was born at Henfield in Sussex, in 1535, and received his education at Winchester, and New College, Oxford; but being attached to the Romish religion he left England, and became professor of divinity at Douay. He died at Louvain in 1598.

† In his Annals, 1599.

hath been too long confined to the language of our little island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Bourne: in which place he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; was much in fasting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia*, then, or about that time, made one of the prebends of Canterbury; a German by birth, and sometimes a pastor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had studied, and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and sacrilege; and in England had a just occasion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren ministers of the Low Countries; which was excepted against by Theodore Beza and others; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, especially of three; one, of "The Degrees of Ministers," and of "The Bishops' Superiority above the Presbytery;" a second, "Against Sacrilege;" and a third of "Christian Obedience to Princes;" the last being occasioned by Gretzerus the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when, in a time of church-tumults, Beza gave his reasons to the chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatise of a threefold Episcopacy,—which he calls divine, human, and satanical,—this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Bishop Whitgift, made such an early discovery of their intentions, that he had almost as soon answered that treatise as it became public; and he therein discovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of Episcopacy. But of these tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his, and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbishop; and printed about the time in which Mr. Hooker also appeared first to the world, in the publication of his first four books of "Ecclesiastical Polity."

This friendship being sought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune so like him, as to be engaged against Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controversy too like Dr. Saravia's; so that in this year of 1595 and in this place of Bourne, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship, increasing daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills seemed to be but one and the same; and their designs both for the glory of God, and peace of the church, still assisting and improving each other's virtues, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Bourne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others—scholars especially—went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired: and alas! as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, "What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul: his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat pimples, begot by his unactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour: God and nature blessed him with so blessed a bashfulness, that as in his younger days his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face: and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time: and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended: and the reader has a liberty to believe, that his modesty and dim sight were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. Churchman to choose his wife.

This parish-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death there had come many to see the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cowper, who still lives; and the poor clerk had many rewards for showing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his said monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence: to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his humility and holiness; and in all which discourses the poor man was still more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning. But it so fell out, that about the said third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the then present parson of Bourne was sequestered,—you may guess why,—and a Genevan minister put into his good living. This, and other like sequestrations, made the clerk express himself in a wonder, and say, they had sequestered so many good men, that he doubted, if his good master Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have sequestered him too!

It was not long before this intruding minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar, or communion-table, for them to sit and eat and drink: but when they went about this

* Dr. Hadrian Saravia was a Protestant divine and professor of divinity at Leyden. He was born at Artois in 1531, and came to England in 1587. He was for some time master of the Free Grammar School at Southampton, and was one of the translators of King James's Bible. He was the intimate friend of Archbishop Whitgift. He died in 1613.

work, there was a want of some joint-stools, which the minister sent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cushions,—but not to kneel upon. When the clerk saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder; but the minister bade him cease wondering, and lock the church-door: to whom he replied, "Pray take you the keys, and lock me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will say, my master Hooker was a good man, and a good scholar; and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days:" and report says the old man went presently home and died; I do not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His use was to preach once every Sunday, and he, or his curate, to catechise after the Second Lesson in the Evening Prayer. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent imagination from wandering; insomuch, that he seemed to study as he spake. The design of his sermons—as indeed of all his discourses—was to show reasons for what he spake; and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade than frighten men into piety; studying not so much for matter,—which he never wanted,—as for apt illustrations, to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a preacher as a natural from an artificial beauty.

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuading them both to fast, and then to double their devotions for a learned and a pious clergy, but especially the last; saying often, that the life of a pious clergyman was visible rhetoric; and so convincing, that the most godless men—though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts—did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives. And to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every Ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like most Fridays and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession, persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and most did so: in which perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindnesses and love; because love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.

He was diligent to inquire who of his parish were sick, or any ways distressed, and would often visit them, unsent for; supposing that the fittest time to discover to them those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them. And having by pious reasons and prayers moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confession and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and as a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls, in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, because as St. John says, "He that lives in love lives in God; for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often; for it was both a confirming and strengthening of their graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker, praises God who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern, as may invite posterity to imitate these his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour, both at Bourn and in all the places in which he lived: thus did he walk with God, and tread the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius, as it is recorded in his life —for that holy man had heretical enemies,— slander which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was false, needs no other testimony than the public punishment of his accusers, and their open confession of his innocency. It was said, that the accusation was contrived by a dissenting brother one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's sake, which he was not able to answer; and his name hath been told me: but I have not so much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a scandal on him to posterity. I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many

months; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion, as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, who were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon. To which the good man's reply was to this purpose: "The Lord forgive them; and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news. Now have I a just occasion to say with Solomon, friends are born for the days of adversity; and such you have proved to me. And to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men. And, O my God! neither my life, nor my reputation, are safe in mine own keeping; but in thine, who didst take care of me when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast. Blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O Lord! for when false witnesses were risen up against me; when shame was ready to cover my face; when my nights were restless; when my soul thirsted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth after the rivers of waters; then thou, Lord, didst hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didst not give me over as a prey to mine enemies: the net is broken, and they are taken in it. Oh! blessed are they that put their trust in thee! and no prosperity shall make me forget those days of sorrow, or to perform those vows that I have made to thee in the days of my affliction; for with such sacrifices, thou, O God! art well pleased; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth: and it is observable, that as the invitation to this slander was his meek behaviour and dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian charity ought to be imitated. For though the spirit of revenge is so pleasing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a supernatural grace, revenge being indeed so deeply rooted in human nature, that, to prevent the excesses of it,—for men would not know moderation,—Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but says "Vengeance is mine:" and though this be said positively by God himself, yet this revenge is so pleasing, that man is hardly persuaded to submit the manage of it to the time, and justice, and wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing passion to the time and measure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That however he would fast and pray that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment. And his prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confession. And 'tis observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, "Oh! with what quietness did I enjoy my soul, after I was free from the fears of my slander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my desires of revenge!"

About the year 1600, and of his age forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend, from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for after that time, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and restless nights: but a submission to His will that makes the sick man's bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia—who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,—"That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and 'tis thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered, the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food, insomuch that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and writ. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him that the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst.

In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, Are my books and written papers safe? And being answered that they were; his reply was, Then it matters not; for no other loss can trouble me.

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul, for they were supposed to be confessors to each other, came to him, and, after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the doctor came, and, after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him, and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to require his present thoughts. To which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in Heaven: and oh! that it might be so on

earth!" After which words, he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations; and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: and though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet if thou, O Lord! be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord, shew mercy to me; for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for His merits, who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it: let not mine, O Lord! but let thy will be done." With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery, yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me: my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the church more service; but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. Let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the patriarchs and apostles, the most noble army of martyrs and confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory, than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the mean time, bless, O Lord! Lord, bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation; for these will bring peace at the last. And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blessed with what he designed, when he undertook them: which was, glory to thee, O God! on high, peace in thy church, and good-will to mankind. Amen, amen.

IZAAK WALTON.

This following epitaph was long since presented to the world, in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cowper, who also built him a fair monument in Bourne church, and acknowledges him to have been his spiritual father.

Though nothing can be spoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him, that hath a lasting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to express,
If not his worth, yet our respectfulness.
Church ceremonies he maintain'd; then why
Without all ceremony should he die?
Was it because his life and death should be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, why had he none?
Yet he, that lay so long obscurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wise,
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble man, "Friend, sit up higher."

APPENDIX.

AND now, having by a long and laborious search satisfied myself, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life, I am desirous also to acquaint him with some observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken of till after his death; of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following appendix.

And first, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-seventh, if not in the forty-sixth year of his age; which I mention, because many have believed him to be more aged: but I have so examined it, as to be confident I mistake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inscription of his monument, set up at the charge of Sir William Cowper, in Bourne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is there said to be in anno 1603; but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner, the archbishop's registrar for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following*.

And that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicely, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them an hundred pounds; that he left Joan, his wife, his sole executrix; and that, by his inventory, his estate—a great part of it being in books—came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, which was much more than he thought himself worth; and which was not got by his care, much less by the good housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant, Thomas Lane, that was wiser than his master in getting money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in keeping of it. Of which will of Mr. Hooker's I shall say no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of

* And the reader may take notice, that since I first writ this appendix to the Life of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Fulman, of Corpus Christi College, hath showed me a good authority for the very day and hour of Mr. Hooker's death, in one of his books of Polity, which had been Archbishop Laud's. In which book, besides many considerable marginal notes of some passages of his time, under the bishop's own hand, there is also written in the title-page of that book—which now is Mr. Fulman's—this attestation:—

Richardus Hooker vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de ecclesiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optimè meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam secundam postmeridianam, anno 1600.

George Cranmer,—of whom I have spoken, and shall have occasion to say more,—was one of the witnesses to it

One of his eldest daughters was married to one Chalinor, sometime a schoolmaster in Chichester, and are both dead long since. Margaret, his youngest daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Charke, bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown, near Canterbury, who died about sixteen years past, and had a son Ezekiel, now living, and in sacred orders; being at this time rector of Waldron in Sussex. She left also a daughter, with both whom I have spoken not many months past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but very far from abounding. And these two attested unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a sister, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of 121 years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable. And for his wife, she was so unlike Jephtha's daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her second marriage; for which, doubtless, she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his estate, his wife, and his children. I am next to speak of his books; concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to myself, or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this appendix.

I have declared in his life, that he proposed eight books, and that his first four were printed anno 1604, and his fifth book first printed, and alone, anno 1597; and that he lived to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight: but whether we have the last three as finished by himself, is a just and material question, concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker and the affairs of his family, that, about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Bishop Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, sent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity writ by her husband; of which she would not, or could not, give any account; and that about three months after that time the bishop procured her to be sent for to London, and then by his procurement she was to be examined by some of her Majesty's council concerning the disposal of those books; but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the bishop invited her to Lambeth, and after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, "that one Mr. Charke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not fit to be seen; and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street in Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer,—mentioned in the life of Mr. Hooker,—who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity—this Dr. Spencer, the three perfect books being lost, had delivered into his hands—I think by Bishop Whitgift—the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle, first, and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books, —but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful books, to be the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker,—with these two letters, J. S., at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these words, which may give some authority to what I have here written of his last three books.

"And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the sons of sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are; the learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the church for messengers of peace, so, in the strength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and, by satisfying the doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our civil wars. J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr. Spencer's was writ and first printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expressed by the said Dr. Spencer in the said epistle, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the faith of a Christian, that Dr. Spencer's wife—who was my aunt, and sister to George Cranmer, of whom I have spoken,—told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose:—"That her husband had made up, or finished Mr. Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge that they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, then Bishop of London, and that she did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts; and I know that these were to be found in several places; as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodley's library; in that of Dr. Andrews, late Bishop of Winton; in the late Lord Conway's; in the Archbishop of Canterbury's; and in the Bishop of Armagh's, and in many others; and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr. Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Dr. Barnard, sometime chaplain to Dr. Usher, late lord archbishop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called Clavi Trabales, printed by Richard Hodgkinson, anno 1661, that, in his search and examination of the said bishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books which were supposed the sixth, seventh, and eighth of Mr. Hooker's books of Ecclesiastical Polity: and that in the said three books—now printed as Mr. Hooker's—there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies: the omissions are set down at large in the said printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of some of the said omissions.

"First, as there could be in natural bodies no motion of anything, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even so in politic

societies there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment: for sith punishments proceed always from superiors, to whom the administration of justice belongeth; which administration must have necessarily a fountain, that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the course of justice should go infinitely in a circle, every superior having his superior without end, which cannot be; therefore a well-spring, it followeth, there is; a supreme head of justice, whereunto all are subject, but itself in subjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if some ought to have in a kingdom, who but a king shall have it? Kings, therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magistrate over them, which judgeth; if magistrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is heaven, a tribunal before which they shall appear; on earth they are not accountable to any." Here, says the doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. Fabian Phillips*, a man of note for his useful books. "I will make oath, if I shall be required, that Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln, did a little before his death, affirm to me, he had seen a manuscript affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the king or supreme governors being accountable to the people. This I will make oath, that that good man attested to me.

FABIAN PHILLIPS."

So that there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books: and this may probably be one reason why Dr. Sanderson, the said learned bishop,—whose writings are so highly and justly valued,—gave a strict charge near the time of his death, or in his last will, that nothing of his that was not already printed, should be printed after his death.

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker; and known also that our late King Charles—the martyr for the church—valued them the second of all books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his son Charles, that now is our gracious king: and you may suppose that this Charles the First was not a stranger to the three pretended books, because, in a discourse with the Lord Say, in the time of the Long Parliament, when the said lord required the king to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker,—quoting him in one of the three written books, the king replied, "They were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books: but, however, he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and consent to what his lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful books, if he would but consent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker, in the other five, that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpose was to inquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give sentence, for their legitimation, as to himself, but so as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's: and it is observable, that as Mr. Hooker advised with Dr. Spencer in the design and manage of these books, so also, and chiefly, with his dear pupil, George Cranmer,—whose sister was the wife of Dr. Spencer—of which this following letter may be a testimony, and doth also give authority to some things mentioned both in this appendix and in the life of Mr. Hooker, and is therefore added.

I. W.

* Mr. Fabian Phillips was a barrister of eminence, particularly noted for his loyalty. He was born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire, in 1601, and died in 1690. He was the author of several excellent law tracts, as well as of one asserting that Charles I. was a martyr for his people.

GEORGE CRANMER'S

LETTER UNTO MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

February, 1598.

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded everywhere in pulpits, and in common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being so convenient for our state in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow: one man alone there was to speak of †,—whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation—who, in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries, had otherwise been prevented, wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur*: for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves—though nothing glad thereof—must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the discipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to sway on the other side: the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of government, but the very bane and destruction of all government. The cause of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, disguised and clothed with the name of truth; which did mightily and violently possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, it lost that reputation, which before it had gained. As by the outside of an house the passers-by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniency of the rooms within; so, by the very name of discipline and reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of the master-workmen and chief-builders thereof: they have perused the rooms, the lights, the conveniences, and they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: so as now the discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop, and hang down her head.

The cause of change in opinion concerning the discipline is proper to the learned, or to such as by them have been instructed. Another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The first degree was only some small difference about the cap and surplice; but not such as either bred division in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. Admonitions were directed to the parliament in peremptory sort against our whole form of regiment. In defence of them, volumes were published in English and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were set on foot to erect the practice of the discipline without authority; yet herein some regard of modesty, some moderation was used. Behold at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by Martin, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed:

† John Whitgift, the archbishop.

1. That whereas T. C. and others his great masters, had always before set out the discipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrarywise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded—as may be supposed—upon this rare policy, that seeing the discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing,—which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible,—the state ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all men, and in a manner desired by all the common people. 3. It may be noted—and this I know myself to be true—how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, by acknowledging therein the secret judgments of God against the bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his church; as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander, they were at length proceeded; and were also likely to proceed further.

A further degree of outrage was also in fact: certain* prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely, that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a peas-cart in Cheapside, all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, "Viri fratres, quid agimus?" whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter: "Such and such are men unworthy to govern; pluck them down: such and such are the dear children of God; let them be advanced."

Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration; yet so, that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear, what stirring affections the discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what society they were; or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned; let these points be considered. 1. Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantic passion? Whose sermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire? 2. Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require? and when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by prayer did they request? But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge: for they reproved and condemned it. How! did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed; or were they not rather content to stand aloof off, and see the end of it, as being loath to quench that spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society, with whom before, and in the practice of their madness, they had most affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the discipline, if we consider not only how far the Reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seized upon a number of strange opinions; whereof, although their ancestors the reformers, were never actually possessed, yet, by right and interest from them derived, the Brownists and Barrowists have taken possession of them: for if the positions of the reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That, because we have no church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose, will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their salvation; and if out of the church there be no salvation, it followeth, that, if we have no church, we have no means of salvation; and therefore separation from us in that respect is both lawful and necessary; as also, that men, so separated from the false and counterfeit church, are to associate themselves unto some church; not to ours; to the popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of salvation, is out of the reformer's principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of faith unto salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of salvation; but in the Church of England, the discipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and necessary to salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the professors thereof oppressed. Ergo.

Again,—but this reason perhaps is weak,—every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: the discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the gospel, and yet by our church resisted. Ergo.

Again, the discipline is essentially united to the church; by which term *essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, that where that essential discipline is not, neither is there any church. If therefore between them and the Brownists there should be appointed a solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers; it doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like arguments wherewith they may be pressed, but fairly to deny the conclusion,—for all the premises are their own—or rather ingeniously to reverse their own principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built. What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but, above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly enforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others, for aught I see, the most unanswerable. You may notwithstanding say, that you would be heartily glad these their positions might be salved, as the Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their loins: but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that they have cast the seed whereout these tares are grown.

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of godless politics, who, perceiving the plot of discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of episcopal, and erection of presbyterial authority: and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed; are content to join with them in the destructive part of discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These men's ends in all their actions is distraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable, and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring cathedral churches, and bishop's livings. 3. By exclaiming against abuses in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil state more covertly. For such is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to appre-

* Hacket and Coppinger.

hend many things at once; so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the meantime may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and specially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them; namely, the cursed crew of atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched: but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; namely, senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry: for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reason, nor by authority of persons, is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict anything, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the "seat of scorners," nor what the Apostles, by foretelling of "scorners to come:" for our own age hath verified their speech unto us: which also may be an argument against these scoffers and atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford: which could not be done by any other spirit, save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, Where is the promise of his coming? Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken, the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor—if that be true—without torment in the life to come; they therefore whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see—if any such be—they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct, no doubt, of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body? Against which barbarous opinion their own atheism is a very strong argument. For, were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive anything of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the Reformers are papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation? Which over-reaching speech of theirs, because it is so open an advantage for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did so often overflow.

From hence you may proceed—but the means of connexion I leave to yourself—to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large; the parts whereof may be these: 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two: overthrow of episcopal and erection of presbyterial authority. But in these two points whosoever joineth with them, is accounted of their number; whosoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of bishops not unlawful, and of elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their retinue. Those things therefore, which either in the persons, or in the laws and orders themselves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended, yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose: for what if all errors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts' desire; if non-residence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders therefore presently authorised? or their sovereign ecclesiastical jurisdiction established?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in church government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end, which they propose to themselves. For in declaiming against abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but, by disgracing the present state, to make way for their own discipline. As therefore in Venice, if any senator should discourse against the power of their senate, as being either too sovereign, or too weak in government, with purpose to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be suffered; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another state by depraving the present. So in all causes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation; and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, Why, may not men speak against abuses? Yes; but with desire to cure the part affected, not to destroy the whole. 2. A second fault is in their manner of complaining, not only because it is for the most part in bitter and reproachful terms, but also it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine anything amiss, and for want of skill and authority to amend it. Which also discovereth their intent and purpose to be rather destructive than corrective. 3. Those very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuse as impious; which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceived; for neither is it a sufficient plea to say, this must give place, because a better may be devised; because in our judgments of better and worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in devise with those which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be discovered: the others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all,—which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarged,—they do not

that for the most part when they strike at the state esiastical, they secretly wound the civil state, for per- al faults; What can be said against the church, which r not also agree to the commonwealth? In both, omen have always been, and will be alwnys, men; ometimes blinded with error, most commonly perverted passions: many unworthy have been and are advanced oth; many worthy not regarded. And as for abuses, ich they pretend to be in the laws themselves; when y inveigh against non-residence, do they take it a ter lawful or expedient in the civil state, for a man to e a great and gainful office in the north, himself con- ally remaining in the south? He that hath an office him attend his office. When they condemn plurality ivings spiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of infinity of temporal promotions? By the great philo- her, Pol. lib. ii. cap. 9, it is forbidden as a thing most gerous to commonwealths, that by the same man ny great offices should be exercised. When they deride ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to ly their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, ich at the coronation, in parliament, and all courts of tice, are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel cere- mony? against the Passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: you may exhort the clergy,—or what if you direct your conclusion not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in or of both universities?—you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein t ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach, Christ crucified: in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but—passions being allayed —are vain and childish.

G. C.

THE

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

PREBENDARY OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

INTRODUCTION.

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story; and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kissed the feet of hers and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that beside that blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body to putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctioned love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned whereso'er his gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content,—at least to myself,—that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory, of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert—whose life I now intend to write—were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him, yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it: and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

George Herbert was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county: that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth, that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, knight, the son of Richard Herbert, knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High-Arkall, in the county of Salop, knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now controller of his majesty's household. A family, that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

The mother of George Herbert, of whose person, and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place, was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters, which she would often say was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason: and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late prince Henry's being installed knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent ambassador resident to the then French king, Lewis the Thirteenth. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luisnes, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court: so that upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good king Charles the First, who made him first Baron of Castle-island, and not long after of Cherbury in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book De Veritate, and by his history of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the crown in the days of king James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been master of the revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there show a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain, or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family,—for she was then a widow,—where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen—he being then a king's scholar—he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil*, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge; where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother; and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell, that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education, as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care: yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for she would often say, that "as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed, so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often say, that ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning. For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne,

* Dr. Neville was eminent for piety and learning, and distinguished by his high birth, being descended from the noble family of the Nevilles of Westmoreland. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and was made dean of Canterbury in 1597. On the death of Queen Elizabeth he was employed by Archbishop Whitgift as an envoy to King James on the part of the English clergy. He died in 1615.

who was after Dr. Donne, and dean of Saint Paul's, London: and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind; of the first he says,

> No spring nor summer beauty has such grace,
> As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,—

> In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels, or at council sit.

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of The Autumnal Beauty. For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his saint: or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierome to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph: wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age,—which was some years before he entered into sacred orders;—a time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family. And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"Your favours to me are everywhere; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these become things inexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loath to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning. But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one, to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they, whom we need most, have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed Holy Hymns and Sonnets—which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire—to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed to this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

"Your unworthiest servant,
"Unless your accepting him to be so have mended him,
Mitcham, July 11, 1607. JO. DONNE.'

TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT: OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

> Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
> Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo,
> An active faith so highly did advance,
> That she once knew more than the church did know,
> The Resurrection! so much good there is
> Delivered of her, that some fathers be
> Loth to believe one woman could do this;
> But think these Magdalens were two or three.
> Increase their number, lady, and their fame:
> To their devotion add your innocence:
> Take so much of th' example, as of the name;
> The latter half; and in some recompense
> That they did harbour Christ himself, a guest,
> Harbour these Hymns, to his dear name addrest.
>
> J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons,—for I have many of their letters in my hand,—and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety: but my design was not to write her's, but the life of her son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne—who was then dean of St. Paul's—weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish church of Chelsea, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were, in the first year of his going to Cambridge, sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

—"But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say the muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems, that are daily writ, and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning—dear mother—is, in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry, shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory: and I beg you to receive this as one testimony."

> My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
> Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
> Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry
> Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?
> Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays
> Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
> Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
> As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
> Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?
> Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
> Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name?
> Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
> Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
> Than that, which one day, worms may chance refuse?

Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
Oceans of ink; for as the Deluge did
Cover the earth, so doth thy majesty:
Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another use.
Roses and lilies speak Thee; and to make
A pair of cheeks of them, is thy abuse.
Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
In the best face but filth; when Lord, in thee
The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother, about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man: insomuch that, in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made bachelor of arts in the year 1611; major fellow of the college, March 15, 1615: and, that in that year he was also made master of arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, that it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven, before he possessed them. And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleness: and if during his time he expressed any error, it was, that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time, till he was master of arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the university. His two precedent orators were Sir Robert Naunton*, and Sir Francis Nethersole. The first was not long after made secretary of state: and Sir Francis, not very long after his being orator, was made secretary to the lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of orator our George Herbert continued eight years; and managed it with as becoming ard grave a gaiety, as any had ever before or since his time. For, he had acquired great learning, and was blessed with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen. Of all which there might be very many particular evidences; but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that university his book called Basilicon Doron; and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter he writ,

Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber.

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, that he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family. At which answer the king smiled, and asked the earl leave that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that university.

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities, was, with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: there was one Andrew Melvil, a minister of the Scotch church, and rector of St. Andrews; who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but king of that nation, who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the bishops, and other learned divines of his church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this and the church of Scotland: of which Scotch party Andrew Melvil was one; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious, bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster school, where Mr. George Herbert, then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflections on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.—But to return to Mr. Melvil at Hampton Court Conference; he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the king, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's and his liberty too; for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London; where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella† an innocent

* Well known as the author of that curious picture of the court of Queen Elizabeth, entitled "Fragmenta Regalia."

† The unfortunate Arabella Stuart, whom the mean jealousy of James condemned to a merciless imprison-

prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-Bella, tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of an orator; which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the king's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, that he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit. The year following, the king appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and by the ever-memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination, and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that, after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne; but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor,—the emblem of Hope,—and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "Crux mihi anchora."—These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal, which was by the doctor given to him:

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

When winds and waves rise highest I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, that, me secure.

At this time of being orator, he had learned to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state, he being at that time very high in the king's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility. This, and the love of a court conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the king wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the king were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, he had too thoughtful a wit; a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body. But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to

ment. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Henry, Earl of Darnley, father of James I. This near relationship filled James with fear, lest she or her descendants should attempt to dispute the succession, and he formed the resolution of keeping her unmarried. This design she disappointed by a secret union with Mr. William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford. James no sooner received intelligence of the marriage, than he committed the lady Arabella to the Tower. She contrived to escape, but was captured on her passage to France, where she designed to take refuge with her husband, and was brought back to her melancholy prison, where she died in 1615, being then only thirty-eight years of age. The full particulars of her affecting story may be found in Mr. D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature."

The verses quoted in the text have been thus translated:

"For one like cause, our chains around us twine,
Thine altar beauteous is, and sacred mine."

alluding to her name Ara-bella, which signifies "a fair altar."

her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; 'tis one of those that bear the title of Affliction; and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
The way that takes the town;
Thou didst betray me to a lingering book
And wrapt me in a gown:
I was entangled in a world of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threaten'd oft the siege to raise,
Not simpering all mine age;
Thou often didst with academic praise
Melt and dissolve my rage:
I took the sweeten'd pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor persevere.

Yet, lest perchance I should too happy be
In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
Into more sicknesses.
Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will show.
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least some bird would trust
Her household with me, and I would be just.

Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek,
In weakness must be stout,
Well, I will change my service, and go seek
Some other master out:
Ah, my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
Let me not leave thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them all Mr. Herbert's court-hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had often persuaded him. These were such conflicts as they only can know that have endured them; for ambitious desires and the outward glory of this world are not easily laid aside; but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth. And though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him, that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution; and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it, for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time then made deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15th, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then lord bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own, and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it; and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands; being for the workmanship, a costly mosaic; for the form, an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea, where she then dwelt; and at his coming, said, "George, I sent for you to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you; namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse, to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time

to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, that she would, at the age of thirty-three years, allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God, that, if he were able, he would rebuild that church. And then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds, and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer and Mr. Arthur Woodnot, the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer, I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them, and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself, as to desire of wealth. And having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful to his friends; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert, for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father and to his mother, and continued to be so to him till he closed his eyes on his death-bed, I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert; from whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER, IN HER SICKNESS.

Madam,

At my last parting from you, I was the better content, because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family: but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our Commencement; wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the meantime, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter? Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and I hope kept heavenly for yourself; but would you divide and choose too? Our college customs allow not that; and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you, for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances. Happy is he whose bottom is wound up, and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem. For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family and so brought up your children, that they have attained to the years of discretion and competent maintenance. So that now, if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch that, whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be? since if we had riches, we are commanded to give them away; so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: but, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the Holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find "Blessed be the rich," or "Blessed be the noble;" but, "Blessed be the meek," and "Blessed be the poor," and "Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted." And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burned by thousands, and have endured such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end; and yours, which, praised be God, are less, are not like to continue long. I beseech you, let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, "That God, who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine." Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul; consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room

there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the psalmist,—"Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee*." To which join that of St. Peter, "Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you†." What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend his service! To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you, Philipp. iv. 4. St. Paul saith there, "Rejoice in the Lord always; and again I say, rejoice." He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? Yes, I say again, rejoice. So that it is not left to us to rejoice, or not rejoice; but, whatsoever befals us, we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verses, "Let your moderation appear to all men. The Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing." What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves. God is at hand, to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,
GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll., May 25th, 1622.

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford, in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat—no, not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption, by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it, as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness. And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother, and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy bishop of Wells*.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.—He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight, and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, esq. This Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire, that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters,—for he had so many,—but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing: and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas! her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey: yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city: and love having got such possession, governed, and made there such laws and resolutions, as neither party was able to resist; insomuch, that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-frenzy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence; and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties; for

* Psalm lv. 22. † 1 Peter v. 7.

* This gentleman, who, although a native of Scotland, received an English education at Westminster and Cambridge, and was appointed Greek professor of the university, was among the sufferers during the rebellion, and shared the exile of his king. At the restoration, Charles gave him the deanery of Wells, and in 1670 he was made bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1672.

the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after this marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, was made bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke,—who was the undoubted patron of it,—but to the king, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke,—for William was lately dead,—requested the king to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the king said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance;" and the earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him, without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month: in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood, and that living. And in this time of considering, he endured, as he would often say, such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endured them.

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton,—where he then was with his wife's friends and relations—and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the earls of Pembroke: at which time the king, the earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why: but that night, the earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant*, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately,—for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before,—and he was also the same day—which was April 26th, 1630,—inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile† from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it: a life that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many, live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell,—as the law requires him,—he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar; at which time and place—as he after told Mr. Woodnot—he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot: "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures; pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God, and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on Him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well because the virtuous life of a clergyman; is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him, that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor; and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always call him, Jesus

* Dr. John Davenant was appointed by James I. to attend the synod of Dort, where his zealous endeavours were not wanting to promote a union of the churches.

† Two miles west by north of Salisbury.

my master; and I will always contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; especially in that which he calls The Odour. In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say, that the adding these words, "my master," to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems, The Pearl, (Matth. xiii. 45, 46,) to rejoice and say—"He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly, and what, when it is forced by fire; knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions: knew the court; knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

That, through these labyrinths, not my grovelling wit,
But thy silk twist, let down from heaven to me,
Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
To climb to thee.

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and I am sure, places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald, as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife, as to assure him, it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house; namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind: but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother; be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able: and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care. And having with patience heard and understood her wants,—and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience,—he, like a Christian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and, like David's blessed man, thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected, that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman: and with them a message, that she would see and be acquainted with her, when her house was built at Bemerton.

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related: but I shall first tell, that he hasted to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel,—which stands near his house,—and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantel of the chimney in his hall.

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost;
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned at his own great charge,—which is a real truth;—and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour, both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered, and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And 'tis not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton: but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the reverend Dr. Humphrey Henchman *, now lord Bishop of

* Dr. Henchman was celebrated in the time of the rebellion as one of the most faithful adherents of Charles II.,

London,—who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning,—tells me, he laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and, alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to the grave.

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be, ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book, called, "The Country Parson;" in which some of his rules are:—

The parson's knowledge.
The parson on Sundays.
The parson praying.
The parson preaching.
The parson's charity.
The parson comforting the sick.
The parson arguing.
The parson condescending.
The parson in his journey.
The parson in his mirth.
The parson with his churchwardens.
The parson blessing the people.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these, and the other holy rules set down in that useful book: a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare twelvepence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert. The text of his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, chap. iv. 23, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man; and delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence: but, at the close of this sermon, told them, that should not be his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons. And he then made it his humble request, that they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising: and shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons—which, God knows, were not many—were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners; and that we begin so, because, till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping, that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, to open our lips, that our mouth may show forth his praise; for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, to follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises, as ought to be repeated often, and publicly; for with such sacrifices God is honoured and well pleased. This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up, and express their gratitude to Almighty God, for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour: and that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their eyes have also seen their salvation; for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven: and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace. And he taught them, that to do this

whom he attended at Worcester, and to whose escape after the battle he was mainly instrumental. Although zealous in the cause of his sovereign, he did not suffer his loyalty to overrule his conscience; and although he received many proofs of the king's favour after the restoration, being first made prebendary of Salisbury, and in 1660 advanced to that bishopric, and in 1663 translated to the see of London, he strenuously opposed every attempt to favour the professors of popery, who at that period were, not unreasonably, suspected by all true lovers of a free constitution.

was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his Psalms, He that praiseth the Lord honoureth him.

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath"—in our days—"visited and redeemed his people; and"—he hath in our days—"remembered, and shewed that mercy, which by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people."—These were some of the reasons, by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him; as namely, after the repetition of the creed before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects: and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, looks as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service: and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are required not to bow down to, or worship an idol, or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel to, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed, or doxology, so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom they and the priest gave glory. And because there had been heretics that had denied some of those three persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end." And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, "Amen."

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the church's appointing the celebration of holidays, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from almighty God; and—as the Rev. Mr. Hooker says—to be the landmarks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the redeemer of mankind. And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his Circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he—Mr. Herbert—instructed them, that Jesus was, forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the temple; namely, on that day which we call, "The Purification of the Blessed Virgin Saint Mary." And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity; and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion; and at Easter commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried; and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into Heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their

comforter; and that he did so on that day which the church calls Whit-Sunday. Thus the church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises, for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive, by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also why the church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels, were to be read at the altar or communion table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing: and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it: but I have done, when I have told the reader, that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddle up the church prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's Prayer, or a collect, in a breath. But for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces—the daughters of a deceased sister—and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers in the chapel, which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four: and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's saints'-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the church hath appointed for the day or week. Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom, where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, that his time spent in prayer, and cathedral-music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth. But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others; of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman, that is still living in that city; and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh."

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister; and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

"One cure for these distempers would be, for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.

"And another cure would be, for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but

principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignified clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives; for this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be such. (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake*, late lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it; and till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load: they were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after to load, his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, that if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast. Thus he left the poor man: and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed: but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment, his answer was, that "the thought of what he had done would prove music to him at midnight;" and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: "for if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or showing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us tune our instruments."

Thus, as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleophas, and that other disciple, which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to *her* charity. And for his *own*, he set no limits to it: nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them; especially his poor neighbours; to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, he would not see the danger of want so far off: but "being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come: being these, and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O charity! and that, being all my tithes and church-dues are a deodate from thee, O my God! make me, O my God! so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. "But," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow; and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston*, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemer-

* Fuller observes of this worthy prelate that "his piety may justly be exemplary to all of his order." He received his education at Winchester and Oxford, and was esteemed as one of the best preachers of his time. He was made dean of Worcester in 1608, and bishop of Bath and Wells in 1616. He died in 1626.

* Fugglestone, or Foulston St. Peter's, is the principal part of the rectory which comprises the parishes of Fugglestone, Quidhampton, and Bemerton; but the glebe house being at Bemerton the living has generally taken its name from thence, and its occupancy in former days by Herbert, and in our own by Mr. Bowles, whose well deserved fame, it is no flattery to say, nobly rivals that of his excellent predecessor, has given a celebrity to the place which will never depart from it.

ton is but a chapel-of-ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer,—for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment,—hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon—who is now rector of Friar Barnet in the county of Middlesex—from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him, and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon,—"Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me:" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, "What prayers?" To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir! the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them! But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint:" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that, at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and say, his discourse was so pious, and his motion so genteel and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory.

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days; and he did so: but before I shall say anything of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.*

Mr. Nicholas Farrer—who got the reputation of being called Saint Nicholas at the age of six years, was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was, at an early age, made Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age, he betook himself to travel: in which he added, to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our christian world; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic: but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father—who was a merchant—allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year; the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel, belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, a nothing between two dishes, did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the saints' days: and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity; none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable, and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God; and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the Common Prayers—for he was a deacon—every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house. And many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns, or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the psalms; and in case the psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ringing of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day: and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes

* The life of this singular Protestant monk, whose establishment was iniquitously dispersed in the civil wars, is very well commented on in that remarkable work, "The Lounger's Common Place Book;" a work which, although tinged with the warmth incident to the stirring times in which it was written, is full of sterling and original thought. An account of Mr. Farrer may also be found in Hacket's "Life of Archbishop Williams."

before, and sometimes after midnight; and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms: and when, after some hours, they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions—as hath been mentioned—until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four-and-twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve God day and night: thus did they always behave themselves as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy, that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church, or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour, which had a fire in it; and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs, may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the Considerations of John Valdesso—a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English,—to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it; and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars: and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the emperor, that his resolution was to decline his majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The emperor had himself, for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution; but God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the meantime the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again; and, after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly; and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the emperor took occasion to declare openly, that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life. And he pretended, he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like: but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso writ his Hundred and Ten Considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long: but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray you give my brother Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: and let him know that I have considered, that God only is what he would be; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him: and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health: and tell him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations; of which Mr. Farrer would say, there was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of

holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety. And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the vice-chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

> Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them. But after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the vice-chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon; save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert,—which was about three weeks before his death,—his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the bishop and prebends of the Cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces,—then a part of his family,—and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see, that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it: and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see my master and saviour, Jesus; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends. But I must die, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it: and that every day which I have lived, hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past." These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand and said,

> My God, my God,
> My music shall find thee,
> And every string
> Shall have his attributo to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

> The Sundays of man's life,
> Threaded together on time's string,
> Make bracelets to adorn the wife
> Of the eternal glorious King;
> On Sundays Heaven's door stands ope;
> Blessings are plentiful and rife,
> More plentiful than hope.

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems, as the angels, and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy. To which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him, whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and observed him to fall into a sudden agony; which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did. To which his answer was, that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his master Jesus. After which answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable. To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply; but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to show kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just; for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now

ready to die." After which words, he said, "Lord, forsake me not, now my strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And now, Lord—Lord, now receive my soul!" And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

——— All must to their cold graves:
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations.—I have but this to say more of him; that if Andrew Melvil died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish—if God shall be so pleased—that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. Wa.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, lamenting herself, and complaining, that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart! But since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is I may be also." And she would often say,—as the Prophet David for his son Absalom,—"O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, that name must live in her memory till she put off mortality. By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1653, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public: but they and Highnam-house were burnt together by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity. I. W.

LETTER FROM MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO NICHOLAS FARRER, THE TRANSLATOR OF VALDESSO.

My dear and deserving brother, your Valdesso I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first for your sake, because I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly, for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; thirdly for the church's sake, to whom, by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands—as he sent the fish with money to St. Peter—to discharge it; haply also with this—as his thoughts are fruitful—intending the honour of his servant the author, who, being obscured in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the gospel, among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them: nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein:—First, that God in the midst of popery, should open the eyes of one to understand and express, so clearly and excellently, the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness,—as he sheweth through all his considerations,—a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he everywhere bears towards our dear Master and Lord; concluding every Consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects—as I conceive—towards the publishing thereof.

From his Parsonage of Bemerton,
near Salisbury,
September 29th, 1632.

SIR J. D.

Sir,—Though I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but I profess it not; and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for since your favours come a horseback, there is reason that my desires should go afoot: neither do I make any question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me; and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner,

Your most obedient servant,
George Herbert.

FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER.

Most dear Sister.—Think not my silence forgetfulness; or that my love is as dumb as my papers: though businesses may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you; and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness that becomes your griefs, and my love. God, who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

Your most truly, most heartily affectionate brother, and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

December 6, 1620. *Trin. Coll.*

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Sir,—I dare no longer be silent, lest while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself and also the confidence my friends have in me: wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this; I want books extremely. You know, sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life: and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, sir; it is a most serious case: nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of achieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses: "Follow your book, and you shall want nothing." You know, sir, it is their ordinary speech; and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let them not deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, "You are sickly; you must not study too hard." It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so but that every day I may step one step towards my journey's end: and I love my friends so well, as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them. But they will object again; "What becomes of your annuity?" Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered; so that I am fain ever and anon to buy somewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and white meats. Out of Lent also, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas, sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger? Noble sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: first, the bulk of divinity: secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life): thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any to her way, I desire you, sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now, I write to you, sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour, to do so still, for I am sure you love

Your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

March 18, 1617. *Trin. Coll.*

Sir,—This week hath loaded me with your favours; I wish I could have come in person to thank you; but it is not possible. Presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole university of an hour long in Latin; and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behindhand; neither can I so much as go to Bugden, and deliver your letter; yet have I sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you, and my dear mother and sister, to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Nethersole for me: he and I are ancient acquaintance; and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesy he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here enclosed a letter from our master in my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the university's inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the university, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about thirty pounds per annum. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the orator writes all the university letters, makes all the orations, be it to king, prince, or whatever comes to the university. To requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors; is regent or non-regent at his pleasure; and such like gaynesses which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis. I pray, sir, send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble sir, I thank you for your infinite favours; I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

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Sir,—I have received the things you sent me safe; and now the only thing I long for is to hear of my dear sick sister; first, how her health fares; next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy as to hear of both these, that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the orator's place, all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands: your courtesy will pardon the haste of

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

January 19, 1619. *Trin. Coll.*

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Sir,—I understand by Sir Francis Nethersole's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no

such earthliness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in the next letter. I pray, sir, therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name (as I think), at the sign of the Pedlar and the Pack, on London-bridge; for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly: though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

October 6, 1619. *Trin. Coll.*

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode two hundred miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

TO THE TRULY NOBLE SIR J. D.

Sir,—I understand by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now, though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pounds upon her; which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your most humble servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray, sir, pardon my boldness of enclosing my brother's letter in yours; for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,—Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold, so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable than that which our state meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a suspicious and misinterpretable word as a fault. But remember, that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which though you be no good hearer, yet allow my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.

Your unworthiest servant,

Except your accepting have mended him,

JOHN DONNE.

Minchin, July 11, 1607.

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,—This is my second letter, in which, though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must, little less than accusingly, tell you, I knew not you would go), I sent my first letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory is a state-cloth and presence, which I reverence though you be away; though I need not seek that there which I have about and within me. There though I found my accusation, yet anything, to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated; so, in my resolution of writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a lieger ambassador here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon; of the states, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain myself with the honour of being

Your servant extraordinary,

and without place,

JOHN DONNE.

London, July 23, 1607.

TO THE WORTHIEST LADY, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,—As we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat or disperse all the vice of this place: but as higher bodies remove or contract themselves, when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, madam, you are not such in Ireland, as produceth neither ill nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales; which is a rare degree of perfection. But you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it was therefore but the childhood and minority of your soul, which had been long exercised since, in your manlier active part of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

Your ladyship's in all services,

JOHN DONNE.

August 2, 1607.

ON MR. GEORGE HERBERT'S BOOK, ENTITLED "THE TEMPLE OF SACRED POEMS," SENT TO A GENTLEWOMAN.

Know you, fair, on what you look?
Divinest love lies in this book;
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his sacrifice.
When your hands untie these strings,
Think you've an angel by the wings;
One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh;
To flutter in the balmy air
Of your well-perfumed prayer.
These white plumes of his he'll lend you,
Which every day to heaven will send you,
To take acquaintance of the sphere,
And all the smooth-faced kindred there.
And though Herbert's name do owe
These devotions, Fairest; know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY ANNE, COUNTESS OF PEMBR. AND MONTG. AT COURT.

Madam,—What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! Now they creep in a vessel of methegiin, and still they will by presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands, at which they aim. In the meantime, a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court style, yet doubtless, madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of,

Madam,
Your most faithful servant in Christ Jesu,
GEORGE HERBERT.

Bemerton, Dec. 10, 163:

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

THE

LIFE OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE

LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

My Lord,—If I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your lordship, I should enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate, to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderson. But though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth*, and Dr. Hammond†; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to outlive him; and farther from an intention to write his life. But the wise disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your lordship,—and, as it ought to be—with all humility, and a desire that it may remain as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,
Your most affectionate old friend,
and most humble servant,
Izaak Walton.

PREFACE.

I dare neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the life of Dr. Sanderson; but I am sure there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity, as to undertake it. For it may be noted, that our Saviour hath had such care, that, for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson's meek and innocent life, his great and useful learning, might therefore challenge the like endeavours to preserve his memory; and it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others,—I am far from that—but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it. This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say what I think he—whom I had the happiness to know well—would have said upon the same occasions: and if I have erred in this kind, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to begin, and so many willing informers since, and from them, and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myself, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and presented to the reader, and with it this desire; that he will take notice, that Dr. Sanderson did in his will, or last sickness, advertise, that after

* Mr. William Chillingworth was born at Oxford in 1602, and received his education at Trinity College. He became celebrated in the university for his controversial talents, but they failed him in a dispute with John Fisher, a jesuit, and declaring himself a convert, he entered the college at Douay. His godfather, Archbishop Laud, exerted himself with success for his re-conversion, and in 1631 he returned to England. In 1638 he published his celebrated work, entitled "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation." In the civil wars he warmly espoused the king's party, and took up arms in the cause. Being taken prisoner at the siege of Gloucester, he was carried to the bishop's palace at Chichester, and falling sick, died there on the 30th of Jan. 1644.

† Dr. Henry Hammond, one of those divines of the Church of England who were deprived of their livings during the civil wars, was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, on the 18th of August, 1605, and received his education at Eton, and Magdalen College, Oxford. At the Restoration it was intended to advance him to the see of Worcester, but his death, on the 25th of April, 1660, took place before the ceremony of consecration could be performed. He was the author of a "Practical Catechism," and a "Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testaments."

his death nothing of his might be printed; because that might be said to be his, which indeed was not; and also for that he might have changed his opinion since he first writ it. And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in that case of conscience concerning rash vows; that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do Apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more,—that as, in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderson's life, I met with these little tracts annexed*; so, in my former queries for my information to write the life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed,—and I have met with reason to believe it,—that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy; and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, I am now glad that I have collected these memoirs, which lay scattered, and contracted them into a narrower compass; and if I have, by the pleasant toil of doing so, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it. But I seriously wish, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal, as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

Doctor Robert Sanderson, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotheram in the county of York; a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotheram, some time archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man, whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life, have made it the more memorable: as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great piety, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son, of Robert Sanderson, of Gilthwaite-Hall, in the said parish and county, Esq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-Hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield, in the said county of York, Gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson, the father, was descended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoroton's History of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For, if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbish of their vices ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But our Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family: of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the Great Earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; to whose merits and memory, posterity—the clergy especially—ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; seeming even then to dedicate himself, and all his studies, to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed his; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind—his being mild, and averse to oppositions—made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others: and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example; and by frequent conversing with him, and scattering short apophthegms and little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue; and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed; that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue, were by God's assisting grace, blessed with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians† ; namely, That he, that had begun a good work in them, would finish it. And Almighty God did: for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death—and with truth and comfort—what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when he advised them to walk as they had him for an example‡.

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-school of Rotherham—that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name.—And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age, and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging a behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school till about the thirteenth year of his age; at

* These tracts and Mr. Hooker's sermon are omitted in this edition, as more properly belonging to collections of the works of the respective authors, than as appendages to the narrative of their lives.

† Phil. i. 6. ‡ Chap. iii. 17.

which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster; and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie*, who was then rector of Lincoln College. And he, after some time, and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and after to matriculate him in the university, which he did the first of July, 1603; but he was not chosen fellow till the third of May, 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of bachelor of arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the rector, that his pupil Sanderson had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory: and that he thought he had improved, or made the last so by an art of his own invention. And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken. I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this university; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company: and they going together on a Sunday with the doctor's friend to that parish-church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words,—not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie,—and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's house; where after some other conference, the doctor told him, he might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation: and for that word, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed: and told him, if his friend, then attending him, should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour. To which Mr. Sanderson said, he hoped he should not. And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, he would not justify himself. And so I return to Oxford. In the year 1608,—July the 11th,—Mr. Sanderson was completed Master of Arts. I am not ignorant that, for the attaining these dignities, the time was shorter than was then, or is now required; but either his birth, or the well performance of some extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that 'twas the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have misinformed me: but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was—November the 7th—by his college chosen reader of logic in the house; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the sixth of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen sub-rector of the college, and the like for the year 1614, and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities—if they may be so called—more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the proctors for the university. And 'twas not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the rector and whole society, of which he was a member; who had not had a proctor chosen out of their college for the space of sixty years;—namely, not from the year 1554, unto his standing; and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that 'twas but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers; and told him, that he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his college. By these, and other like persuasions, he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction, that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, that if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake: for he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or hatred, or both.

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to review the logic lectures which he had read some years past in his college; and, that done, to methodise and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity. But though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy; that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an art of right reasoning—an art that undeceives

* Dr. Richard Kilbie was much esteemed as a great benefactor to his college, since he restored and made great additions to its dilapidated library. He became rector in 1590; was appointed the King's Hebrew professor in 1610, and died in 1630.

men who take falsehood for truth; enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art will quickly appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. He, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this, his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both universities teach Dr. Sanderson's Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And, for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that since his book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold; and that it is like to continue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was assured by Dr. Kilbie, and the fellows of his own college, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his book of Logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done, and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And, upon these and other like encouragements, he did again, but not without an inward unwillingness, yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was, the 10th of April, 1616, chosen senior proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke, of Christ Church, being then chosen the junior.

In this year of his being proctor, there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot*, master of Balliol College, and regius professor of divinity (who being elected or consecrated bishop of Sarum some months before), was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese by the heads of all houses, and the chief of all the university. And Dr. Prideaux† succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, being then elected bishop of Worcester; and then our now proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the regius professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake, then warden of New College, was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells; a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he has made the great trust committed to him the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this proof may be, that he sate usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church-censures. And it may be noted, that, after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders that then stood before him, as begot in them a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them, though never so poor, to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them to believe him. And his humility and charity, and other Christian excellencies, were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ, and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Ellesmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right honourable, and as magnificent William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year our late King Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the university, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And this year King James sent letters to the university for the regulating their studies, especially of the young divines; advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the Fathers and councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other knotty points depending upon these—points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be, Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the king's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon; and that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it, yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors and his other hearers with rules to keep up discipline and order in the university; which at that time was, either by defective statutes or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution. And

* Dr. Abbot, was the brother of George, Archbishop of Canterbury, heretofore mentioned. His lectures against Suarez and Bellarmine occasioned his advancement to the see of Salisbury in 1615. He died on the 2nd of March, 1617, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

† Dr. John Prideaux, born at Harford, in Devonshire, in 1578. He was appointed rector of Exeter College in 1612, and king's professor in divinity in 1615. He obtained a high reputation at the university, so great, that several eminent foreigners sought him for their instructor. He suffered severely in the civil wars, and died on the 20th of July, 1650.

though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed, till Archbishop Laud's time, who assisted in the forming and promoting them, yet our present proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do; of which one example may seem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him unsent for next morning; and when they did, convinced them, with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said, "There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared," Psalm cxxx. 4. And by this and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy, he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose:—"I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had, God knows, many occasions to do both. And when I consider, how many of a contrary temper are by sudden and small occasions transported and hurried by anger to commit such errors as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid, and require repentance; and consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon; and consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as abates of the offender's content: when I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper that hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David—I wish I could—that therefore his praise shall always be in my mouth (Psalm xxxiv. 1), yet I hope that by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his proctorship, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity College, in that university; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his godfather, the father of our proctor, to let his son know it, and commend his godson to his acquaintance, and to more than a common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having, like a young man as he was, run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment, the fear of which made his bed restless that night; but, at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of—of a friendship free from all self-ends; and it continued to be so, till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that, this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of bachelor in divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preached in that university since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained deacon and priest in the year 1611, by John King*, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been dean of Christ Church, and then knew him so well that he became his most affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the twenty-ninth of his age, he took from the university a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country as was inconsistent with his health. And health being—next to a good conscience—the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannell, in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living—which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton—he was presented by Thomas Harrington, of the same county and parish, Esq., who was a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron, lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannell, he resigned his fellowship of

* Dr. King was born at Wornall, in Buckinghamshire, about 1559, and received his education at Westminster. He was one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, and in 1605 was made dean of Christchurch. He was advanced to the see of London in 1611, and died in 1621.

Lincoln College unto the then rector and fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words:

Ego Robertus Sanderson perpetuus, &c.

I Robert Sanderson, fellow of the college of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College, in the University of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the rector and fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said college, wishing to them and their successors all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

May 6, 1619. ROBERT SANDERSON.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York *, or the king, *sede vacante*, made prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln, by the bishop of that see.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson the more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and a prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual a content, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, Colos. i. 24, which he would not have wanted because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he, having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care, and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: he, having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purposes into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, bachelor in divinity, then rector of Haugham, in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife, that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outlived him.

And in this Boothby Pannell, he either found or made his parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the decent and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron, and he, lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions; but such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised, in order to their salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For he would often say, that, without the last, the most evident truths—heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver—either are not, or are at least the less effectual; and do usually rather harden than convince the hearer.

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church prayers, catechising, preaching, and administering the sacraments seasonably; but thought—if the law or the canons may seem to enjoin no more,—yet that God would require more, than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, Gal. vi. 2, help to bear one another's burden, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good, one example may be, that he met with a poor dejected neighbour, that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9*l*. a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days' constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would 'bate him no rent; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame; people that are cursed with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson; for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning; and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day, and, in a conference, the doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor; and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is pleased when called the God of mercy. And told him, the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleased, if he, that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich

* Dr. Tobias Matthew, who died on the 29th of March, 1628, aged eighty-three.

steward in the Gospel, that took his fellow-servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing. This he told him: and told him, that the law of this nation—by which law he claims his rent—does not undertake to make men honest or merciful; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, prove like gravel in his teeth: would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: and therefore advised him, being very rich, to make friends of his unrighteous mammon, before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, sad tenant; for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These, and other such reasons, were urged with so grave and compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and we believe, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, that he had seen none perish for want of clothing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice. Job xxxi. 19. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions. But, since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him, in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life, was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured, and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory,—even the art of it,—yet he had such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his sermons as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and exposed to censure,—which was in the year 1632,—that the best sermons that were ever read, were never preached.

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the learned and good Archbishop Laud*, who knew him well in Oxford,—for he was his contemporary there,—told the king, ('twas the knowing and conscientious King Charles the First,) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his majesty would make him his chaplain. The king granted it most willingly, and gave the bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The bishop forgot not the king's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his chaplain in ordinary in November following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the king did put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him: so that, at the end of his month's attendance, the king told him, he should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he returned. And when the month and he did return, the good king was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers; but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the king thought what he spake; for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first parliament of this good king, which was 1625, he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln; which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's, though others say they were before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up, for his own satisfaction, such a scheme—he called it "Pax Ecclesiæ"—as then gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation among the most learned. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good king's reign. Which I here tell my reader,

* Dr. William Laud, (whose execution, which must ever be accounted little better than a judicial murder, was a disgrace to the Parliament,) was born at Reading on the 7th of October, 1573, and educated there and at St. John's College, Oxford. He was made dean of Gloucester in 1616; bishop of St. David's in 1621. In 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells; in 1628 to London; and in 1633 to Canterbury. The share he took in public affairs, his strong opinions upon the subject of the extent of the kingly power, and the Arminian doctrines which influenced him in the exercise of his priestly authority, all tended to render him exceedingly unpopular; but the charge of an inclination to popery, which, both during his life and since his death, has been frequently urged against him, is totally destitute of foundation. His piety, charity, zeal, and honesty did him honour, but his judgment was too defective to permit a prudent exercise of the power entrusted to him. He was impeached and imprisoned about the same time as Strafford, but was suffered to remain three years in the Tower before he was brought to trial, when, after the examination of more than one hundred and fifty witnesses, "the Commons," says Hume, "found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate." He died by the hand of the executioner on the 10th of January, 1644-5, in the seventy-second year of his age.

because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, the unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the predestination points as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend dean of Salisbury.

In the year 1636, his majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, because at the king's coming thither, Dr. Sanderson did attend him, and was then, the 31st of August, created doctor of divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made doctors and masters of arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then bishops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created doctors of divinity in his University. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon; and Prince Rupert, who still lives, the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created masters of arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly sick of being well, namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk-government; and to that end created a new covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the king for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity; but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed to request; so that though forbidden by the king, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the king was forced to meet them with an army: but upon a treaty and some concessions, he sent them back,—though not so rich as they intended, yet,—for that time, without bloodshed. But, oh! this peace, and this covenant, were but the forerunners of war, and the many miseries that followed: for in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct counsel with these very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that parliament, and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would restore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto; "For the crown and covenant of both kingdoms." This I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because, in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the covenanters of this nation, and their party in parliament, made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for a reformation: and though their desires seemed not reasonable to the king, and the learned Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury; yet, to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did, in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material for satisfying their consciences;—and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the dean of Westminster's house, for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless, his reputation was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both houses of parliament to the king, then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the king to be so: but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two houses of parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines, to debate and settle some church-controversies, of which many were very unfit to judge: in which Dr. Sanderson was also named, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the king's authority. And here I must look back, and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was, July 21st, named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be professor regius of divinity in Oxford: but, though knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons,—expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed,—kept him from entering into it till October, 1646.

He did, for about a year's time, continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first de Juramento, a point very difficult, and at that time very dangerous, to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these, and his following lectures De Conscientiâ, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the

best pens must needs fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in casuistical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures,—the king being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight,—the parliament had sent the covenant, the negative oath, and I know not what more, to be taken by the doctor of the chair, and all heads of houses; and all other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were all to take these oaths by a fixed day; and those that did not, to abandon their college, and the university too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; for if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered by this wicked parliament; but the king yet was not: and the university had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made between king and parliament, that the dissenters in the university might both preserve their consciences and subsistence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the parliament were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the university appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to the parliament, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: and of these delegates Dr. Sheldon,—late archbishop of Canterbury,—Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, now bishop of Winchester, and that most honest and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch*, were a part; the rest I cannot now name: but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson: and he was requested to methodise and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires and did so. And then, after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the parliament's proceedings, and the university's sufferings, might be manifested to all nations: and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the independents—who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army—had taken the king from a close to a more large imprisonment; and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat of that to the king, who had, in the year 1646, sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon,—the late Archbishop of Canterbury,—and Dr. Morley,—the now Bishop of Winchester,—to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the parliament for a peace in church and state: but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian parliament, were now allowed him by those in present power. And as those other divines, so Dr. Sanderson gave his attendance on his majesty also in the Isle of Wight, preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private, conferences with him, to his majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that, being the Parliament had proposed to him the abolishing of episcopal government in the church, as inconsistent with monarchy, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our king's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's taking his leave of his majesty in his last attendance on him, the king requested him to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity. To which his answer was, that he was now grown too old, and unfit to write cases of conscience. But the king was so bold with him as to say, it was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson: for no young man was fit to be a judge or write cases of conscience. And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, not commonly known, that in one of these conferences this conscientious king told Dr. Sanderson, or one of them that then waited with him, that the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God ever restored him to be in peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession, and a voluntary penance,—I think barefoot—from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's Church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon. I am sure one of them that told it me, lives still, and will witness it. And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's Lectures de Juramento were so approved and valued by the king, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon,—then Bishop of London,—Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert,—who then attended him,—to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that king's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately showed me by Sir William Dugdale, king of arms. The book was designed to be put into the king's library at St. James's; but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the covenant, negative oath, and parliament ordinance for church discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion: for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of

*Dr. Robert Zouch was celebrated as a civilian, and was the author of many Latin works on Civil Law. He was born at Analey, in Wiltshire, in 1590, and was educated at Winchester school and New College, Oxford. In 1620 he was regius professor of civil law. He was also Warden of the Cinque Ports, and judge of the Admiralty Court. He died in 1660.

presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods: but, notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and, as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was in June, 1648, forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the university had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then canon of Christ Church,—now lord bishop of Winchester,—and others, to petition the parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the house, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed; but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst undertake it; for at this time the privileges of that Parliament were become a noli me tangere, as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now, to the church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the university's reasons for noncompliance with the parliament's injunctions: and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the dissenters out of the university. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him and hearing a good report of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and, that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, he had such a love for Dr. Morley that, knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that he should, without taking any oath or other molestation, enjoy his canon's place in his college. I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the doctor word: and his answer was, th not fail to return my friend —who still humble and undissembled thanks, could not accept of his intended kin when the dean, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the college, were turned out, except Dr. should take it to be, if not a sin, ye to be left behind with him only. I knew, and will speak nothing of him, dead.

It may easily be imagined, with wh willingness these self-loving reformers session of all vacant preferments, and reluctance others parted with their b leges and subsistence: but their consci dearer than their subsistence, and out the reformers possessing them without scruple: where I will leave these scrupl and make an account of the then pre of London, to be the next employm reader's patience.

And in London all the bishops' ho turned to be prisons, and they filled wi that would not take the covenant, or for ing common prayer, or that were accuse faults like these. For it may be noted, this time the parliament set out a proc encourage all laymen that had occasion t of their ministers for being troublesom dalous, or that conformed not to orders ment, to make their complaint to a com that purpose; and the minister, though miles from London, should appear ther satisfaction, or be sequestered; and y sure no parish could want a covetous cious, or cross-grained complainant;— means all prisons in London, and in s places, became the sad habitations of c divines.

And about this time the Archbishop bury having been by an unknown law con dic, and the execution suspended for many of the malicious citizens, fearing shut up their shops, professing not to till justice was executed. This malice ness is scarce credible; but I saw it.

The bishops had been voted out of th Parliament, and some upon that occas the Tower; which made many covenant and believe Mr. Brightman—who prob good and well-meaning man—to be ins Comment on the Apocalypse, an abri which was now printed, and called M man's Revelation of the Revelation. A he was grossly mistaken in other thing cause he had made the churches of G Scotland, which had no bishops, to be Pl in the Apocalypse, the angel that G Rev. iii. 7-13, and the power of prelacy christ, the evil angel, which the Hous mons had now so spewed up, as never their dignity; therefore did those c approve and applaud Mr. Brightman fo ing and foretelling the bishops' downfa they both railed at them, and rejoic good pennyworths of their lands, w friends of the House of Commons did a as a reward of their diligent assistan them down.

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not, preach true doctrine: and by this and like means, several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another, and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in the discourse that follows.

I have heard of two men, that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, for he was beholden to him; and the other, that he was not, for he was not beholden to him. And something like this was in the designs both of the covenanters and independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the covenant; and the other, that we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear the covenant contrary to their consciences, and lose both their livings and liberties too. Though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of election, reprobation, and free will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not; though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the churchyard, by cutting down a large yew-tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners; who, excepting against him for so doing, were answered, that the trees were his, and 'twas lawful for every man to use his own, as he, and not as they thought fit. I have heard, but do not affirm it, that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet of a dead body after it is buried; and having heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: nor would one suppose any man to do what this covenanter did. And whether there were any law against him, I know not; but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby parish, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise: for all corners of the nation were filled with covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy,—so the historian* saith,—when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations: and though there might be some of these covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet an eminent dissenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear, and visibly disturb him in the church when he read prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be served most acceptably: which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was advised by a parliament-man of power and note, that valued and loved him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration: for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the rubric. I will set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O Almighty God and merciful Father, we, thy unworthy servants, do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep; and that, by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts, we have grievously offended against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left undone those good duties, which we might and ought to have done; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord! that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in thy mercy, whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked. Have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord! have mercy upon us miserable offenders: spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not; but, according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father! for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In these disturbances of tearing his service-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the

* Thucydides.

evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said: "God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children; where I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so: but I will labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him, that he hath by his grace prevented me, from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place of great reputation and profit: and though my condition be such, that I need the last, yet I submit; for God did not send me into this world to do my own, but suffer his will, and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise, and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed, justifying the truth of that doctrine which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of The King's Meditations in his Solitude was printed, and made public: and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the author, and so desirous that the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which they suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a conversation and rest with him for some days; and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it, Dr. Sanderson became so compliant, as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon—which was a very short one—into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ: but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond,—looking on his sermon as written—observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, that he also became afraid for him; for 'twas discernible to many of the plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good Doctor, give me my sermon; and know, that neither you nor any man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good doctor, be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without book, I will give you leave to burn all those that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit, was at this time to discourse with Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly: it was about those knotty points, which are by the learned called the Quinquarticular Controversy; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment,—I pretend not to that,—but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy Covenant was brought and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers—those of London especially—to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached, that all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endeavour to avoid the latter. Others, that it was not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world; affirming therefore, that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling; maintaining, that it is most certain every man can do what he can to be saved; and that he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned. And yet many that affirmed this would confess that that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to Heaven. Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these, or the like occasions, come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce,—the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury,—of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London ministers—then a fraternity of Sion College in that city—had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his Practical Catechism affirmed, that our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind. To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply—as 'tis now printed in his works.—After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differed with Dr. Hammond,—whom he reverenced and loved dearly,—and would not therefore engage him into a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: but they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was, by these debates, altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find that, upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio, in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of Dr. Sanderson's, says, God can reconcile his own contradictions; and therefore advises all men, as the apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety. And let me add further, that if these

fifty-two ministers of Sion College were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controversy; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confess it to the honour of God and themselves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

I cannot lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson, where we left them at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both then and before it; yet my desire is that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter, concern us; namely, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he having freely pardoned all his enemies, and humbly begged of God to pardon them, and besought those present to pardon and pray for him; yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for suffering a sort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, that the parliament would hasten his execution. And having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery,—for that was one of the accusations for which he died,—he declared with sadness, "That the several sects and divisions then in England—which he had laboured to prevent,—were like to bring the Pope a far greater harvest, than he could ever have expected without them." And said, "These sects and divisions introduce profaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion; and that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion; and that by these means this church, which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those which were his accusers." To this purpose he spoke at his death: for this, and more of which, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same in his two large and remarkable Prefaces before his two volumes of Sermons; and he seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it,—for he lived fourteen years after,—both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him: but this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannell, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together; but neither can be found there: for the first was in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell, who was an active man for the parliament and covenant; one that, when Belvoir Castle—then a garrison for the Parliament—was taken by a party of the king's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark, then a garrison of the king's; a man so active and useful for his party, that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison: and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many, that knew him so well as to treat him kindly; but told him, He must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the king's garrison of Newark. There were many reasons given by the doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange; but all were ineffectual; for done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions.

First, that Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places: but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet, by his providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas as his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor, but contented subsistence for himself, wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our king and church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in cases of conscience; some known to him, many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet he denied no man: and if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, "That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with showing mercy or doing

kindnesses;" then doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, are a burden that none can bear, though their fortitude may sustain their other infirmities: and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied, for he denied none, and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that God had inclined his heart to do it to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters, have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely,

1. Of the sabbath.
2. Marrying with a recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the king's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive some patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown giddy by the many falsehoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons; when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronise their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last twenty sermons;—first printed in the year 1655;—in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed with such a spirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifest, his conscience having slept long and quietly in a good sequestered living, was yet at the reading of it so awakened, that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was to sustain if he consented to it, and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned, he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface had upbraided the parliament, and many godly ministers of that party, for unjust dealing. To which his reply was,—'twas Tim. Garthwaite.—"That 'twas not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books: and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse, for it began to rain, and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire, for our money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations, with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament that the parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and use of it with their blood: and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it, and at least pretend to make better prayers extempore: and that they, and only they, that could do so, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the church, saying, the Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant expressions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in them such piety, and so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a congregation, behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God, than those raw, unpremeditated expressions, to which many of the hearers could not say, Amen.

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter, or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose: "That they were the treasury of Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and necessities; able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leisure; to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and providence of our Creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his will; and then, and not till then, to believe ourselves happy." This, he said, the liturgy and psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last, they would not only prove to be our soul's comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself concerning the liturgy and psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about freewill, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to

heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that, by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think they might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were elected, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise; that to be rich was to be happy, though their wealth was got without justice or mercy; that to be busy in things they understood not was no sin. These, and the like mistakes he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness, with which this nation was blessed, before the unhappy covenant was brought into the nation, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "That the way to restore this nation to a more meek and Christian temper, was to have the body of divinity, or so much of it as was needful to be known, to be put into fifty-two homilies or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed a third or fourth part of an hour's reading; and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then some applications of trial and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body; and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following: and that this being done, it might probably abate the inordinate desire of knowing what we need not, and practising what we know and ought to do." This was the earnest desire of this prudent man. And oh that Dr. Sanderson had undertaken it! for then in all probability it would have proved effectual.

At this happy time of enjoying his company and this discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, "Oh that I had gone chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended, when he first went ambassador to the state of Venice: for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several men of several nations; and might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing, one of the late miracles of general learning, prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padrio Paulo, who, the author of his Life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: a man whose fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation; and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension. I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in many parishes, where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner, as they could not take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, "The blessed sacrament did, by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received their last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and to examine and re-search their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings; and, that done, to bewail them, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God's commands, and beg his grace to perform them. And this done, the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our satisfaction in this life, and our comfort on our last sick beds." The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. At first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little, yet enough, of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, but so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God whose pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect; but there was therein no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness; for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book; and would say, the repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it to themselves or friends. And though he was blessed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it that he did over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and re-consider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or

not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering and re-considering, till his time was so wasted that he was forced to write, not, probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause. These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him an averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because, during that time, they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions, yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved, with David, that his praise should be always in his mouth.

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past, and more might be added of all; but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days in which so many good men suffered, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very low condition as to his estate; and in that time Mr. Robert Boyle* (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually met with and read his Lectures de Juramento, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow, the now learned Bishop of Lincoln, 50*l.*, and with it a request and promise. The request was, that he would review the Lectures de Conscientiâ, which he had read when he was doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity; and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659. And the promise was, that he would pay him that, or a greater sum if desired, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which I refer my reader to a letter writ by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the end of this year, 1659, when the many mixed sects, and their creators and merciless protectors, had led or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion; when amazement and fear had seized them, and their accusing consciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the God which they had long served was now ready to pay them such wages as he does always reward witches with for their obeying him, when these wretches were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our king's return; and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson, and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others, could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then, in the beginning of the year following, the king was by God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations. Then were the suffering clergy freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to God in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe, that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this day, and be of this number.

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times men of learning and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a bishop was made up of labour and care; that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy did so; and that the account of that stewardship must, at the last dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts; and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these and all the other requisites required in a bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the king's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; and namely, that, at the king's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Bishop of Canterbury, than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better, was by his majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the king that he would nominate him; and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would, for God's and the church's sake, take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness,

* It is unnecessary, nay, it is impossible, in the space of a note, to do justice to the fame and character of that learned and amiable man, Mr. Robert Boyle; his noble birth was the least of his distinctions; but his services in the cause of science have given to his name an undying memory. He was born at Lismore, in the province of Munster, in Ireland, on the 25th of January, 1626-27, and died on the 30th of December, 1691.

certainly no forwardness to undertake it; and would often say, he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours, might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others.

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric; and am next to tell, that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the church, might have satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church-service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty, of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate; and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual; for there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstrations can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy in the Strand; and the points debated were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and reasons of the nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren, yet I am sure Mr. Baxter* was one, and am sure what shall now follow was one of the points debated.

Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient to its being a lawful command; this proposition was brought by the conforming party.

That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing, thus:

One was, Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself, and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command. Another was, That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.

Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence, *per accidens*, any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful;

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason, then given in with his own hand in writing thus; Because the first act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such.

Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance, whence directly, or *per accidens*, any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty;

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING*.
JOHN PEARSON†.

These were then two of the disputants, still alive, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the dissenters — which I could but forbear to name—appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderson — who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops—to say, with an unusual earnestness, That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all his conversation.

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities, of the other, much better than before it: and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, did, at their next meeting in convocation, contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the rubric and common-prayer, as also by adding some new necessary collects, and a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of those new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this convocation the Common Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new necessary offices; which were, A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr; A

* Richard Baxter, one of the most celebrated of the non-conformist divines, was born at Rowton in Shropshire, in 1615. His character and talents were held in such esteem, that after the restoration the bishopric of Hereford was proffered to his acceptance, but his principles obliged him to decline the office. He died in 1691.

† Dr. Gunning was a Church of England divine, who suffered considerably for the royal cause. He died Bishop of Ely in 1684.

‡ Dr. Pearson's name is well known in connexion with his celebrated "Exposition of the Creed;" a book which still retains its reputation. In 1661 he was made Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge; and he died Bishop of Chester in 1686, aged seventy-four.

Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King; and for the Baptising of Persons of riper age. I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the convocation; and he did also, by desire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea—now taken into the service-book.—And it may be noted, that William, the now Right Reverend Bishop of Canterbury*, was in these employments diligently useful; especially in helping to rectify the Calendar and Rubric. And lastly, it may be noted, that, for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this title,—The Preface; and begins thus—"It hath been the wisdom of the church"—

I shall now follow him to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his clergy, as to know and be known to them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table, when they came to visit him: then they prayed for him, and he for them, with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that the care and toil required of a bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them: and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Buckden, in the county of Huntingdon, the usual residence of his predecessors,—for it stands about the midst of his diocese,—having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that the king having by an injunction commended to the care of the bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, the repair of them, their houses, and their augmentation of small vicarages; he, when he was repairing Buckden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: so fast, that a friend, taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember he was under his first-fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered. To whom a mild and thankful answer, saying, It w become a christian bishop to suffer thos built by his predecessors to be ruined for repair; and less justifiable to suffer any c that were called to so high a calling as to at God's altar, to eat the bread of sorr stantly, when he had a power by a small tation to turn it into the bread of cheer and wished, that as this was, so it were al power to make all mankind happy, for he nothing more. And for his wife and child hoped to leave them a competence, and hands of a God that would provide for kept innocence, and trusted his provide protection, which he had always found en make and keep him happy.

There was in his diocese a minister of his age, that had been of Lincoln College left it, who visited him often, and always w because he was a man of innocence an heartedness. This minister asked the bish books he studied most, when he laid the tion of his great and clear learning. To w answer was, that he declined reading man what he did read were well chosen, and often, that he became very familiar with th said, they were chiefly three, Aristotle's R Aquinas's Secunda Secundæ, and Tully, bu his Offices, which he had not read over l twenty times, and could at this age say book. And told him also, the learned Doctor Zouch—who died lately—had w menta Jurisprudentiæ, which was a book could also say without book; and that man could read it too often, or love or ec too much; and told him these had b toil: but for himself he always had a natu to genealogies and heraldry; and that w thoughts were harassed with any perplexed he left off, and turned to them as a recr and that his very recreation had made him fect in them, that he could, in a very sho give an account of the descent, arms, an quity of any family of the nobility or g this nation.

Before I give an account of Dr. Sanc last sickness, I desire to tell the reader was of a healthful constitution, cheerful an of an even temper, very moderate in his d had had little sickness, till some few years his death; but was then every winter p with a *diarrhœa*, which left him not till weather returned and removed it: and t temper did, as he grew older, seize him and continue longer with him. But th weakened him, yet it made him rather ind than sick, and did no way disable him from ing—indeed too much.—In this decay strength, but not of his memory or reaso this distemper works not upon the underst —he made his last will, of which I shall giv account for confirmation of what hath be and what I think convenient to be known, I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last will, give an accoun faith and persuasion in point of religio church-government, in these very words:

"I, Robert Sanderson, doctor of divinity,

* The character of Dr. Sancroft stands high in the ranks of those who have adorned the English church. He was often a sufferer for conscience sake, but never swerved from his faith. He was born at Freshingfield, in Suffolk, in 1621, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he was deprived of his fellowship in 1649, for refusing to take the "Engagement." He was made archbishop in 1677, and to his honour was one of the seven prelates sent to the Tower by James II. But notwithstanding this, he was a staunch adherent to the house of Stuart, and, refusing to take the oaths to the new government at the revolution, he was first suspended from and then deprived of his office. He retired into a dignified privacy, and died on the 24th of November, 1693.

worthy minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but—by the great mercy of God—without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my will and testament,—written all with my own hand,—revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself,—infinitely polluted with sin,—but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son, and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire, and—by the grace of God—resolve, to die in the communion of the catholic church of Christ, and a true son of the church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education,—to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion,—as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of popery as puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of mercies, to preserve the church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, ever more to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people—and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege—do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious sovereign, the reverend bishops, and the parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this church in point of religion by the late great increase of popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies, as may prevent the same before it be too late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader by another part of his will which follows.

"As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish church of Buckden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or—at the farthest—the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the inhabitants of Buckden; without the unnecessary expense of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the preacher; whereof the former—after my body shall be interred—to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains 5*l.*, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person, either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will, that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription in legible Roman characters, DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS. This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least however testifying at my death—what I have so often earnestly professed in my life time—my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expenses otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any; which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons."

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662; and that his body was buried in Buckden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have—to his just praise—told this truth, That he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a farther account of him on his last sick-bed.

His last will—of which I have mentioned a part—was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. And that none of his clergy—which are more numerous than any other bishop's—might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission impower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment he seemed to be displeased, by saying, His friends said their

prayers backward for him: and that it was not his desire to live a useless life, and by filling up a place keep another out of it, that might do God and his church service. He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, That during his being a housekeeper—which was more than forty years—there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first. He would also often mention with thankfulness, That till he was three-score years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor—upon himself—so much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had so lived, as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father; and hoped he should die without an enemy.

He, in this retirement, had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night, some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of The Whole Duty of Man. As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals. And his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered, "It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, "A quarter of an hour! Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live!" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after—which was three days before his death—he was become so weak and weary of either motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed: in which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed,—which was three days before his death,—he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose: "Thou, O God! tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful protector of me to this present moment of my life: thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is, that I may die praising thee."

The frequent repetition of the Psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians; the psalms having in them not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies, as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy psalmist said, that his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and night watches, by meditating on God's word: Psal. cxix. 147, so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very psalms that the church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily morning service: and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening, remembering and repeating the very psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if his first waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now his employment in Heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful; and he said, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me; but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be filled with thy praise." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment; and during that time did often say the 103rd psalm to himself, and very often these words, "My heart is fixed, O God! my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found." His thoughts seemed now to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that the king of terrors could not surprise him as a thief in the night: for he had often said, He was prepared, and longed for it. And as this desire seemed to come from Heaven, so it left him not till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with him, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought them to that place, into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. 'Tis now too late to wish that my life may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age: but I humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death may; and do as earnestly beg of every reader, to say—Amen.

"Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no guile," Psal. xxxii. 2.

APPENDIX.

DR. PIERCE'S LETTER.

Good Mr. Walton,—At my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson, before the happy restoration of the King and Church of England to their several rights: in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit), in his excellent book, entitled, "A Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson;" to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderson, and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet, for the work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present than from the 8th to the 23d page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a master of arts, how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Institutions, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors: how he erred with Mr. Calvin, whilst he took things upon trust in the sublapsarian way; how, being chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the quinquarticular controversy into five schemes or tables: and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both, and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or, at least, took notice of it; and more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss, (or the way he walks in), although his acute and very learned and ancient friend.

* I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderson's own hand, which was never printed (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from his son, or from myself,) that, when that Parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book not long before published at Paris, (A. D. 1623), by a Spanish bishop†, who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy, "De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii." And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them, containing the four first books of twelve, which he intended then to publish. "When I had read," says Dr. Sanderson, in the following words of the same letter, "his epistle dedicatory to the pope (Gregory XV.) he spake so highly of his own invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main knot of the business, other than had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the coexistence of all things, past, present, and future, 'in mente divina realiter ab æterno,' which is the subject of his whole third book; only he interpreteth the word 'realiter' so as to import not only 'præsentialitatem objectivam,' (as others held before him) but 'propriam et actualem existentiam;' yet confesseth it is hard to make this intelligible. In his fourth book he endeavours to declare a two-fold manner of God's working 'ad extra;' the one 'sub ordine prædestinationis,' of which eternity is the proper measure; the other 'sub ordine gratiæ,' whereof time is the measure: and that God worketh 'fortiter' in the one, (though not 'irresistibiliter') as well as 'suaviter' in the other, wherein the free-will hath his proper working also. From the result of his own performance I was confirmed in this opinion: that we must acknowledge the work of both grace and free-will in the conversion of a sinner; and so likewise in all other events, the consistency of the infallibility of God's foreknowledge at least (though not with any absolute, but conditional predestination) with the liberty of man's will and the contingency of inferior causes and effects. These I say, we must acknowledge for the ὅτι: but for the τὸ πῶς I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it' And so came the two 'Acta Synodalia Dordrechtana' to stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this day.

"And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not many years after, to wit, A. D. 1632, out cometh Dr. Twiss's 'Vindiciæ Gratiæ,' a large volume, purposely writ against Arminius: and then, notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be meddling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole book. But from the reading of it (for I read it through to a syllable) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before; but especially these three: First, that he bottometh very much of his discourse upon a very erroneous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it, I verily believe, some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this, that whatsoever is first in the intention is last in execution, and 'e converso.' Which is an error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder how a person of such acuteness and subtility of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All logicians know there is no such universal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true maxim is but this: 'Finis qui primus est in intentione, est ultimus in executione.' In the order of final causes, and the means used for that end, the rule holdeth perpetually: but in other things it holdeth not at all, or but by chance: or not as a rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that foreseeing such consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit

* Sir, I pray note, that all that follows between inverted commas are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but nowhere else extant; and commend him as much as anything you can say of him.—T. P.

† Arriba.

the said harsh consequences, but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had undertaken to defend. Thirdly, that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary sublapsarian way, and the supralapsarian too, as it had diversely been declared by all that had gone before him, (for the shunning of those rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon), he was forced to seek out an untrodden path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way (like a spider's web wrought out of her own bowels), hoping by that device to salve all absurdities could be objected; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed the chiefest so) the only end of all other his decrees, and then making all those other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any one of the same. Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the 'studium partium' to others, wherewith his own eyes, though of eminent perspicacity, were so strangely blindfolded, that he could not discern how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved principle (like the Cadmean Sparti) do mutually destroy the one the other.

"This relation of my past thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give a shorter account of what they are now concerning these points."

For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed: and for another account at large of Bishop Sanderson's last judgment concerning God's concurrence or non-concurrence with the actions of men, and the positive entity of sins of commission, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my Impartial Enquiry into the Nature of Sin, §. 68, p. 183, as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderson, which lie before me, than venture the loss of my originals by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his own life, as your own prudence shall direct you; using my name for your warrantry in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from

Your affectionate humble servant,

THO. PIERCE.

North Tidworth, March 5, 1677-8.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

MY worthy friend Mr. Walton,—I am heartily glad that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent person, and (both of learning and piety) eminent prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years, and, in Oxon, to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was regius professor of divinity there. Afterwards, when, in the time of our late unhappy confusions, he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour and kindness, he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having in a letter, named two or three books, writ, "ex professo," against the being of any original sin; and that Adam, by his fall, transmitted some calamity only, but no crime, to his posterity: the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor their authors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known), because both the doctrine and the unadvised abettors of it, are (and shall be) to me apocryphal.

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, great ability, and judgment as a casuist. Discoursing with an honourable person* (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which, for some particular reasons, he then desired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book "De Juramento:" which having read with great satisfaction, he asked me, if I thought the doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him to furnish him with books for that purpose? I told him I believed he would; and in a letter to the doctor, told him what great satisfaction that honourable person, and many more, had reaped by reading his book "De Juramento;" and asked him, whether he would be pleased, for the benefit of the church, to write some tract of cases of conscience? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any benefit by his books; and added further, that if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly, though without any pension, set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person before mentioned did, by my hands, return 50*l.* to the good doctor; whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low: and he presently revised, finished and published that excellent book "De Conscientia;" a book little in bulk, but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it: for there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it, explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can, with prudence, pertinently apply them "hic et nunc" to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good doctor in performing, that excellent work.

And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools as regius professor of divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers; especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the explication of the subject-matter of his lectures; a person of quality, yet alive, privately asked him, what course a young divine should take in his studies to enable him to be a good casuist? His answer was, that a convenient understanding of the learned languages (at least of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), and a sufficient knowledge of arts and sciences presupposed; there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible. 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, "quid sit actus humanus (spontaneus, invitus, mixtus)

* Robert Boyle, Esq.

unde habent bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?" how the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? how far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish, the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being only this, Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not? he who, in these, knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can, "in hypothesi," rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular action be so. 2. The second thing, which, he said, would be a great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general; to know what a law is; what a natural and a positive law; what's required to the "latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis;" what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression; for every case of conscience being only this, Is this lawful for me, or is it not? and the law the only rule and measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evidently follows, that he who, in these, knows not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious prelate; and having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive I could not, without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it. Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble, which (if nothing else) may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLN.

London, May 10, 1678.

THE

LIFE OF LUTHER.

BY

M. MICHELET.

TRANSLATED BY

G. H. SMITH, F.G.S.

Luther.

THE LIFE OF LUTHER.

THE CATASTROPHE.—Page 4.

BY M. MICHELET.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following work is neither the life of Luther turned into an historical romance, nor a history of the establishment of Lutheranism, but a biography, consisting of a series of transcripts from Luther's own revelations. With the exception of the events of the earlier years of his life, when Luther could not have been the penman, the transcriber has seldom had occasion to hold the pen himself. His task has been limited to selecting, arranging, and fixing the chronology of detached passages. Throughout the work Luther is his own spokesman—Luther's life is told by Luther himself. Who could be so daring as to interpolate his own expressions into the language of such a man! Our business is to listen to, not interrupt him: a rule we have observed as strictly as was possible.

This work, which was not published till 1835, was almost entirely written during the years 1828 and 1829. The translator of the *Scienza Nuova** felt at that period a lively consciousness of the necessity of tracing from theories to their application, of studying the general in the individual, history in biography, humanity in one man; and this a man who had been in the highest rank of mankind, an individual who had been both an entity and an idea; a perfect man, too—a man both of thought and action; a man, in fine, whose whole life was known, and that in the greatest detail—a man, whose every act and word had been remarked and registered.

If Luther has not written his own memoirs, he has, at the least, supplied admirable materials for the task†. His correspondence is scarcely less voluminous than Voltaire's; and there is not one of his dogmatic or polemical works into which he has not introduced some unintentional detail which the biographer may turn to advantage. All his words, too, were greedily garnered by his disciples; good, bad, insignificant, nothing escaped them. Whatever dropped from Luther in his most familiar converse, at his fireside, in his garden, at table, after supper, his most trifling remark to his wife or his children, his most trivial reflection, went straightway into their note-books. A man so closely watched and followed must have been constantly letting fall words which he would have wished to recall. Lutherans have subsequently had occasion to regret their indiscreet records, and would willingly have erased this line, that page; but *Quod scriptum est, scriptum est* (What is written is written).

In these records, then, we have Luther's veritable confessions—careless, unconnected, involuntary, and, therefore, the more veritable confessions. Assuredly, Rousseau's are less ingenuous; St. Augustin's less full, less diversified.

Had Luther himself written every word of this biography, it would take its rank between the two works just alluded to. It presents at once the two sides, which they give separately. In St. Augustin's, passion, nature, and human individuality, are only shown, in order to be immolated at the shrine of divine grace. The saint's confessions are the history of a crisis undergone by the soul, of a regeneration, of a *vita nuova* (a new life); he would have blushed at making us more intimately acquainted with that worldly life on which he had turned his back. The reverse is the case with Rousseau. Grace is out of the question; nature reigns with undivided, all-triumphant, and undisguised sway; so much so, as at times to excite disgust. Luther presents, not grace and nature in equilibrium, but in their most agonising strife. Many other men have suffered the struggles of sensibility, the excruciating temptations of doubt. Pascal clearly endured them all, but stifled them, and died of the effort. Luther conceals nothing: he could not contain himself. He suffers us to see and to sound the deep plague-sore inherent in our nature, and is, perhaps, the only man in whose moral structure we can find a pleasure in studying this fearful anatomy.

Hitherto, all that has been shown of Luther is his battle with Rome. We give his whole life, his struggles, doubts, temptations, consolations; a picture in which the man engrosses us as much as, and more than, the partisan. We show this violent and terrible reformer of the North not only in his eagle's nest at Wartbourg, or braving the emperor and the empire in the diet at Worms, but in his house at Wittemberg, in the midst of his grave friends, of his children, who cluster round his table, walking with them in his garden, by the border of the small pond, in that melancholy cloister which became a family

* M. Michelet alludes to his version of Vico's great work.

† For Luther's German works I have followed the Wittemberg edition, in 12 vols. fol. 1539—1559; for his Latin, the Wittemberg edition, in 7 vols. fol. 1545—1558, and, occasionally, that of Jena, in 4 vols. fol. 1600—1612; for the "Tischreden," the Frankfort edition, in fol. 1568. As for the extracts from Luther's letters, their dates are so carefully given in the text, that the reader has only to turn to De Wette's excellent edition (5 vols. 8vo., Berlin, 1825), to lay hands upon them at once. I have availed myself of some other works besides Luther's,—of Eckert's, Seckendorff's, Marcineke's, &c.

residence; here we hear him dreaming aloud, and finding in all surrounding objects, the flowers, the fruit, the bird that flits by, food for grave and pious thoughts.

But the sympathy which may be inspired by Luther's amiable and powerful personal character must not influence our judgment with regard to the doctrine he taught or the consequences which naturally flow from it. This man, who made so energetic a use of liberty, revived the Augustinian theory of the annihilation of liberty, and has immolated free-will to grace, man to God, morality to a sort of providential fatality.

The friends of liberty in our days are fond of citing the fatalist, Luther. At first, this strikes one as strange. But Luther fancied that he saw himself in John Huss and in the Vaudois, champions of free-will. The fact is, that these speculative doctrines, however opposed they may seem, take their rise in one and the same principle of action—the sovereignty of individual reason; in other words, in resistance to the traditional principle, to authority.

Therefore, it is not incorrect to say that Luther has been the restorer of liberty in modern times. If he denied it in theory, he established it in practice. If he did not create, he at least courageously affixed his signature to that great revolution, which rendered the right of examination lawful in Europe. And if we exercise in all its plenitude at this day this first and highest privilege of human intelligence, it is to him we are mostly indebted for it; nor can we think, speak, or write, without being made conscious at every step of the immense benefit of this intellectual enfranchisement. To whom do I owe the power of publishing what I am even now inditing, except to the liberator of modern thought?

This debt paid to Luther, we do not fear to confess that our strongest sympathies do not lie this way. The reader must not expect to find here the examination of the causes which rendered the victory of Protestantism inevitable. We shall not display, after the example of so many others, the wounds of a Church in which we were born, and which is dear to us. Poor, aged mother of the modern world, denied and beaten by her son, it is not I, of a surety, who would wish to wound her afresh. Elsewhere, we shall take occasion to express how much more judicious, fruitful, and complete, if it be not more logical, the catholic doctrine appears to us than that of any of the sects which have risen up against her. It is her weakness, but her greatness likewise, to have excluded nothing of man's invention, and to have sought to satisfy at one and the same time the contradictory principles of the human mind. It was this, and this only, which afforded those who reduced man to such or such a given principle the means of their easy triumph over her. The universal, in whatever sense it be understood, is weak against the special. *Heresy* means *choice*, a speciality,—speciality of opinion, speciality of country. Wickliff and John Huss were ardent patriots; the Saxon Luther was the Arminius of modern Germany. The Church, universal in time, space, and doctrine, was inferior to each of her opponents, inasmuch as she possessed but one common means. She had to struggle for the unity of the world with the opposing forces of the world; inasmuch as the larger number were with her, she was encumbered with the lukewarm and timid; in her political capacity she had to encounter all worldly temptations; the centre of religious belief, she was inundated with numberless local beliefs, against which she could hardly maintain her unity and perpetuity. She appeared to the world, even what the world and time had made her, and tricked out in the motley robe of history. Having undergone and embraced the whole cycle of humanity, she had contracted its littleness and contradictions. The small heretical communions, rendered zealous by danger and by freedom, isolated, and therefore the purer and more sheltered from temptations, misapprehended the cosmopolitan Church, and compared themselves to her with pride. The pious and profound mystic of the Rhine and of the Low Countries, the rustic and simple Vaudois, pure as the herb of his own Alps, could easily accuse of adultery and prostitution her who had received and adopted every thing. Each rivulet may say to the ocean:—"I descend from my mountains, I know no other water than my own; thou art the receiver of the impurities of the whole world."—"Yes; but I am the Ocean."

All this might be said, and ought to be developed; and no work would stand in greater need of an introduction than one dedicated to such a discussion. To know how Luther was compelled to do and to suffer that which he himself calls *the extremest of miseries;* to comprehend this great and unhappy man, who sent the human mind on its wanderings at the very moment that he conceived he had consigned it to slumber on the pillow of grace; to appreciate the powerlessness of his attempt to ally God and man, it would be necessary to be cognizant of the most important attempts of the kind, made both before and after his day, by the mystics and rationalists; in other words, to sketch the whole history of the Christian religion. At some future time, perhaps, I may be tempted to give such an introduction.

Why, then, put off this too? Why begin so many things, and always stop before you complete? If the answer be thought of consequence, I willingly give it.

Midway in Roman History, I encountered Christianity in its infancy. Midway in the History of France, I encountered it aged and bowed down; here, I have met it again. Whithersoever I go, it is before me; it bars my road and hinders me from passing.

Touch Christianity! it is only they who know it not, who would not hesitate....For me, I call to mind the nights when I nursed a sick mother. She suffered from remaining in the same position, and would ask to be moved, to be helped to turn in her bed—the filial hands would not hesitate; how more her aching limbs!.....

Many are the years that these ideas have beset me; and, in this season of storms, they ever constitute the torment and the dreams of my solitude. Nor am I in any haste to conclude this internal converse, which is sweet to myself at the least, and which should make me a better man, or to part as yet from these my old and cherished meditations.

THE LIFE OF LUTHER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

A.D. 1483—1521.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1483—1517.

BIRTH, EDUCATION OF LUTHER.—HIS ORDINATION, TEMPTATIONS, AND JOURNEY TO ROME.

"In the many conversations I have had with Melanchthon, I have told him my whole life from beginning to end. I am a peasant's son, and my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all common peasants. My father went to Mansfeld, and got employment in the mines there; and there I was born. That I should ever take my bachelor of arts and doctor's degree, &c., seemed not to be in the stars. How I must have surprised folks by turning monk; and then, again, by changing the brown cap for another! By so doing, I occasioned real grief and trouble to my father. Afterwards I went to loggers with the pope, married a runaway nun, and had a family. Who foresaw this in the stars? Who could have told my career beforehand?"

John Luther, the father of the celebrated Martin Luther, was of Mœra or Mœrke, a small village of Saxony, near Eisenach. His mother was the daughter of a lawyer of the last named town; or, according to a tradition, which strikes me as the preferable one of the two, of Neustadt in Franconia. A modern writer states, but without giving any authority for the anecdote, that John Luther, having had the misfortune to kill a peasant who was herding his cattle in a meadow, was forced to fly to Eisleben, and afterwards to the valley of Mansfeld. His wife, who was in the family-way, accompanied him; and, on reaching Eisleben, she was brought to bed of Martin Luther. The father, a poor miner, had great difficulty in supporting his family, and, as will presently be seen, his children were sometimes obliged to have recourse to charity. Yet, instead of making them help him with their labour, he chose that they should go to school. John Luther seems to have been a simple and single-hearted man, and a sincere believer. When his pastor was administering consolation to him on his death-bed: "He must be a cold-blooded man," was his remark, "who does not believe what you are telling me." His wife did not survive him a year (A.D. 1531). They were at this time in the enjoyment of a small property, for which they were no doubt indebted to their son. John Luther left at his death a house, two iron furnaces, and about a thousand thalers in ready money. The arms of Luther's father, for peasants assumed arms in imitation of the armorial bearings of the nobles, were a hammer, no more. Luther was not ashamed of his parents. He has consecrated their names by inserting them in the formulary of his marriage service: "*Wilt thou, Hans* (John), *take Grethe* (Margaret) *to thy wedded wife*," &c.

"It is my pious duty," he says in a letter to Melanchthon, informing him of his father's death, "to mourn him of whom it was the will of the Father of Mercy that I should be born, him by whose labour and sweat God has supported and made me what I am, worm though I be. Assuredly I rejoice that he lived unto this day, to see the light of truth. Blessed be the counsels and decrees of God for ever! Amen!"

Martin Luther, or Luder, or Lother (for so he sometimes signs himself), was born at Eisleben, on the 10th of November, 1483, at eleven in the evening. Sent at an early age to school at Eisenach (A.D. 1489), he sang in the streets for a livelihood, as was a common practice of that time with poor German students. We are made acquainted with this circumstance by himself:—"Let no one speak contemptuously before me of the poor 'companions,' who go about singing and crying at every door. *Panem propter Deum!* (bread for God's sake!) You know that the Psalm says—'Princes and kings have sung.' I, myself, have been a poor mendicant, and have received bread at the doors of houses, particularly in Eisenach, my beloved city!" He at length met with a more certain livelihood, as well as an asylum, in the house of dame Ursula, wife or widow of John Schweickard, who took pity on the poor wandering child; and he was enabled by this charitable woman to study four years at Eisenach. In 1501, he entered the university of Erfurth, where he was supported by his father. In one of his works, Luther mentions his benefactress in terms of tenderest emotion, and for her sake valued the sex all his life. After essaying theology, he was persuaded by his friends, to devote himself

to the study of the law, which, in that day, was the path to all lucrative offices in both church and state; but he never seemed to have been attached to it. He preferred general literature, and especially music, which was his passion, and which he cultivated all his life, and taught his children. He does not hesitate to own his opinion that, next to theology, music is the first of the arts:—"Music is the art of the prophets; the only one which, like theology, can calm the troubles of the soul, and put the devil to flight." He touched the lute, played on the flute. Perhaps he would have succeeded in other arts. He was the friend of the great painter, Lucas Cranach. He was, it seems, skilful with his hands, and acquired the art of turning. His predilection for music and literature, and the constant reading of the poets, with which he diversified his study of logic and of law, were far from foreshadowing the serious part which he was destined to play in the history of religion; and it is presumable, from various traditional anecdotes, that, notwithstanding his application to his studies, he led the life of the German students of the day, and participated in their noisy habits, their gaiety in the midst of indigence, their union of a warlike exterior with sweetness of soul and a peaceful spirit, and of all the parade of a disorderly life with purity of morals. Certainly, if any one had met Martin Luther, travelling on foot from Erfurth to Mansfeld, in the third week of Lent, in the year 1503, with his sword and hunting-knife at his side, and constantly hurting himself with these weapons of his, he would never have thought that the awkward student would in a short time overthrow the dominion of the catholic church throughout half of Europe.

In 1505, the young man's life was accidentally turned into quite a new channel. A friend of his was struck dead by lightning at his side. He uttered a cry; and that cry was a vow to St. Anne to turn monk. The danger over, he made no attempt to elude a vow into which he had been surprised by terror, he solicited no dispensation; he regarded the stroke which he conceived himself to have narrowly escaped, as a menace and command from Heaven, and only deferred the fulfilment of the obligation he had undertaken for a fortnight. On the 17th of July, 1505, after having spent the evening pleasantly in a musical party, with his friends, he entered the same night the cloister of the Augustins, at Erfurth, taking with him only his Plautus and his Virgil. The next day, he wrote to various parties bidding them farewell, informed his father of the step he had taken, and remained secluded a whole month. He was conscious how much he still clung to the world; and feared to face his father's respected countenance, his commands, and his prayers. In fact, it took two years to persuade John Luther to allow him his way, and to consent to be present at his ordination. A day on which the miner could quit his work was fixed for the ceremony; and he came to Erfurth, accompanied by many of his friends, when he bestowed on the son he was losing twenty florins, the amount of his savings.

It must not be supposed that the new priest was impelled by any particular fervour to contract so serious an engagement. We have seen the baggage of mundane literature which he brought with him into the cloister. Let us hear his own confession of the frame of mind with which he entered: "When I said my first mass at Erfurth, I was all but dead, for I was without faith. My only thought was, that I was most acceptable. I had no idea that I was a sinner. The first mass was an event much looked to, and a considerable sum of money was always collected. The *horæ canonicæ* were borne in with torches. *The dear young lord*, as the peasants called their new priest, had then to dance with his mother, if she were still alive, whilst the bystanders wept for joy; if dead, he put her, as the phrase runs, under the communion-cup, and saved her from purgatory."

Luther having obtained his wish, having become priest and monk, all being consummated and the door closed, there then began, I do not say regrets, but misgivings, doubts, the temptations of the flesh, the pernicious subtleties of the spirit. We of the present day can have but a faint idea of the rude gymnastics of the solitary mind. Our passions are regulated; we stifle them in their birth. How can we, plunged in the enervating dissipation of a thousand businesses, studies, and easy enjoyments, and blunted by precocious satiety both of the senses and the mind, picture to ourselves the spiritual conflicts entered into by the man of the middle age! the painful mysteries of an abstinent and phantastic life; the fearful fights which have taken place, noiselessly and unrecorded, betwixt the wall and the sombre casement of the monk's poor cell! An archbishop of Mentz was accustomed to say: "The human heart is like the stones of a mill; if you put corn between them they grind it and make it into flour; but if you put none, they keep turning till they grind themselves away." . . . "When I was a monk," says Luther, "I often wrote to Dr. Staupitz. I once wrote to him, '*Oh! my sins! my sins! my sins!*' to which he replied, 'You desire to be without sin, and yet are free from all real sin. Christ was the pardon for sin.'" . . . "I frequently confessed to Dr. Staupitz, not about trifles such as women are in the habit of doing, but about thoughts which go to the root of the matter. He answered me, like all other confessors, 'I don't understand you.' At last he came to me as I was sitting at table, and said, 'Are you so sad, then, *frater Martine?*' 'Ah!' replied I, 'yes I am.' 'You are not aware,' he said, 'that temptation of the kind is good and necessary for you, but only for you.' He simply meant that I was learned, and without such temptations, would become proud and haughty; but I afterwards knew that it was the Holy Ghost that was speaking to me."

Elsewhere, Luther describes how those temptations had reduced him to such a condition that he did not eat, drink, or sleep for a fortnight. "Ah! were St. Paul now living, how should I wish to hear from himself what kind of temptation it was by which he was tried. It was not the sting of the flesh; it was not the good Tecla, as the Papists dream. Oh! no; that were not a sin to rack his conscience. It was something exceeding the despair caused by sins; it was rather the temptation alluded to by the Psalmist, when he exclaims, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' As if he meant to say, 'Thou art my enemy without a cause;' or the cry of Job: 'I am, nevertheless, just and innocent.' I feel certain that the book of Job is a true history, out of which a poem was subsequently made. . . . Jerome and the other fathers

did not undergo such temptations. They suffered but puerile ones, those of the flesh, which, however, have their own pangs too. Augustin and Ambrose had theirs; they trembled before the sword; but this is nothing in comparison with the angel of Satan, *who buffets with the fists*. . . . If my life endure a little longer I will write a book on temptations, without undergoing which one can neither comprehend Holy Scripture nor know the love and fear of God."—". . . . I was ill in the infirmary. The cruellest temptations exhausted and racked my frame, so that I had scarcely power to draw a breath. None gave me comfort. Those to whom I complained answered, 'We know nothing of this.' Then I said to myself: 'Am I alone to be so depressed in mind?' . . . Oh! what horrible spectres and faces danced around me! . . . But, for these ten years, God, by his dear angels, has given me the comfort of fighting and writing (in his cause!)."

Long after this, the year before his death, he explains the nature of these fearful temptations:—"From the time that I attended the schools, I had felt, when studying St. Paul's Epistles, the most intolerable anxiety to know the intent of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. I stuck at one phrase—*Justitia Dei revelatur in illo* (for therein is the *righteousness* of God revealed). I hated that word, *Justitia Dei* (the *righteousness* of God), because I had learnt to understand it, with the schoolmen, of that active justice, through which God is just, and punishes the unjust and sinners. Leading the life of a blameless monk, yet disturbed by the sinner's uneasy conscience, and unable to feel certain of justification before God, I could not love, rather, I must confess it, I hated this just God, the avenger of sin. I waxed wroth, and murmured loudly within myself, if I did not blaspheme—'What,' I said, 'is it not enough that unhappy sinners, already eternally lost through original sin, are overwhelmed with innumerable woes by the law of the decalogue, but must God heap suffering upon suffering, and menace us in the Gospel itself with his justice and his wrath?' . . . I was hurried out of myself on this wise by the uneasiness of my conscience, and kept constantly recurring to and sifting the same passage, with a burning desire to penetrate St. Paul's meaning.

"As I meditated day and night upon the words: 'For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith,' God at length took pity upon me. I perceived that the righteousness of God is that by which the just man, through God's goodness, lives, that is to say, *faith;* and that the meaning of the passage is—the Gospel reveals the righteousness of God, a passive righteousness, through which the God of mercy justifies us by faith. On this I felt as if I were born again, and seemed to be entering through the opening portals of Paradise. . . . Some time afterwards I read St. Augustin's work, *Of the Letter and the Spirit*, and found, contrary to my expectation, that he also understands by the righteousness of God, that which God imputes to us by justifying us; a coincidence which afforded me gratification, although the subject is imperfectly stated in the work, and this father does not explain himself fully or clearly on the doctrine of imputation. . . . ."

In order to confirm Luther in the doctrine of grace, there wanted but his visiting the country in which grace had become extinct, that is, Italy. We need not describe the Italy of the Borgias. There indisputably existed at this period a characteristic of which history has seldom or never presented another instance; a reasoning and scientific perversity, a magnificent ostentation of crime; to sum up the whole in one word, the priest-atheist, king in his own belief of the world. This belonged to the age; but what belonged to the country, and what cannot change, is the unconquerable paganism which has ever existed in Italy; where, despite every effort, nature is pagan, and art follows nature, a glorious comedy, tricked out by Raphael, and sung by Ariosto. The men of the North could but faintly appreciate all that there is of grave, lofty, and divine in Italian art, discerning in it only sensuality and carnal temptations; their best defence against which was to close their eyes and pass on quickly, cursing as they passed. Nor were they less shocked by Italy's austerer part, policy and jurisprudence. The Germanic nations have ever instinctively rejected and cursed the Roman law. Tacitus describes how on the defeat of Varus, the Germans took their revenge on the juridical forms to which he had endeavoured to subject them: having nailed the head of a Roman lawyer to a tree, one of these barbarians ran his tongue through with a bodkin, exclaiming, "Hiss, viper! hiss, now!" This hatred of the legists, perpetuated throughout the Middle Age, was, as it will be seen, warmly participated in by Luther; as, indeed, might have been expected. The legist and the theologian are the two poles—the one believes in liberty, the other in grace; the one in man, the other in God. Italy has always entertained the first of these beliefs; and the Italian reformer, Savonarola, who preceded Luther, only proposed a change in works and manners, and not in faith.

Behold Luther in Italy. The hour that one first descends from the Alps into this glorious land is one of joy, of vast hopes; and, indisputably, Luther hoped to confirm his faith in the holy city, and lay his doubts on the tombs of the holy apostles. Nor was he without a sense of the attraction of ancient, of classic Rome; that sanctuary of the learning which he had so ardently cultivated in his poor Wittemberg. His first experience of the country is being lodged in a monastery, built of marble, at Milan; and so as he proceeds from convent to convent, he finds it like changing from palace to palace. In all, alike, the way of living is lavish and sumptuous. The candid German was somewhat surprised at the magnificence in which humility arrayed herself, at the regal splendour that accompanied penitence; and he once ventured to tell the Italian monks that it would be better not to eat meat of a Friday; an observation which nearly cost him his life, for he narrowly escaped an ambush they laid for him. He continues his journey, sad and undecided, on foot, across the burning plains of Lombardy. By the time he reaches Padua he is fairly ill; but he persists, and enters Bologna a dying man. The poor traveller's head has been overcome by the blaze of the Italian sun, by the strange sights he has seen, the strangeness of manners and of sentiments. He took to his bed at Bologna, the stronghold of the Roman law and the legists, in

the firm expectation of speedy death; strengthening himself by whispering in the words of the prophet and the apostle, "The just man lives by faith." In one of his conversations he displays with much simplicity the horror felt of Italy by the worthy Germans: "The Italians require no more to take away your life than that you should look into a glass; and can deprive you of all your senses by secret poisons. The very air is deadly in Italy. They close the windows with the greatest care at night, and stop up all the crevices." Luther asserts that both he and the brother who accompanied him fell ill through having slept with the windows open; but two pomegranates that they eat, with God's grace, saved their lives. He resumed his journey, passed through Florence only, and at last entered Rome. He alighted at the convent of his order, near the *Porta del Popolo*. "As soon as I arrived I fell on my knees, raised my hands to heaven, and exclaimed, 'Hail, holy Rome, sanctified by holy martyrs, and the blood which they have shed here!'" . . . . In his enthusiasm, he says he hastened to every sacred spot, saw all, believed all. But he soon discovered that he was the only believer. Christianity seemed to be forgotten in this capital of the Christian world. The pope was no longer the scandalous Alexander VI., but the choleric and warlike Julius II.; and this father of the faithful breathed only blood and desolation. His great artist, Michael Angelo, represented him hurling his benediction at Bologna, like a Jupiter hurling thunder; and Julius had just given him an order for a tomb to be as large as a temple. 'Twas the monument, of which the Moses, amongst other statues, has come down to us.

The sole thought of the pope, and of Rome, at this period, was war with the French. Had Luther undertaken to speak of grace and the powerlessness of works to this strange priest, who besieged towns in person, and who but a short time before would not enter Mirandola except through the breach, he would have met with a patient listener! His cardinals, so many officers serving their apprenticeships to war, were politicians, diplomatists, or else men of letters, learned men sprung from the ranks of the people, who only read Cicero, and would have feared to compromise their Latinity by opening the Bible. When speaking of the pope, they styled him *high pontiff*; a canonized saint was, in their language, *relatus inter divos* (translated to Olympus); and if they did happen to let fall an allusion to God's grace, it was in the phrase, *Deorum immortalium beneficiis* (by the kind aid of the immortal Gods). Did our German take refuge in churches, he had not even the consolation of hearing a good mass. The Roman priest would hurry through the divine sacrifice so quickly, that when Luther was no further than the Gospels, the minister who performed service was dismissing the congregation with the words, "*Ite, missa est*," (Ye may go, service is over.) These Italian priests would often presume to show off the freethinker, and, when consecrating the host, to exclaim "*Panis es, et panis manebis.*" (Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain.) To veil one's head and fly was the only resource left. Luther quitted Rome at the end of a fortnight, bearing with him, into Germany, the condemnation of Italy, and of the Church. In his rapid and saddening visit, the Saxon had seen enough to enable him to condemn, too little to allow him to comprehend. And, beyond a doubt, for a mind preoccupied with the moral side of Christianity, to have discovered any religion in that world of art, law, and policy, which constituted Italy, would have required a singular effort of philosophy. "I would not," he somewhere says, "I would not have missed seeing Rome for a hundred thousand florins" (which words he repeats three times). I should ever have been uneasy, lest I might have done injustice to the pope."

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1517 — 1521.

LUTHER ATTACKS THE INDULGENCES.—HE BURNS THE PAPAL BULL.—ERASMUS, HUTTEN, FRANZ VON SICKINGEN.—LUTHER APPEARS AT THE DIET OF WORMS.—HE IS CARRIED OFF.

THE papacy was far from suspecting her danger. Ever since the thirteenth century, she had been clamoured against and railed at; until the world appeared to her to have been lulled to sleep by the monotonous wranglings of the schools. There seemed nothing strikingly new left to be said: every one had talked himself out of breath. Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, persecuted, condemned, and burnt, had, nevertheless, had time to make full clearance of their minds. The doctors of the most Catholic University of Paris, the Pierre d'Aillys, the Clemengises, even the mild Gerson himself, had had, respectively, their blow at the papacy. Patient and tenacious, she lasted, however, and made shift to live on; and so the fifteenth century slipped away. The councils of Constance and Bâle produced greater noise than result. The popes let them go on talking, managed to get the Pragmatic acts revoked, quietly re-established their dominion in Europe, and founded a great sovereignty in Italy. Julius II. conquered for the church; Leo X. for his family. The latter, young, worldly-minded, fond of literature, a man both of pleasure and of business, like the rest of the Medicis, had all the passions of his age, both those of the old popes and those of his own day. He aimed at making the Medici kings; and he himself sustained the part of the first king of Christendom. Independently of that expensive scheme of diplomacy which embraced all the states of Europe, he maintained distant scientific relations, pushed his inquiries even into the north, and made a collection of the monuments of Scandinavian history. At Rome, he built St. Peter's, a duty bequeathed him by Julius II.; who had not sufficiently calculated his resources, for who could think of money when Michael Angelo laid such a plan before him! Speaking of the Pantheon, he had said, "I will hang it up three hundred feet high in the air." The poor Roman state was not strong enough to contend with the magnificent genius of such artists, whose conceptions even the ancient Roman empire, the master of the world, would hardly have been able to realize. Leo X. had begun his pontificate by selling Francis I. what did not belong to him, the rights of the church of France; and, shortly afterwards, in order to raise money, he had created thirty cardinals at once. These were trifling resources. He was not owner of the mines of

; his mines were the ancient faith of the their credulous good-nature ; and he had right of working them in Germany to the ans, who succeeded the Austin friars in of indulgences. The Dominican, Tetzel, an at mountebank, went about with great bus- lay, and expense, disposing of his ware in urches, public squares, and taverns. He d the proceeds, giving in the smallest re- possibly could ; a fact which the pope's rought home to him some time after. As a of purchasers waxed less, it became expe- enhance the merit of the specific, which had long hawked about that the market had The fearless Tetzel had pushed rhetoric extremest limits of amplification. Boldly pious lie on lie, he went into an enumera- all the evils cured by this panacea, and, not ing himself with known sins, invented devised strange, unheard-of wickednesses, of o one had ever dreamed before ; and when his auditory struck with horror, coolly "Well, the instant money rattles in the offers, all will be expiated !"

er asserts that at this time he hardly knew idulgences were; but when he saw a pro- of them, proudly displaying the name and ee of the archbishop of Mentz, whom the ad appointed to superintend the sale of nces in Germany, he was seized with indig-

A mere speculative problem would never ought him into contact with his ecclesiastical rs; but this was a question of good sense and y. As doctor of theology, and an influential or of the university of Wittemberg which tor had just founded, as provincial vicar of stin friars, and the vicar-general's substitute astoral charge and visitation of Misnia and gia, he, no doubt, thought himself more re- le than any one else for the safeguard of the faith. His conscience was aroused. He reat risk in speaking; but, if he held his he believed his damnation certain. He n legal form, applying to his own diocesan, iop of Brandenburg, to silence Tetzel. The replied, that this would be to attack the of the Church; that he would involve himself ple of every kind, and that it would be wiser to keep quiet. On this, Luther addressed to the primate, archbishop of Mentz and of burg (a prince of the house of Brandenburg, hostile to the elector of Saxony), and sent st of propositions which he offered to main- ainst the doctrine of indulgences. We his letter, which runs to great length in inal (October 31st, 1517).

erable father in God, most illustrious prince, afe to cast a favourable eye on me, who am t and ashes, and to receive my request with l kindness. There is circulated throughout ntry, in the name of your grace and lord- e papal indulgence for the erection of the al of St. Peter's at Rome. I do not so bject to the declamations of the preachers of ulgence, as to the erroneous idea entertained the poor, simple, and unlearned, who are here openly avowing their fond imaginations subject. This pains me, and turns me sick. They fancy that souls will be delivered from ry as soon as their money clinks in the (papal) coffer. They believe the indulgence to be powerful enough to save the greatest sinner, even one (such is their blasphemy) who might have violated the holy mother of our Saviour ! . . . . Great God ! these poor souls, then, are to be taught, under your authority, to death and not to life. You will incur a fearful and heavily increasing responsibility. . . . . Be pleased, noble and venerable father, to read and take into consideration the following propositions, in which is shown the vanity of the indulgences which the preachers give out as a certainty."

The archbishop making no reply, Luther, who misdoubted such would be the case, on the very same day at noon (October 31st, 1517, the day before All Saints' Day) affixed his propositions to the door of the church of the castle of Wittemberg, which is still in existence.

"The following theses will be maintained at Wittemberg, before the reverend Martin Luther, moderator, &c., 1517:—

"The pope neither can nor will remit any penalty except such as he has himself imposed, or in conformity with the canons.

"The penitential canons are for the living; they cannot impose any punishment on the soul of the dead.

"The changing of canonical punishment into the pains of purgatory is a sowing of tares: the bishops were clearly asleep when they suffered such seed to be sown.

"That power of extending relief to souls in purgatory, which the pope can exercise throughout Christendom, belongs to each bishop in his own diocese, each curate in his own parish . . . . Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory would wish to be released ? is said to have been asked by St. Severinus.

"Christians should be taught, that unless they have a superfluity, they ought to keep their money for their family, and lay out nothing upon their sins.

"Christians should be taught, that when the pope grants indulgences, he does not so much seek for their money as for their earnest prayers in his behalf.

"Christians should be taught, that if the pope were made acquainted with the extortions of the indulgence-preachers, he would prefer seeing the basilica of St. Peter's reduced to ashes, to building it with the flesh, fleece, and bones of his sheep.

"The pope's wish must be, if indulgences, a small matter, are proclaimed with the ringing of a bell, with ceremonial, and solemnity, that the Gospel, so great a matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred ceremonies, a hundred solemnities.

"The true treasure of the Church is the sacrosanct Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

"One has cause to hate this treasure of the Gospel, by which the first become the last.

"One has cause to love the treasure of indulgences, by which the last become the first.

"The treasures of the Gospel are the nets by which rich men were once fished for.

"The treasures of indulgences are the nets with which men's riches are now fished for.

"To say that the cross, placed in the pope's arms, is equal to the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

"Why does not the pope, out of his most holy

charity, empty purgatory, in which are so many souls in punishment? This would be a worthier exercise of his power than freeing souls for money (this money brings misfortune), and to put to what use? to build a church.

"What means this strange compassion of God and the pope's, who, for money's sake, change the soul of an impious person, of one of God's enemies, into a pious soul and one acceptable to the Lord?

"Cannot the pope, whose treasures at the present moment exceed the most enormous treasures, build a single church, the basilica of St. Peter's, with his own money, rather than with that of the poor faithful?

"What does the pope remit, what does he give those who, by perfect repentance, are entitled to plenary forgiveness?

"Far from us all those prophets, who say to the people of Christ—'*Peace, peace,*' and do not give peace.

"Far, very far, all those prophets who say to Christ's people—'*The cross, the cross,*' and do not show the cross.

"Christians should be exhorted to follow Christ, their head, through pains, punishments, and hell itself; so that they may be certified that it is through tribulations heaven is entered, and not through security and peace, &c."

These propositions, which are all negative and polemic, found their complement in the following dogmatic theses, which were published by Luther almost simultaneously:—

"Man by his nature cannot will that God be God. He would rather himself be God, and that God was not God.

"It is false that appetite is free to choose both ways; it is not free, but captive.

"There exists in nature, before God, nothing save concupiscence.

"It is false that this concupiscence can be regulated by the virtue of hope. For hope is opposed to charity, which seeks and desires only what is of God. Hope does not come of our merits, but of our passions, which efface our merits.

"The best and only infallible preparation and disposition for the reception of grace, are the choice and predestination of God from all eternity.

"As regards man, nothing precedes grace, except indisposition to grace, or rather rebellion.

"It is false that invincible ignorance is any extenuation. Ignorance of God, of oneself, of good works, is the invincible nature of man, &c."

The publication of these theses, and the sermon in the vulgar tongue, which Luther delivered in support of them, fell like a thunderbolt upon Germany. This immolation of liberty to grace, of man to God, of the finite to the infinite, was recognized by the German people as the true national religion, the faith which Gottschalk had professed in the days of Charlemagne, in the very cradle of German Christianity, the faith of Tauler, and of all the mystics of the Low Countries. The people threw themselves wildly and greedily on the religious food, from which they had been weaned since the fourteenth century. The propositions were printed by countless thousands, devoured, circulated, hawked about. Luther was alarmed at his own success. "I am grieved," he says, "to see them printed and circulated in such numbers; 'tis not a proper way of instructing the people. I myself still retain some doubts. I could have proved some points better, and should have omitted others, had I foreseen this." He seemed, indeed, disposed to retract everything, and to submit. "I desire to obey," he said; "I should prefer obeying to working miracles, even had I the gift of miracles." But these pacific resolutions were dissipated by Tetzel's conduct, in burning the propositions. The Wittemberg students retaliated on Tetzel's, and Luther expresses some regret at it. However, he published his *Resolutions*, in support of his first propositions. "You shall see," he writes to a friend my *Resolutiones et Responsiones* (resolutions and answers). Perhaps, you will think some passages more free than was required; but so much the more intolerable must they seem to the flatterers of Rome. I had already published them: otherwise, I would have softened them down a little."

The noise of this controversy spread beyond Germany, and reached Rome. It is said that Leo X. believed the whole to be a matter of professional jealousy, betwixt the Austin friars and Dominicans; and that he exclaimed, "Mere monkish rivalry! brother Luther is a man of genuis!" Luther avowed his respect for the pope, and at the same time wrote two letters, one being addressed to Leo X., in which he submitted himself unreservedly to him and to his decision. "Most holy father," were his concluding words, "I cast myself at your feet, with the offer of myself, and all that is in me. Pronounce the sentence of life or death; call, recall, approve, disapprove, I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ, who reigns and speaks in you. If I have deserved death, I shall not flinch from dying, for the earth and the fulness thereof are the Lord's, whose name be blessed for ever and ever! May he vouchsafe your eternal salvation! Amen!" (Day of the Blessed Trinity, 1518). The other letter was to Staupitz, the vicar-general, whom he begged to forward it to the pope. In this, Luther indicates that the doctrine he had maintained, had been taught him by Staupitz himself. "I call to mind, reverend father, that among those sweet and profitable discourses of yours, which through the grace of our Lord Jesus were the source of unspeakable consolation to us, you treated of the subject of *repentance*, and that, forthwith, moved by pity for the numerous consciences which are tortured by innumerable and insupportable prescriptions as to the true way of making confession, we welcomed your words as words from heaven, when you said, "*the only true repentance is that which has its beginning in the love of justice and of God,*" and that what is commonly stated to be the end of repentance, ought rather to be its beginning. This saying of yours sunk into me like the sharp arrow of the hunter. I felt emboldened to wrestle with the Scriptures, which teach repentance; wrestling full of charms, during which the words of Scripture were showered from all parts, and flew around hailing and applauding this saying. Aforetime, there was no harder word for me in Scripture than that one word, repentance; albeit, I endeavoured to dissemble before God, and express my love of obedience. Now, no word sounds so sweetly in my ear. So sweet and lovely are God's commands when we learn to read them not in books only, but in the very wounds of the sweet Saviour!"—Both those letters are dated from Heidelberg (May 30th, 1518), where the

Austin friars were then holding a provincial synod, which Luther attended to maintain his doctrines against every comer. This famous University, only two steps from the Rhine, and, consequently, on the great highroad of Germany, was indisputably the most conspicuous theatre from which the new doctrine could be declared.

Rome began to be troubled. The master of the sacred palace, the aged Dominican Sylvestro de Prierio, wrote against the Austin monk, in defence of the doctrine of St. Thomas, and drew upon himself a furious and overwhelming reply (the end of August, 1518). Luther was immediately cited to appear at Rome within sixty days. The emperor Maximilian had recommended the papal court not to precipitate matters, promising to do whatever it should order with regard to Luther; but to no purpose. His zeal was somewhat mistrusted; for certain speeches of his had travelled thither, which sounded ill in the pope's ears. "What your monk is doing, is not to be regarded with contempt," the emperor had said to Pfeffinger, the elector of Saxony's minister; "the game is about to begin with the priests. Make much of him; it may be that we may want him." More than once he had indulged in bitter complaints of priests and clerks. "This pope," he said, speaking of Leo X., "has behaved to me like a knave. I can truly say that I have never met with sincerity or good faith in any pope; but, with God's blessing, I trust this will be the last." This was threatening language; and it was also recollected that Maximilian, by way of effecting a definitive reconciliation between the empire and the holy see, had entertained the idea of making himself pope. Leo X., therefore, took good care not to make him the umpire in this quarrel, which was daily growing into fresh importance.

All Luther's hopes lay in the elector's protection. Either out of regard for his new university or personal liking for Luther, this prince had always taken him under his special protection. He had been pleased to defray the expenses of his taking his doctor's degree; and, in 1517, Luther returns thanks by letter for a present of cloth for a gown to keep him warm through the winter. Luther had little fear that the elector would be offended with him for an explosion, which laid all the blame at the door of the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, a prince sprung from the house of Brandenburg, and, consequently, the enemy of that of Saxony. Finally (and this was a powerful motive to inspire him with confidence), the elector had announced that he knew no other rule of faith than the Scriptures. Luther reminded him of this in the following passage (March 27th, 1519):—"Doctor J. Staupitz, my true father in Christ, told me that, talking one day with your electoral highness of those preachers who, instead of declaring the pure word of God, preach to the people only wretched quibbles or human traditions, you observed, that Holy Scripture speaks with such majesty and fulness of evidence as to need none of those weapons of disputation, compelling one to admit, 'Never man spoke like this man. He does not teach like the Scribes and Pharisees, but as one having authority.' And on Staupitz's approving those sentiments, you said to him, 'Your hand, then; and pledge me your word that for the future you will preach this new doctrine.'" The natural complement of this passage occurs in a manuscript life of the elector by Spalatin:—"With what pleasure did he not listen to sermons and read God's word, especially the Evangelists, whose beautiful and comforting sentences were ever in his mouth! But that which he continually repeated was the saying of Christ, as recorded by St. John: '*Without Me ye can do nothing;*' and he used this text to combat the doctrine of free-will, even before Erasmus of Rotterdam had dared, in various publications, to maintain this wretched liberty against God's word. Often has he said to me, how can we have free will, since Christ himself has said, '*Sine me nihil potestis facere.*' (Without me ye can do nothing.)" It would be a mistake, however, to infer from this that Staupitz and his disciple were only instruments in the elector's hands. The Reformation introduced by Luther was clearly spontaneous; and the elector, as we shall have occasion to see, was alarmed by Luther's boldness. He relished, accepted, took advantage of, the Reformation, but would never have begun it. On the 15th of February, 1518, Luther writes to his prudent friend, Spalatin, the elector's chaplain, secretary, and confidant:—"Look at the clamourers who go about reporting, to my great annoyance, that all this is the work of our most illustrious prince. To hearken to them, it is he who has been egging me on, in order to spite the archbishop of Magdeburg and of Mentz. I beg you to consider whether it be worth while to apprize the prince of this. It distresses me exceedingly that his highness should be suspected on my account. To become a cause of strife between such great princes is enough to terrify one." And he holds the same language to the elector himself, in the account he sends him of the conference of Augsburg (November). On March 21st he writes to J. Lange, subsequently archbishop of Saltzburg: "Our prince has taken me and Carlstadt under his protection, and this without waiting to be entreated. He will not allow of my being dragged to Rome: this they know, and it is a thorn in their side." The inference would be, that Luther had already received positive assurance of protection from the elector. But, on the 21st of August, 1518, he writes to Spalatin in a more confidential letter: "I do not yet see how I can avoid the censures with which I am threatened, except the prince comes to my aid. And yet, I would rather endure all the censures in the world than see his highness blamed on my account. . . . The best step I can take, in the opinion of our wise and learned friends, is to ask the prince for a safe-conduct (*salvum, ut vocant, conductum per suum dominium*). I am sure he will refuse me; so that, they say, I shall have a good excuse for not appearing at Rome. Have the kindness, then, to procure me from our most illustrious prince a rescript, to the effect that he refuses to grant me a safe-conduct, and leaves me, if I venture on the journey, to my own risk and peril. You will be doing me a most important service; but it must be done quickly, for time presses, and the day appointed is at hand." Luther might have spared himself the trouble of writing this letter, since the prince, though he did not apprize him of it, was busied providing for his safety. He had managed that Luther should be examined by a legate in Germany, in the free city of Augsburg, where he himself happened to be at this very moment, no doubt to concert measures with the magistracy for the security of Luther's

power in this dangerous interview. No doubt it is to the fact of this invisible providence's watching over Luther that we must attribute the restless care of those said magistrates to preserve him from any ambush the Italians might lay for him. For his own part, in his courage and simplicity he went straight forward, without clearly knowing what the prince would, or would not, do in his favour (Sept. 2). "I have said, and I repeat, that I do not want our prince, who is innocent of the whole affair, to take the slightest step in defence of my propositions. . . Let him secure me from violence, if he can do so without compromising his interests; if he cannot, I am ready to face all the danger."

Cajetano de Vio, the legate, was certainly a judge not much to be feared. He had himself written that it was lawful to interpret Scripture without following the torrent of the fathers (*contrà torrentem SS. patrum*). This and other daring opinions had rendered him somewhat amenable to the suspicion of heresy. But, selected by the pope to compose this difference, he set about his business like a politician, and only attacked that part of Luther's doctrine which shook the political and fiscal power of the court of Rome; keeping to the practical question of the *treasure of indulgences*, without recurring to the speculative question of grace. "When I was cited to Augsburg, I obeyed the summons, but with a strong guard, and under the guarantee of Frederick, elector of Saxony, who had commended me to the authorities of Augsburg. They were exceedingly watchful over me, and warned me not to trust myself to the Italians, and to eschew all companionship with them. I did not know, they said, what a Goth was. I remained at Augsburg for three whole days without any safe-conduct from the emperor; during which interval an Italian often came to invite me to visit the cardinal, being discouraged by no refusal. 'You ought to retract,' he would say; 'you have but to utter one word, reason. The cardinal will report favourably of you, and you will return with honour to your prince.'" Amongst other instances which he adduces in order to persuade him, was that of the famous Joachim de Flores, who, since he made his submission, was not heretical, although he had advanced heretical propositions.

"At the end of three days the bishop of Trent arrived, who showed the cardinal a safe-conduct from the emperor. On this I waited upon him with all humility. I sank at first on my knees, then abased myself to the ground, and so remained at his feet, nor did I rise until thrice ordered. He was exceedingly pleased, and conceived the hope that I should alter my resolution. The following day, when I positively refused to retract any thing, he asked me, 'Do you think the pope really minds Germany? Do you believe the princes will go to war in your defence?' Oh, no! Where will you find a resting-place?' . . . . . 'Under heaven,' was my answer. The pope subsequently lowered his tone, and wrote to the Church and even to master Staupitz and Pfeffinger, begging them to give me up to him, and to insist on the execution of his decree. Meanwhile, my little book and my *Resolutions* went, or rather flew, to all parts over all Europe. And as the effects of reason were confirmed and fortified. He would not carry the point to extremities, and submitted himself to the cognizance of Scripture. Had the cardinal conducted himself with [illegible] sense and discretion towards me, had he welcomed me when I fell at his feet, matters would not have gone so far. For at that time I had [illegible] faint notion of the papal errors. Had the [illegible] been silent, I would readily have held my [illegible] It was then the style and custom of the court of Rome for the pope to say, in knotty and obscure matters,—'By virtue of our papal powers we [illegible] in this thing to ourselves, annul it, and make it if it had never been.' On which there only remained for both parties to weep. I wager the pope would give three cardinals to have the business still in the bag."

The following details are from a letter which Luther wrote to Spalatin (that is, to the elector) while he was at Augsburg, and the conferences going on (October 14th):—"For these four days the legate has been conferring with me, or rather against me . . . . He refuses to dispute in public or even in private, never ceasing to repeat, 'Retract, confess your error, whether you think it one or not, the pope will have it so.' . . . . At last, he was prevailed upon to allow me to explain myself in writing, which I did in the presence of the baron Feilitsch, the emperor's representative; but the legate would have nothing to do with what I had written, and again began to call for retractation. He favoured me with a long discourse which he had ferreted out of one or other of St. Thomas's romances, and thought he had conquered me and closed my mouth. Two different times I tried to speak, but he stopped me each time, thundering and usurping the sole right of speaking. At length I began to raise my voice in my turn:—'If you show me that this decree of your Clement VI. expressly states that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences, I promise,' God knows into what uproarious laughter they burst at this. As for him, he consulted the book [illegible] and turned breathlessly over the leaves of the *Ambrians*, till he came to the passage where it is written that Christ, by his passion, has acquired the treasures, &c. I snapped him as the words *acquired* . . . After dinner, he sent for the [illegible] father Staupitz, and resumed his efforts to induce me to retract, adding that I would not only find one better inclined to me than himself." The disputants followed a different course; reconciliation became impossible. Luther's friends feared an ambush on the part of the Italians. He left Augsburg, leaving an appeal to the pope after a thorough by cognizance of the cause, and a long account of the conferences to the elector. We learn from the latter, that in the discussion he supported his opinions as to the papal authority on the counsel of Bâle, on the authority of Paul and on Gerson. He urges the elector to rise him up:—"May your most illustrious highness follow the dictates of your humane understanding and not send me to the pope. The cardinal (by means the legate) has sought in his letters a guarantee for my safety as [illegible] ask your most illustrious highness to send Luther, would be sending [illegible] blood, to become lamentable. Whatever the pope himself is not in safety there. The paper and ink enough [illegible] without number, and [illegible] I have erred. It will [illegible]

against me, in my absence, by writing, than to make away with me, should I be present, by treachery."

These fears were well founded. The court of Rome was about to address itself directly to the elector of Saxony. It required Luther at any cost. Already the legate had complained bitterly to Frederic of Luther's presumption, and had besought him to send him back to Augsburg, or to banish him, if he would not sully his own glory, and that of his ancestors, by protecting this wretched monk. "I heard yesterday from Nuremberg that Charles von Miltitz is on his way with three briefs from the pope (according to an eye-witness worthy of all faith), to seize and hand me over bodily to the pontiff. But I have appealed to the forthcoming council." It was full time for him to reject the pope, since, as the legate had informed Frederic, he was already condemned at Rome. Luther, in making this fresh protest, adhered strictly to all the juridical forms. He avowed his willingness to submit to the judgment of the pope, when thoroughly cognizant of the cause; but here the pope might err, as St. Peter himself had erred. He appealed to the general council, which was superior to the pope, from all the pope's decrees against him. But he was afraid of some sudden violence; of being privily borne off from Wittemberg. "You have been misinformed," he writes to Spalatin, "I have not taken my leave of the people of Wittemberg. I have used, it is true, the following or similar terms:—'You are all aware that I am an uncertain and unsettled preacher. How often have I not left you without bidding you farewell! Should this happen again, and I not return, consider that I have bid you farewell now." On December 2nd, he writes, "I am advised to ask the prince to shut me up a prisoner in some castle, and to be pleased to write to the legate that he has me in a sure place, where I shall be compelled to answer." He wrote on the 19th of the preceding month, "It is beyond all doubt, the prince and the university are with me. A conversation has come to my knowledge that took place concerning me at the court of the bishop of Brandenburg. Some one observed, 'He is supported by Erasmus, Fabricius, and other learned persons.' 'The pope would care nothing for that,' replied the bishop, 'were not the university of Wittemberg and the elector, too, on his side.'" Yet Luther spent the latter part of this year (1518) in lively anxiety, and had some thoughts of leaving Germany. "To avoid drawing down any danger on your highness, I will quit your dominions, and go whithersoever God in his mercy shall conduct me, trusting, whatever may befall, in his divine will. I therefore respectfully bid farewell to your highness; and among whatever people I may take my abode, I shall remember your kindness with never-ceasing gratitude." At this moment, indeed, he might consider Saxony an insecure abode. The pope was endeavouring to win over the elector. Charles von Miltitz was commissioned to offer him the golden rose, a high distinction usually conferred by the court of Rome on kings only, as the reward of their filial piety towards the Church. This was a difficult trial for the elector; as it compelled him to come to a distinct explanation, and, perhaps, to draw down great danger upon himself. The elector's hesitation is apparent from a letter of Luther's:—"The prince was altogether against my publishing the acts of the conference of Augsburg, but afterwards gave me permission, and they are now printed.... In his uneasiness about me, he would prefer my being any where else. He summoned me to Litchenberg, where I had a long conference with Spalatin on the subject, and expressed my resolve, in case the censures were fulminated, not to stay. He told me, however, not to be in such haste to start for France." This was written on the 13th of December; on the 20th, Luther's doubts were past. The elector had returned for answer, with true diplomatic reserve, that he professed himself a most obedient son of holy mother Church, and entertained a great respect for the pontifical sanctity, but required an inquiry into the matter by disinterested judges; a certain means of ensuring procrastination, since, in the interim, incidents might occur to lessen or delay the danger. To gain time was every thing. In fact, the emperor died in the following January; the interregnum commenced, and Frederic became, by Maximilian's own choice, vicar of the empire until the hour of election. Feeling himself secure, Luther addressed (March 3rd, 1519) a haughty letter to the pope, but respectfully worded:—"Most holy father, I cannot support the weight of your wrath, yet know not how to escape from the burthen. Thanks to the opposition and attacks of my enemies, my words have spread more widely than I could have hoped for, and they have sunk too deeply into men's hearts for me to retract them. In these our days, Germany flourishes in erudition, reason, and genius; and if I would honour Rome before her, I must beware of retractation, which would be only sullying the Roman Church still further, and exposing it to public accusation and contempt. It is they who, abusing the name of your holiness, have made their absurd preaching subserve their infamous avarice, and have sullied holy things with the abomination and reproach of Egypt, that have done the Roman Church injury and dishonour with Germany. And, as if this was not mischief enough, it is against me, who have striven to oppose those monsters, that their accusations are directed. But I call God and men to witness, most holy father, that I have never wished, and do not now desire to touch the Roman Church or your sacred authority; and that I acknowledge most explicitly that this Church rules over all, and that nothing, heavenly or earthly, is superior to it, save Jesus Christ our Lord."

From this moment, Luther had made up his mind. A month or two before, indeed, he had written, "The pope will not hear of a judge, and I will not be judged by the pope. So he will be the text, and I the gloss." In another letter he says to Spalatin (March 13), "I am in travail with St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and am thinking of a sermon on the Passion; whilst, in addition to my ordinary lessons, I teach children of an evening, and explain the Lord's prayer to them. Along with this, I turn over the decretals for matter for my new dispute, and find Christ so altered and crucified in them, that (hark in your ear) I am not sure that the pope is not antichrist himself, or the apostle of antichrist." However far Luther might go, the pope had henceforward little chance of tearing his favourite theologian from a powerful prince, on whom a majority of the electors were conferring the empire. Miltitz changed his

tone, and stated that the pope would even yet be contented with a retractation. He met Luther as a friend, flattered him, owned that he had got the whole world with him away from the pope, stated that on his journey he could scarcely find two men out of five to defend the papacy, tried to persuade him to go and explain to the archbishop of Toledo, but could not prove that he was authorized to make this proposition, either by the pope or the archbishop. The advice was suspicious; Luther was aware that he had been burnt in effigy at Rome (*papyraceus Martinus in campo Floræ publice combustus, execratus, devotus*). He returned a cool reply to Miltitz, and apprized him that one of his envoys had inspired such suspicions, at Wittemberg, as to have narrowly escaped being thrown into the Elbe. "If, as you intimate, my refusal will compel you to come yourself, God grant you a happy journey. For my part, I am extremely busy, and have neither time nor money for such excursions. Farewell, excellent man." (May 17th.) On Miltitz's arrival in Germany, Luther had said that he would hold his tongue, provided his opponents would theirs; but they released him from keeping his word, for doctor Eck solemnly defied him to a disputation at Leipsic, and the faculties of Paris, Louvaine, and Cologne, condemned his propositions. In order to make a decent appearance at Leipsic, Luther was obliged to ask the parsimonious elector, who had forgotten to clothe him for two or three years, for a dress; his letter is a curiosity: "I beseech your electoral grace to have the kindness to buy me a white cope and a black cope. I humbly ask for the white one, but your highness owes me the black, having promised it to me two or three years back; only Pfeffinger is brought to untie his purse-strings with such difficulty, that I have been forced to buy one for myself. I humbly pray your highness, who considered that the *Psalter* deserved a black cope, to deign not to think the *St. Paul* unworthy of a white one." Luther felt, by this time, so completely secure, that not content with repairing to Leipsic to plead in his own defence, he assumed the offensive at Wittemberg. "He had the effrontery," says his catholic biographer, Cochlæus, "he had the effrontery, with the authority of the prince, his protector, to issue a solemn summons to the ablest inquisitors, men who would think they could swallow iron and split the rock, to a disputation, and the prince not only offered them a safe-conduct, but undertook to lodge them and pay their expenses." Meanwhile, Luther's principal opponent, doctor Eck, had repaired to Rome to solicit his condemnation. Luther was sentenced beforehand; and it now only remained for him to judge his judge, and pronounce sentence of condemnation on authority, in the sight of the people. This he did in his terrible book on the Captivity of Babylon, in which he contended that the Church was captive, and that Jesus Christ, constantly profaned in the idolatry of the mass, and lost sight of in the dogma of transubstantiation, was the pope's prisoner. With daring freedom, he explains in his preface, how he has been gradually forced on by his adversaries; "Whether willingly or not, I improve every day, pushed as I am, and kept in wind by so many masters of fence at once. Two years ago, I wrote on indulgences; but in a style which makes me deeply regret I ever published the work. At that period, I was still marvellously enamoured of the papal power, and durst not fling indulgences entirely over. Besides, I saw them approved of by numbers of persons, whilst I was the only one who undertook to set this stone rolling (*hoc volvere saxum*). Since then, thanks to Sylvester, and other brothers who have defended them stoutly, I perceived that the whole was an imposture, invented by the flatterers of Rome, to dispossess men of faith and take possession of their purse. Would to God I could induce booksellers and all who have read my writings on indulgences, to burn them, and not to leave a line behind, so that they would substitute for all I have said on the subject, this one axiom—*Indulgences are bubbles devised by the sycophants of Rome!* Next Eck, Emser, and their band, proceeded to take us in hand on the question of the pope's supremacy. 'Twould be ungrateful towards those learned personages not to acknowledge that the trouble to which they put themselves was not thrown away upon me. Previously, I had denied that the papacy was of divine, yet still admitted that it was of human, right; but, after hearing and reading the super-subtle subtleties on which these poor people found the rights of their idol, I came to the perfect and satisfactory understanding and conviction, that the reign of the pope is that of Babylon, and of *Nimrod, the mighty hunter.* Wherefore, I earnestly pray booksellers and readers (that nothing may be wanting to my good friends' success), to commit to the flames my writings on this subject also, and to abide by the following axiom:—*The pope is the mighty hunter, the Nimrod of the Roman episcopacy!*" At the same time, to make it clear that he was assailing the papacy, rather than the pope, he addressed a long letter, in both languages, to Leo X., in which he denied all personal feeling against him. "Though surrounded by the monsters of the age, against whom I have been these three years struggling, my thoughts ought, once at least, most honourable father, to revert to thee. The witness borne to thy renown by men of letters, and thy irreproachable life, ought to place thee beyond all attacks. I am not such a simpleton as to blame, when all the world praises thee. I have called thee a Daniel in Babylon, and have proclaimed thy innocence. Yes, dear Leo, I think of thee as of Daniel in the pit, Ezekiel among the scorpions. What canst thou, alone, against these monsters; thou, and some three or four learned and virtuous cardinals? You would all infallibly be poisoned did you dare attempt to reform such countless corruptions. . . . The doom has gone forth against the court of Rome. The measure of God's wrath has been filled up; for that court hates councils, dreads the name of reform, and fulfils the words uttered of its mother, of whom it is said, '*We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake Babylon.*' Oh, hapless Leo, to sit on that accursed throne! I speak the truth to thee, for I desire thy good. If St. Bernard felt pity for his pope Eugenius, what must be our feelings now that corruption is three hundred years the worse? Ay, thou wouldst thank me for thy eternal salvation, were I once able to dash in pieces this dungeon, this hell in which thou art held captive."

When the bull of condemnation reached Germany, the whole people was in commotion. At Erfurth the students took it out of the booksellers' shops, tore it in pieces, and threw it into the

ith the poor pun, "A bubble (*bulla*) it is, a bubble so it should swim." Luther in- published his pamphlet, *Against the Exe- ull of Antichrist*. On December 10, 1520, it at the city gates, and on the same day Spalatin, through whom he usually com- ed with the elector:—"This 10th day of er, in the year 1520, at the ninth hour of , were burnt at Wittemberg, at the east ar the holy cross, all the pope's books, the the *Decretals*, the *Extravagante* of Clement o X.'s last bull, the *Angelic Sum*, Eck's rasus, and some other works of Eck's and s. Is not this news?" He says in the notice which he caused to be drawn up of roceedings, "If any one ask me why I one this, my reply is, that it is an ancient to burn bad books. The apostles burnt usand deniers' worth of them." The tra- runs that he exclaimed on throwing the the *Decretals* into the flames, "Thou hast ted the Lord's holy one, may the everlasting ment and consume thee!" These things ews, indeed, as Luther said. Until then, cts and heresies had sprung up in secret, nceived themselves fortunate if they re- unknown; but now a monk starts up who vith the pope as equal with equal, and con- himself the judge of the head of the . The chain of tradition is broken, unity ed, the *robe without seam* rent. It must not posed that Luther himself, with all his s, took this last step without pain. It was ng from his heart by one pull the whole of erable past in which he had been cradled. rue that he believed he had retained the res for his own; but then they were the res with a different interpretation from ad been put upon them for a thousand All this his enemies have often said; but of them has said it more eloquently than self. "No doubt," he writes to Erasmus in ming of his sorry book, *De Servo Arbitrio* Will not Free), "no doubt you feel some on when you see arrayed before you so us a succession of learned men, and the ous voice of so many centuries illustrated ply read divines, and by great martyrs, d by numerous miracles, as well as more theologians and countless academies, coun- shops, pontiffs. On this side are found n, genius, numbers, greatness, loftiness, sanctity, miracles, and what not beside! ne, Wickliff, Laurentius Valla, Augustin, gh you forget him,) and Luther, a poor mushroom of yesterday, standing alone few friends, without such erudition, genius, s, greatness, sanctity, or miracles. Take ll together, they could not cure a lame . . . *Et alia quæ tu plurima fando enume- les* (and innumerable other things you nention). For what are we? What the id of Philomel, *Vox et præterea nihil* (a no more). I own, my dear Erasmus, you tified in hesitating before all these things; rs since, I hesitated like you. . . . Could I that this Troy, which had so long vic- y resisted so many assaults, would fall in ? I solemnly call God to witness that I have continued to fear, and should even now be hesitating, had not my conscience and the truth compelled me to speak. You know that my heart is not a rock; and had it been, yet beaten by such billows and tempests, it would have been shivered to atoms when all this mass of authority was launched at my head, like a deluge ready to overwhelm me." Elsewhere he writes: " . . . Holy Scripture has taught me how perilous and fearful it is to raise one's voice in God's church, to speak in the midst of those who will be your judges, when, on the day of judgment, you shall find yourself in presence of God, under the eye of the angels, all creation seeing, listening, hanging upon the divine word. Assuredly when this thought rises to my mind, my earnest desire is for silence, and the sponge for my writings. . . . . How hard, how fearful to live to render an account to God of every idle word*!" On March 27, 1519, he writes, "I was alone, and hurried unprepared into this business. I admitted many essential points in the pope's favour, for was I, a poor, miserable monk, to set myself up against the majesty of the pope, before whom the kings of the earth (what do I say? earth itself, hell, and heaven) trembled? . . . How I suffered the first and second year. Ah! little do those confident spirits who since then have attacked the pope so proudly and presumptuously, know of the de- jection of spirits, not feigned and assumed, but too real, or rather the despair which I went through. . . . Unable to find any light to guide me in dead or mute teachers (I mean the writings of theo- logians and jurists), I longed to consult the living council of the churches of God, to the end that if any godly persons could be found, illumined by the Holy Ghost, they would take compassion on me, and be pleased to give me good and safe counsel for my own welfare and that of all Christen- dom; but it was impossible for me to discover them. I saw only the pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, canonists, monks, priests; and it was from them I expected enlightenment. For I had so fed and saturated myself with their doctrine, that I was unconscious whether I were asleep or awake. . . . Had I at that time braved the pope as I now do, I should have looked for the earth instantly to open and swallow me up alive, like Korah and Abiram. . . . At the name of the church I shuddered, and offered to give way. In 1518, I told cardinal Caietano, at Augsburg, that I would thenceforward be mute; only praying him, in all humility, to impose the same silence on my adversaries, and hush their clamours. Far from meeting my wishes, he threatened to con- demn every thing I had taught, if I would not retract. Now I had already published the Cate- chism to the edification of many souls, and was bound not to allow it to be condemned. . . . So I was driven to attempt what I considered to be the greatest of evils. . . . But it is not my object to tell my history here; but only to confess my folly, ignorance, and weakness, and to awe, by reciting

* It is curious to compare these words of Luther's with the very different passage in Rousseau's Confessions:— "Let the trumpet of the last judgment sound when it will, I will present myself with this book in my hand before the Judge of all, and will say aloud, 'Here is what I have done, what I have thought, what I was.' . . . . and then let any one say, if he dare, 'I was better than that man.'"

[illegible] presumptuous hawlers [illegible] burns the cross, or [illegible] Satan. . . ."

[illegible] the middle age and the [illegible] book, Luther sought a refuge in [illegible] to tradition, and superior [illegible] He translated the Psalms, [illegible] the Gospels and Epistles. [illegible] of his life did he so approximate [illegible] back his stand at this time in re[illegible] than to St Paul, and seemed in the [illegible] through all the stages of the Re[illegible] with any misgivings of the fate [illegible] which resulted thence to man's [illegible] nity. There are, he says, two [illegible] tian liberty, two men in man—the [illegible] the soul, the outward man, the [illegible] from the other. As words present [illegible] man, their influence cannot affect the [illegible] by frequent profane usage, nor [illegible] with the life, and represent the [illegible] the soul with human manners. The [illegible] by faith to Christ is the wife to her [illegible] All is, then, in common between them; [illegible] all things and even the [illegible] by [illegible] political power [illegible] so that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] If he [illegible] [illegible] power and [illegible] [illegible] heart [illegible] for you to repair [illegible] the priest, and [illegible] for your sins. [illegible] a thousand times to [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] in this [illegible] [illegible] with joy, and [illegible] [illegible] If you think yourself [illegible] have not yet [illegible] instructed in [illegible] in works. It is a [illegible] to believe piously [illegible] and make [illegible] worthy, and consti[illegible] Him who, without this, [illegible] heart, never per[illegible] then serve his God joy[illegible] the sweet burden of [illegible] on Justification, [illegible] 1519.) The dangerous doc[illegible] by the people and by the [illegible] Erasmus, the most cele[illegible] seem to have been the only [illegible] of the consequences. Of a critical [illegible] treatise, vindicating the Italian [illegible] Lorenzo Valla, who had written a work, [illegible] Latinity of the Vulgate, in the fifteenth [illegible] himself made against Luther under the [illegible] In 1519, he received the advances of [illegible] cordially. Luther, who felt [illegible] the support of the learned was to [illegible] complimentary letters (a.d. 1518, [illegible] Lee and Eck, which last returned [illegible] [illegible] equivocal answer (a.d. 1519). [illegible] to contribute to the re[illegible] [illegible] literature; and it strikes me that [illegible] greater progress is to be made by politic [illegible] [illegible] than by passion. It [illegible] Christ has wrought the world to be [illegible] Him, and thus that Paul abolished the [illegible] by removing himself to the interpretation [illegible] letter. It is a letter of freedom against such a [illegible] the power given to priests than the priests [illegible] and the laymen, with regard to [illegible] instead of bringing the schools into contempt [illegible] would be well to win them back to healthier [illegible] Whenever the question is of things too [illegible] in the mind to be eradicated by [illegible] and more and cogent reasoning [illegible] preference to affirmations. . . . And is it [illegible] to be on one's guard against saying or doing [illegible] with an arrogant or rebellious air; [illegible] [illegible] the course of proceeding [illegible] to the spirit of Christ. But I do not say this [illegible] teaching you what you ought to do; only [illegible] [illegible] as you are now doing."

[illegible] excitement seized neither the man [illegible] [illegible] Humanism was at its height. Nobl[illegible] [illegible] castles and free towns, rivalled each [illegible] zeal and enthusiasm for Luther. At Nurem[illegible] at Strasburg, and even at Mentz, his smaller [illegible] were eagerly caught up as fast as th[illegible] [illegible] The sheets were hurried and [illegible] into the ships, and wet from the press, [illegible] greedily devoured by the aspiring *literateurs* [illegible] German Companionship, by the poetic tinsm[illegible] learned entertainers; the good Hans-Sachs [illegible] [illegible] vulgarity, left his shoe unfinished, [illegible] his best verses, his best production, and [illegible] latest voice the *nightingale* of Wittemberg, [illegible] voice resounded everywhere. . . . Nothing [illegible] Luther more powerfully than the zeal of the p[illegible] and booksellers in behalf of the new ideas. [illegible] works which were favourable to him," says [illegible] temporary, "were printed by the printers [illegible] minutest care, and often at their own expen[illegible] large numbers of copies struck off. Ma[illegible] monks, too, who had returned to a secular lif[illegible] on Luther's works, and hawked them thro[illegible] Germany. The Catholics could only get thei[illegible] printed by high pay, and even then they were [illegible] in so slovenly a manner as to swarm with err[illegible] as to seem the productions of illiterate men. [illegible] if any printer, more conscientious than the r[illegible] them more justice, he was jeered and plag[illegible] the market-places and at the fairs of Frankf[illegible] a Papist and a slave to the priests."

Whatever the zeal of the cities, it was [illegible] nobles that Luther had chiefly appealed, an[illegible] answered his summons with a zeal, which h[illegible] self was often obliged to moderate. In [illegible] he published in Latin a *Defence of the* [illegible] *condemned by the bull of Leo X.*, which he ded[illegible] as follows, to the baron Fabian von Feilitzsch [illegible] has struck me to be desirable, in future, [illegible] dress you laymen, a new order of priests [illegible] with God's will, to make a happy beginning [illegible] the favourable auspices of your name. M[illegible] present work, then, commend me, or rath[illegible] Christian doctrine, to you and all the nobles. [illegible] was desirous to dedicate the translation [illegible] work to Franz von Sickingen, and another [illegible] count of Mansfeld, but he abstained, he says, [illegible] fear of awakening the jealousy of many [illegible] and, in particular, that of the nobility of [illegible] coma." The same year he published his [illegible]

, *To the Christian nobility of Germany, on ration of Christianity.* Four thousand copies at once. The leading nobles, Luther's ere Sylvester von Schauenberg, Franz von , Taubenheim, and Ulrich von Hutten. erg had confided the education of his to Melanchthon, and had offered to assist r of Saxony, arms in hand, should the e exposed to any danger in the cause of Taubenheim and others sent Luther money. nd a hundred pieces of gold from Tau- and fifty from Schart, so that I begin to 's paying me here below; but I have t I will not be thus gorged, but will give " The Margrave of Brandenburg had visit from him: Sickingen and Hutten him their support against all and sundry. " he writes, "addressed me a letter, in r, 1520, *burning with wrath* against the ontiff, saying that he will fall with sword n the sacerdotal tyranny. He is indig- he pope's having attempted his life with dagger and the bowl, and has summoned p of Mentz, in order that he may send him bound hand and foot." He goes on to say, what Hutten is seeking; but I would not lence and murder employed in the cause ospel, and have written to this effect." le the emperor summoned Luther to appear s before the imperial diet. Both parties, nd enemies, were about to come into "Would to God," said Hutten, "I present at the diet; I would set things , and would very soon excite a disturb- On the 20th of April, he writes to Luther, trocities are these I hear! There is no parable to the fury of these men. I e we shall have to come to swords, bows, annons. Summon up thy courage, father, these wild beasts. I see the number of ans daily increasing; thou wilt not lack . Numbers have come to me, saying, nt he may not lose heart, that he may toutly, that he may not give way to any At the same time, Hutten sent letters in ection to the magistrates of the towns, in strike a league between them and the the Rhine; in other words, to arm inst the ecclesiastical provinces*. He Pirkeimer, one of the chief magis- Nuremberg. "Cheer and animate your I am in hopes you will find partisans in ich are inspired by the love of liberty. n Sickingen is for us; he burns with zeal. urated with Luther. I make him read lets at meal-time. He has sworn not to use of liberty; and what he has said, he Preach him up to your fellow-citizens; no greater soul in Germany." Luther artisans even in the assembly of Worms. avowed in full diet an agreement to de- sworn to by four hundred nobles, adding , *Buntschuh* (the rallying cry, as will s be seen, of the insurgent peasants). The were not even very sure of the emperor. rites, whilst the diet is sitting, "Cæsar, runs, has made up his mind to side with the pope." The Lutherans mustered strong in the town, and among the people. Hermann Busch writes Hutten word that a priest came out of the imperial palace with two Spanish soldiers, to endeavour to make a seizure of eighty copies of the *Captivity of Babylon*, which were on sale close to the gates of the palace, but that he was quickly obliged to fly back into the palace for safety; still, in order to induce Hutten to take up arms, he goes on to describe how the Spaniards caracole haughtily on their mules, through the principal thoroughfares of Worms, and how the intimidated multitude retire before them.

Cochlæus, the catholic biographer of Luther, describes the reformer's journey in a satiric strain: —"A conveyance was prepared for him resembling a litter, and so closed in as to shelter him from the weather. He was surrounded by learned individuals, the provost Jonas, doctor Schurff, Amsdorf the theologian, &c.; and he was received wherever he passed by crowds of people. Good cheer reigned in the hostelries where he put up, and many a merry cup was quaffed, and even music heard. Luther himself, in order that he might become the cynosure of all eyes, played on the harp like another Orpheus, a tonsured and cowled Orpheus. And although the emperor's safe conduct set forth that he was not to preach by the way, he, nevertheless, preached at Erfurth on Low Sunday, and published his sermon." This picture of Luther does not exactly assimilate with that drawn by a contemporary shortly before the diet of Worms. "Martin is of the middle size, and so emaciated by care and study, that you might count every bone in his body. Yet he is still in the very prime of life. His voice is clear and penetrating. Powerful in doctrine, admirably read in the Scriptures, almost every verse in which he has by heart, he has acquired the Greek and Hebrew languages, in order to be enabled to compare and form a judgment on the translation of the Bible. He never has to stop, having facts and words at will (*sylva ingens verborum et rerum*). His manners are agreeable and easy, untinctured by severity or pride; and he is even no enemy of the pleasures of life; being lively and good humoured in society, and seeming everywhere quite at his ease and free from any sense of alarm, despite the dreadful threats of his adversaries. So that it is difficult to believe that this man undertakes such great things without the Divine protection. Almost the only thing with which the world reproaches him is, being too bitter in retort, and shrinking from no insulting expression." We are indebted to Luther himself for an admirable account of the proceedings at the diet; an account that, generally speaking, agrees with those given by his enemies. "When the herald delivered me the summons on the Tuesday in Passion-week, and brought me a safe-conduct from the emperor and several princes, the same safe-conduct was, on the very next day, the Wednesday, violated at Worms, where I was condemned and my works burnt. This news reached me when I was at Erfurth. The sentence of condemnation was already placarded in all the towns; so that the herald himself asked me whether I was still minded to go to Worms? Although full of fears and doubts, I replied, 'I will go, though there should be there as many devils as tiles on the roofs!' Even on

the Elucidations, the Dialogue of the Robbers, Hutten, in the view of combining the nobles and es against the priests.

my arriving at Oppenheim, near Worms, master Bucer met me, to dissuade me from entering the city. Sglapian, the emperor's confessor, had gone to him to beg him to warn me not to enter Worms, for I was doomed to be burnt there! I should do better, he said, to stay in the neighbourhood with Franz von Sickingen, who would gladly receive me. All this was done by these poor beings to hinder me from appearing; since, had I delayed only three days, my safe-conduct would have been no longer available; they would have shut the gates, refused to listen to me, and have tyrannically condemned me. But I went forward in the simplicity of my heart, and as soon as I was within sight of the city, wrote to inform Spalatin of my arrival, and ask where I was to put up. They were all thunder-struck at my unexpected arrival; for they had expected that their stratagems and my own terror would have kept me outside the walls. Two nobles, the lord of Hirsfeld and John Schott, fetched me, by the elector of Saxony's orders, to their own lodgings. But no prince called upon me; only some counts and nobles who had a great regard for me. It was they who had laid before his imperial majesty the four hundred charges against the clergy, with a petition for the reform of cleric l abuses, which, if neglected, they must, they said, take upon themselves. They all owe their deliverance to my gospel (preaching). The pope wrote to the emperor to disregard the safe-conduct, and the bishops egged him on to it; but the princes and the states would not consent, fearing the uproar that would ensue. All this greatly added to my consideration; they must have stood in greater awe of me than I of them. Indeed, the young landgrave of Hesse asked to hear me, visited me, talked with me, and said, as he took his leave, 'Dear doctor, if you are in the right, may our Lord God be your aid.' As soon as I arrived, I wrote to Sglapian, the emperor's confessor, begging him to have the goodness to come and see me, as his inclination and leisure might serve. But he declined, saying that it would be useless.

"I was summoned in due form, and appeared before the council of the imperial diet in the Guildhall, where the emperor, the electors, and the princes were assembled*. Doctor Eck, the official of the bishop of Trèves, began, and said to me, 'Martin, you are called here to say whether you acknowledge the books on the table there to be yours?' and he pointed to them. 'I believe so,' I answered. But Doctor Jerome Schurff instantly added, 'Read over their titles.' When this was done, I said, 'Yes, these books are mine.' He then asked me, 'Will you disavow them?' I replied, 'Most gracious lord emperor, some of the writings are controversial, and in them I attack my adversaries. Others are didactic and doctrinal; and of these I neither can nor will retract an iota, for it is God's word. But, as regards my controversial writings, if I have been too violent, or have gone too far against any one, I am ready to reconsider the matter, provided I have time for reflection.' I was allowed a day and a night. The next day I was summoned by the bishops and others who were to deal with me to make me retract. I told them, 'God's word is not mine, I cannot give it up; but in all else my desire is to be obedient and docile.' The margrave Joachim then took up the word, and said, 'Sir doctor, as far as I can understand, you will allow yourself to be counselled and advised, except on those points affecting Scripture?' 'Yes,' I answered, 'such is my wish.' They then told me that I ought to defer all to the imperial majesty; but I would not consent. They asked me if they themselves were not Christians, and able to decide on such things? To this I answered, 'Yes, provided it be without wrong or offence to the Scriptures, which I desire to uphold. I cannot give up that which is not mine.' They insisted, 'You ought to rely upon us, and believe that we shall decide rightly.' 'I am not very ready to believe that they will decide in my favour against themselves, who have but just now passed sentence of condemnation upon me, though under safe-conduct. But look what I will do: treat me as you like, and I will forego my safe-conduct and give it up to you.' On this, baron Frederick von Feilitzsch, burst forth with, 'And enough, indeed, if not too much.' They then said, 'At least, give up a few articles to us.' I answered, 'In God's name, I do not desire to defend those articles which do not relate to Scripture.' Hereupon, two bishops hastened to tell the emperor that I retracted. On which, the bishop *** sent to ask me if I had consented to refer the matter to the emperor and the empire? I replied that I had never, and would never, consent to it. So, I held out alone against all. My doctor and the rest were ill-pleased at my tenacity. Some told me that if I would defer the whole to them, they would in their turn forego and cede the articles which had been condemned by the council of Constance. To all this I replied, 'Here is my body and my life.'

"Cochlæus then came, and said to me, 'Martin, if you will forego your safe-conduct, I will dispute with you.' This, in my simplicity, I would have consented to, had not Doctor Jerome Schurff interposed, laughing ironically, with, 'Ay, forsooth, that's what is wanted. 'Tis not an unfair offer; who would be such a fool?' . . . So I remained under the safe-conduct. Some worthy individuals, besides, had interposed with, 'How? You would bear him off prisoner? That can't be.' Whilst this was going on, there came a doctor from the margrave of Baden, who endeavoured to move me by high-sounding words. 'I ought,' he said, 'to do and sacrifice much for the love of charity and maintenance of peace and union, and to avoid disturbance. Obedience was due to the imperial majesty as to the highest authority, and all occasion of scandal in the world ought to be sedulously avoided; consequently, I ought to retract. 'I heartily desire,' was my answer, 'in the name of charity, to obey and do everything in what is not against faith and the honour of Christ.' Then the chancellor of Trèves said to me, 'Martin, you are disobedient to the imperial majesty, wherefore you have leave to depart under the safe-conduct you possess.' I answered, 'It has been done as it has pleased the Lord. And you, in your turn, consider where you are left.' Thus, I took my departure in my simplicity, without remarking or understanding all their subtleties. Then they put into execution the cruel edict of the law, which gave every one an opportunity of taking

* There were present at the diet, besides the emperor, six electors, one archduke, two landgraves, five margraves, twenty-seven dukes, and numbers of counts, archbishops, bishops, &c.; in all, two hundred and six persons.

vengeance on his enemy, under pretence of his being addicted to the Lutheran heresy; and yet the tyrants have at last been obliged to revoke all those acts of theirs. And it befel me on this wise at Worms, where, however, I had no other support than the Holy Ghost."

Some other curious details occur in a more extended account of the conference at Worms, written immediately after it, and, perhaps, by Luther, though he is spoken of in it in the third person:—

"The day after Luther's arrival at Worms, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the master of the ceremonies of the empire, and the herald who had accompanied him from Wittemberg, came for him to his hostelry called *The German Court*, and led him to the town-hall by secret passages, to escape the crowd which lined the streets. Notwithstanding this precaution, numbers hastened to the doors of the town-hall and tried to enter with Luther, but were hindered by the guards. Many climbed to the roofs in order to see doctor Martin. When he entered the hall, many nobles came up to him one after the other, with words of encouragement: 'Be bold,' they said to him, 'speak like a man, and have no fear of those who can kill bodies, but who are powerless against souls.' 'Monk,' said the famous captain George Frundsberg, laying his hand on his shoulder, 'look to it; you are about to hazard a more perilous march than we have ever done. But if you are in the right road, God will not forsake you.' Duke John of Weimar had supplied him with the money for his journey. Luther replied both in Latin and in German to the questions put to him. He reminded the assembly at first that there were many things in his works which had met with the approbation even of his adversaries, and urged that undoubtedly it could not be this part which he was called upon to revoke. Then he went on as follows: 'The second portion of my works comprises those in which I have attacked papacy and the papists, as having by false doctrine and evil life and examples afflicted Christianity both in the things of the body and those of the soul. Now, no one can deny, &c. . . . Yet the popes have themselves taught in their Decretals that such of the pope's constitutions as may be opposed to the Gospel or the Fathers, are to be considered false and of no authority. Were I then to revoke this portion, I should only fortify the papists in their tyranny and oppression, and open doors and windows to their horrible impieties. . . . It would be said that I had recanted my charges against them at the order of his imperial majesty and the empire. God! what a disgraceful cloak I should become for their perversity and tyranny! The third and last portion of my writings is of a polemical character. And herein I confess that I have often been more rough and violent than religion and my own warrant. I do not give myself out for a saint. It is not my life and conduct that I am discussing before you, but the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, I do not think that it will suit me to retract this more than the rest; since here, too, I should only be approving of the tyranny and impiety which persecute God's people. I am only a man. I can defend my doctrine only after my divine Saviour's example, who, when smote by the servant of the high priest, said to him, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.' If then the Lord himself asked to be interrogated, and that by a sorry slave, how much more may I, who am but dust and ashes, and may well fall into error, ask to be allowed to justify myself with regard to my doctrine? . . . If Scripture testimony be against me, I will retract with all my heart, and will be the first to cast my books into the flames. . . . Beware lest the reign of our young and much to be praised emperor Charles (who is, with God, our present and great hope) should so have a fatal beginning, and an equally lamentable continuance and end. . . . Therefore, with all humility, I beseech your imperial majesty and your electoral and seignorial highnesses, not to allow yourselves to be indisposed towards my doctrine, save my adversaries produce just and convincing reasons.'

"After this speech, the emperor's orator started to his feet, and said that Luther had spoken beside the question, that what had been once decided by councils, could not be again handled as doubtful; and that, consequently, all he was asked was to say simply and solely whether he retracted or not. Luther then resumed as follows: 'Since your imperial majesty and your highnesses ask me for a short and plain answer, I will give you one without teeth or horns. Except I can be convinced by Holy Scripture, or by clear and indisputable reasons from other sources (for I cannot defer to the pope only, or to councils which have so often proved fallible), I neither can nor will revoke anything. As it has been found impossible to refute the evidences that I have quoted, my conscience is a prisoner to God's word; and no one can be compelled to act against his conscience. Here I stand; I cannot act otherwise. God be my aid, Amen!' The electors and states of the empire retired to consult on this answer of Luther's; and, after long deliberation, selected the judge of the bishops' court at Trèves to refute him. 'Martin,' he said, 'you have not answered with the modesty becoming your condition. Your reply does not touch the question propounded to you. . . . What is the good of again discussing points which the Church and the councils have condemned for so many centuries? . . . . If those who oppose the decrees of councils were to force the Church to convince them of their errors through the medium of books, there would be an end to all fixity and certainty in Christendom; and this is the reason his majesty asks you to answer plainly yes or no, whether you will retract.' On this, Luther besought the emperor not to allow of his being forced to retract in opposition to his conscience, and without his being convinced that he had been in error; adding that his answer was not sophistical, that the councils had often come to contradictory decisions, and that he was ready to prove it. The official briefly answered that these contradictions could not be proved; but Luther persisted, and offered to adduce his proofs. By this time it being dusk, the assembly broke up. The Spaniards mocked the man of God, and loaded him with insults on his leaving the town-hall to return to his hostelry.

"On the following day the emperor summoned the electors and states to take into consideration the drawing up of the imperial ban against Luther and his adherents; in which, however, the safe-conduct was respected.

C

"In the last conference the archbishop of Trèves asked Luther what he would himself advise in order to bring the matter to a conclusion. Luther replied, 'The only advice to be given is that of Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles, "If this counsel, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."' Shortly after, the official of Trèves called on Luther at his hostelry with the imperial safe-conduct for his return. It allowed him twenty days to reach a place of safety; but enjoined him not to preach, or otherwise excite the people on his journey. He left on the next day, April 26, and was escorted by the herald on the emperor's verbal orders. When he reached Friedburg, Luther addressed a letter to the emperor, and another to the electors and states assembled at Worms. In the first, he expresses his regret at having been necessitated to disobey the emperor, adding, 'but God and God's word are above all men.' He likewise regrets his having been unable to obtain an examination of the evidences which he had drawn from Scripture, and states his readiness to present himself again before any other assembly that may be pointed out, and to submit himself to it in every thing without exception, provided God's word sustain no attaint." The letter to the electors and the states is to the same effect. To Spalatin he writes (May 14), "You cannot think how civilly the abbot of Hirsfeld received me. He sent his chancellor and his treasurer to meet us a long mile from his castle, and waited for us himself some short distance from it with a troop of cavaliers to escort us into the city. The senate received us at the gate. The abbot treated us sumptuously in his monastery, and would make me lie in his own bed. On the morning of the fifth day they forced me to preach. I pointed out to them, but without avail, that they would lose their *regales* should the imperialists treat my preaching as a breach of faith, they having enjoined me not to preach on the road; at the same time, I stated that I had never consented to tie up God's word, which was the truth. I also preached at Eisenach before a terrified clergyman and a notary, and witnesses who entered a protest against my proceedings, alleging fear of their tyrants as their excuse. So you may perhaps hear it said at Worms that I have broken my faith, but I have not. To tie up God's word is a condition beyond my power. Indeed, they thronged on foot from Eisenach to us, and we entered the city in the evening: all our companions had left in the morning with Jerome. For me, I crossed the forest to rejoin my flesh (his parents), and had just quitted them, intending to go to Walterhausen, when, a few moments after, I was made prisoner near the fort of Altenstein. Amsdorf, no doubt, was aware that I should be seized, but he does not know where I am kept. My brother, having seen the horsemen timeously, leapt from the carriage without leave-taking, and I have been told that he reached Walterhausen on foot that evening. As for me, they took off my robe, and made me dress myself as a knight, and I have allowed my hair and beard to grow. You would have some trouble to recognize me, for it is a long time since I have been able to recognize myself. But here I am now living in Christian liberty, freed from all the tyrant's laws."

Luther was conducted to the castle of Wartburg, but did not clearly know to whom he was to attribute the mild and honourable captivity in which he was detained. Having dismissed the herald who escorted him a few leagues from Worms, his enemies have inferred that he was apprised of what was about to happen. His correspondence proves the contrary. A cry of grief, however, was raised throughout Germany. He was supposed to have perished, and pope and emperor were accused. In reality, it was the elector of Saxony, Luther's protector, who, taking alarm at the sentence launched against him, and unable either to support or abandon him, had devised this means of saving him from his own daring, and of gaining time while he strengthened his party. Hiding Luther was a sure way of raising the exaltation of Germany and its fears for the champion of the faith, to the height.

BOOK THE SECOND.

A. D. 1521—1528.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1521 — 1524.

LUTHER'S RESIDENCE IN THE CASTLE OF WARTBURG.—HE RETURNS TO WITTEMBERG WITHOUT THE ELECTOR'S AUTHORITY.—HIS WRITINGS AGAINST THE KING OF ENGLAND, AND AGAINST PRINCES IN GENERAL.

WHILST all is indignation and rage at Worms, that the daring offender should have been allowed to escape, the time is gone by, and he soars invisibly over his enemies from the heights of the castle of Wartburg. Happy and safe in his dungeon, he can return to his flute, sing his German psalms, translate his Bible, and thunder at the devil and the pope quite at his ease. "The report gains ground," writes Luther, "that I have been made prisoner by friends sent from Franconia;" and, at another time, "I fancy it was supposed that Luther had been killed, or condemned to utter silence, in order that the public mind might relapse under that sophistical tyranny which I am so hated for having begun to undermine." However, Luther took care to let it be known that he was still alive. He writes to Spalatin, "I should not be sorry if this letter were lost by some adroit neglect on your

n that of your friends, and should fall into
ies' hands. Get the Gospel I send you
at; my writing must not be recognized."
been my intention to dedicate to my host,
my Patmos, a book on the Traditions of
ne had asked me for information on the
but I was restrained through fear of thus
the place of my captivity.....I have had
culty to get this letter forwarded to you,
ne fear of my present retreat's being found
me, 1521.) "The priests and monks who
their pranks whilst I was at large, have
o alarmed since I have been a prisoner,
begin to soften the preposterous tales
e propagated about me. They can no
ar up against the pressure of the increasing
id yet see no avenue by which to escape.
ot the arm of the Almighty of Jacob in
e works, whilst we are silent and rest in
and in prayer! Is not the saying of
erein verified, '*Vos tacebitis, et Dominus
ro vobis*' (The Lord shall fight for you, and
old your peace). One of those of Rome
a pewit* of Mentz, Luther is lost just as
wish, but such is the excitement of the
at I fear we shall hardly be able to escape
except we search for him with lighted
nd bring him back." Luther dates his
*rom the region of the clouds; From the re-
e birds;* or else, *From amidst the birds
eetly on the branches, and lauding God day
with all their strength;* or again, *From the
; From the island of Patmos.* It is from
wilderness (*ex eremo meâ*) that he pours
is sad and eloquent letters the thoughts
owd upon him in his solitude. "What
doing at this moment, my Philip?" he
Melanchthon; "art thou not praying for
r my part, seated in contemplation the
day, I figure to myself the image of the
whilst the words of the eighty-ninth
e ever present to me, '*Nunquid vane con-
nes filios hominum?*' (Wherefore hast
le all men in vain?) God! what a hor-
ctre of God's wrath is this abominable
ne antichrist of Rome! I hate the hardness
rt which does not dissolve in torrents of
urning over the sons of my murdered
Not one is found to rise up, take his stand
side, or make himself a rampart unto the
Israel, in this last day of wrath! Oh,
gn, worthy of the lees of ages! God have
on us!" (May 12th.)

I revolve these horrible times of wrath,
esire is to find in my eyes floods of tears
the desolation of souls brought on by this
of sin and of perdition. The monster sits
in the midst of the Church, and gives
ut for God. Prelates flatter, sophists
incense, and there is nothing which the
s will not do for him. Meanwhile, hell
erry, and opens its immense jowl: Satan
the perdition of souls. For me, I sit the
drinking and doing nothing. I read the
Greek and in Hebrew. I shall write
in German on the liberty of auricular
confession. I shall also continue the Psalter, and the Commentaries (*Postillas*), as soon as the materials I require are sent me from Wittemberg, among others, the *Magnificat*, which I have begun" (May 24th). This melancholy solitude was full of temptations and troubles for Luther. He writes to Melanchthon, "Your letter has displeased me on two grounds: firstly, because I see that you bear your cross with impatience, give too much way to the affections, and obey the tenderness of your nature; and, secondly, because you elevate me too high, and fall into the serious error of decking me out with various excellencies, as if I were absorbed in God's cause. This high opinion of yours confounds and racks me, when I see myself insensible, hardened, sunk in idleness; O grief! seldom in prayer, and not venting one groan over God's church. What do I say? my unsubdued flesh burns me with a devouring fire. In short, I who was to have been eaten up with the spirit, am devoured by the flesh, by luxury, indolence, idleness, somnolency. Is it that God has turned away from me, because you no longer pray for me? You must take my place; you, richer in God's gifts, and more acceptable in his sight. Here is a week slipped away since I have put pen to paper, since I have prayed or studied, either vexed by fleshly cares, or by other temptations. If things do not go on better, I will to Erfurth without any attempt at concealment, for I must consult physicians or surgeons." At this time he was ill, and undergoing great pain; but he describes his malady in too simple, rather gross terms, for us to translate them. His spiritual sufferings, however, were still more acute and were deeper seated (July 13th). "When I left Worms in 1521, was seized near Eisenach, and resided in my Patmos, the castle of Wartburg, I was in an apartment far from the world, and no one could approach me save two noble youths, who brought me my meals twice a day. They had bought me a bag of nuts, which I put in a chest. In the evening, when I had gone to bed in the adjoining room and had put out the light, I thought I heard the nuts rattling against each other and clicking against my bed. I did not trouble myself about the matter; but was awaked some time afterwards by a great noise on the staircase, as if a hundred barrels were being rolled from top to bottom. Yet, I knew that the staircase was so secured by chains and an iron door, that no one could ascend. I got up to see what it was, and called out, 'Is it you?'.... Well! so be it. . . And I recommended myself to the Lord Christ, of whom it is written, *Omnia subjecisti pedibus ejus* (Thou hast put all things under his feet), as it is said in the eighth psalm, and returned to my bed.—Then, John von Berblibs' wife came to Eisenach, suspecting me to be in the castle and wishing to see me; but the thing was impossible. They put me in another part of the castle, and the lady in the room I had occupied; and so great was the uproar she heard in the night, that she thought there were a thousand devils there."

Luther found few books at Wartburg. He set ardently about the study of Greek and Hebrew; and busied himself with replying to Latomus's book, which he describes as "so prolix, and so ill-written." He translated into German Melanchthon's Apology, in reply to the Paris doctors, and

* ame, applied to one of the dignitaries of the minds one of Rabelais' marvellous birds, the *apots* (pope-jays, bishop-jays), &c.

added a commentary to it. He displayed, indeed, extraordinary activity, and, from his mountain height, inundated Germany with his writings:—"I have published a small work in reply to that of Catharinus, on Antichrist, a treatise in German on Confession, an explanation of the lxvii. Psalm in German, an explanation of the song of the blessed Virgin Mary, in German, an explanation of the xxxvii. Psalm in German, and a letter of comfort to the church of Wittemberg. I have in the press a commentary in German, on the epistles and gospels for the year; I have also finished a public reprimand to the cardinal of Mentz, for the idol of indulgences which he has just set up in Halle, and an explanation of the miracle of the ten lepers—all in German. I was born for my Germans, and will serve them. I had begun from the pulpit at Wittemberg, a popular exposition of both Testaments, and had reached the xxxii. chapter of Genesis in the Old, and the coming of St. John the Baptist in the New; there I was stopped" (November 1st). "I am all of a tremble, and troubled in conscience because, yielding at Worms to your advice and that of your friends, I allowed the spirit to wax weak within me, instead of showing an Elias to those idols. Let me but once again find myself in their presence, and they shall hear a far different tale" (September 9th). The allusion to the archbishop of Mentz, in the letter just quoted, deserves explanation. It is curious to note the energy exhibited by Luther in this transaction, and how he treats the powers, the cardinal archbishop, and the elector himself, as their master. Spalatin had written to beg him to suppress his *public reprimand* to the archbishop. Luther replies, "I think I never received a letter so distasteful to me as your last. Not only have I deferred answering it, but I had even made up my mind not to answer it. In the first place, I will not endure your telling me, *that the prince will not allow of any writing against the people of Mentz, and of the public peace being disturbed.* I would annihilate (*perdam*) you all sooner, you, the archbishop, and every living being. You say, rightly enough, that the public *peace* ought not to be disturbed; and you will allow God's eternal peace to be disturbed by such impious and sacrilegious works of perdition? Not so, Spalatin, not so, prince; for Christ's sheep's sake will I resist with all my strength this devouring wolf, as I have resisted others. I send you a book against him; it was all ready when I received your letter, which has not induced me to change a word in it. I must submit it, however, to Philip (Melanchthon) who is to make such alterations as he may think proper. Beware of not forwarding it to Philip, or of seeking to dissuade him; the thing is settled, you will not be listened to" (November 11th).

Some days afterwards, he writes to the bishop himself—"This first and faithful exhortation, which I addressed to your electoral grace, having brought upon me your jeers and ingratitude, I addressed you a second time, offering to receive your instruction and advice. What was your grace's answer?—churlish and rude, unworthy of a bishop and of a Christian. Now, though my two letters have been thrown away, I will not be disheartened, but, in obedience to the gospel, will address your grace a third warning. You have just set up again at Halle the idol which beguiles good and simple Christians of their money and their souls, and you have thus publicly avowed that all which Tetzel did was done in concert with the archbishop of Mentz. . . . . This same God still lives, doubt it not, and can still withstand a cardinal of Mentz, though the latter had four emperors on his side. It is His pleasure to break the cedars, and to lower haughty and hardened Pharaohs. I beseech your grace not to tempt this God. Did you think that Luther was dead? Believe it not. He is protected by that God, who has already humbled the pope, and is ready to begin such a game with the archbishop of Mentz, few have any idea of. . . . . Given from my wilderness, the Sunday after St. Catherine's day (November 25, 1521). Your well-wisher and servant, MARTIN LUTHER."

To this, the cardinal replied humbly, and with his own hand:—"Dear Doctor, I have received your letter, dated the Sunday after St. Catherine's day, and have read it with all good-will and friendship. Still, its contents surprise me, as the matter which led you to write has been remedied long ago. Henceforward I will conduct myself, with God's aid, as it becomes a pious Christian, and ecclesiastical prince. I acknowledge that I stand in need of God's grace, and that I am a poor mortal, a sinner, and fallible, sinning and deceiving himself daily. I know that without God's grace there is no good in me, and that of myself I am but a worthless dunghill. Such is my answer to your friendly exhortation, for I entertain every desire to do you all manner of grace and good. I cheerfully bear with a fraternal and Christian reprimand, and I hope that the God of mercy will endow me with his grace and strength, so that I may live according to his will in this and all other things. Given at Halle, St. Thomas's day (December 21st, 1521). *Albertus, manu propriâ.*"

The archbishop's chaplain and adviser, Fabricius Capito, in an answer to Luther's letter, had found fault with his asperity, and had said that the great ought to be tenderly treated, excuses made for them, and, at times, their faults even winked at. . . Luther replies:—"You require gentleness and circumspection; I understand you. But is there any thing in common between the Christian and the hypocrite? The Christian faith is a public and sincere faith; it sees and proclaims things as they really are. . . . My own opinion is, that every thing should be unmasked, that there should be no tenderness, no excuses, no shutting one's eyes to any thing, so that the truth may remain pure, visible, and open to the inspection of all. . . . Jeremiah (ch. xl.) has these words: '*Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully.*' It is one thing, my dear Fabricius, to laud and to extenuate vice; another, to cure it by goodness and mildness. Above all, it behoveth to proclaim aloud what is just and unjust, and then, when the hearer is deeply impressed by our teaching, to welcome him and cheer him, despite the backslidings into which he may still lapse. '*Him that is weak in the faith receive ye,*' says St. Paul. . . . I hope that I cannot be reproached with ever having failed in charity or patience towards the weak. . . . If your cardinal had written his letter in the sincerity of his heart, O, my God, with what joy, what humility, would I not fall at his feet! How unworthy should I not esteem myself to kiss the dust beneath them! For am I aught else than dust and ordure? Let him

receive God's word, and I will be unto him as a faithful and lowly servant. . . . As regards those who persecute and condemn that word, the highest charity consists precisely in withstanding in every way their sacrilegious furies. . . . Think you to find Luther a man who will consent to shut his eyes, if he be only cajoled a little? . . . Dear Fabricius, I ought to give you a harsher answer than the present. . . . . My *love* inclines me to die for you, but whoso touches my *faith* touches the apple of my eye. Laugh at or prize *love* as you like, but *faith*,—the word—you should adore and look upon as the holy of holies: this is what we require of you. Expect all from our love; but fear, dread our faith. . . . I forbear replying to the cardinal himself, since I am at a loss how to write to him without approving or blaming his sincerity or his hypocrisy: he must hear what Luther thinks through you. . . . From my wilderness, St. Antony's day" (January 17th, 1522).

The preface which he prefixed to his explanation of the miracle of the lepers, and which he addressed to several of his friends, may be quoted here:—"Poor brother that I am! Here have I again lighted a great fire; have again *bitten* a good hole in the pocket of the papists; have attacked confession! What is now to be done with me? Where will they find sulphur, bitumen, iron, and wood enough to reduce this pestilent heretic to ashes. It will be necessary at the least to take the windows out of the churches, in order that the holy priests may find room for their preachings on the Gospel; *id est*, for their reproaches and furious vociferations against Luther. What else will they preach to the poor people? Each must preach what he can and what he knows. . . 'Kill, kill, they call out, kill this heresiarch, who seeks to overthrow the whole ecclesiastical polity, who seeks to fire all Christendom.' I hope that I may be found worthy of their proceeding to this extreme, and that they will heap upon me the measure of their fathers. But it is not yet time; my hour is not yet come; I must first exasperate still more this race of vipers, so as to deserve to find death at their hands.". . . . Being hindered from plunging into the mellay, he exhorts Melanchthon from the depths of his retirement: "Though I should perish it would be no loss to the Gospel, for you are now going beyond me; you are the Elisha who succeeds Elijah, and is invested with double grace. Be not cast down, but sing at night the hymn to the Lord which I have given to you, and I will sing it likewise, having no other thought than for the word. Let him who is in the dark, be in the dark; let him who is perishing, perish; provided they cannot complain that we have failed in our duty" (May 26th, 1521). He was next pressed to solve a question which he had himself raised, and which could not be decided by theological controversies—that relating to conventual vows. The monks, from every quarter, desired the word that was to release them from their solitary cells, and Melanchthon shrunk from taking the responsibility upon himself; even Luther approaches the subject with hesitation:—"You have not yet convinced me that the priestly and monastic vow are to be regarded in the same light. I cannot but feel that the sacerdotal order, instituted by God, is free, but not the monastic; whose votaries have chosen their state and voluntarily offered themselves to God. I do not hesitate to say that such as have not attained, or who have just arrived at marriageable age, and who have entered these cut-throat dens, need have no scruple in leaving them; but I dare not say the same for those who are advanced in years, or who have long embraced the state. However, as Paul, speaking of priests, gives a very comprehensive decision, saying that it is the devil who has interdicted them marriage, and as the voice of Paul is the voice of the Majesty of Heaven, I nothing doubt that we ought openly to abide by the same; and so, although when they took the vow they bound themselves by this prohibition of the devil's, yet, now that they know to what they have bound themselves, they may confidently unbind themselves (August 1st). For my own part, I have often dissolved, without any scruple, vows contracted before the age of twenty, and would still dissolve such, because every one must see that they have been contracted without deliberation or knowledge. But those whose vows I so dissolved had not yet changed their state or habit; as to such as have already discharged in their monasteries the functions of the sacrifice, I have as yet dared nothing. The vain beliefs of men still overshadow and perplex me" (August 6th, 1521). Sometimes, he feels more confident and speaks out plainly:—"As to monastic and priestly vows, Philip and I have conspired in right earnest to annihilate them. . . . Every day brings me such fresh proofs of the monstrosities arising from the accursed celibacy of the young of both sexes, that no words are more odious to my ears than the names of nun, monk, priest; and marriage seems to me a paradise even in the depths of poverty" (November 1st).

In his preface to his work, *De Votis Monasticis*, written in the form of a letter to his father (November 21st, 1521), Luther says: . . . . "I did not turn monk voluntarily. Terrified by a sudden apparition, surrounded by death, and conceiving myself summoned by Heaven, I made an inconsiderate and forced vow. When I told you this, you answered, 'God send it be not a vision of the devil's raising!' These words, as if God had spoken by your lips, sank deeply into me; but I shut my heart, as much as I could, against you and your words. In like manner, when I subsequently objected your anger to you, you returned me an answer which struck me as no other speech has struck me, and which has remained graven on my heart. You said to me, 'Have you not also heard that you should obey your parents?' But I was obdurate in my devotional intent, and hearkened to what you said as being only of man. Still, at the bottom of my soul I could never despise these words." . . . "I remember that when I had taken my vows, my father by the flesh, who was at first highly irritated, exclaimed when he was appeased, 'Heaven grant it be not a trick of Satan's!' a saying which has struck such deep root in my heart, that I never heard any thing from his mouth which I remember more tenaciously. Methinks God spoke by his lips." (September 9th.) He advises Wenceslaus Link to allow the monks to quit their convents as they liked:—"I am certain that you will neither do nor suffer any thing to be done contrary to the Gospel, though the annihilation of all monasteries were to follow. I do not like the tumultuous rush out that I have heard of. . . . . Yet I do not think

it good and convenient to call them back, although they have not acted well and suitably. You must, after the example of Cyrus, in Herodotus, allow those to leave who wish; but neither forcibly expel nor retain any one. . . . . " He displayed similar tolerance when the inhabitants of Erfurth proceeded to acts of violence against the Catholic priests. At Wittemberg, Carlstadt soon fulfilled and even exceeded Luther's instructions. " Good God!" exclaims the latter, in a letter to Spalatin, " will our Wittemberg folk make even the monks marry! For my part, they will not get me to take a wife. Be on your guard against marrying, that you may not fall into the tribulation of the flesh." (August 6th.)

This hesitation and those precautions are clear proofs that Luther rather followed than led the movement, which was hurrying all minds out of the ancient ways. " Origen," he writes to Spalatin, " had a separate lecture for the women; why should not Melanchthon try something of the kind? He can and ought, for the people are athirst and a-hungered. I am exceedingly anxious also that Melanchthon should preach somewhere, publicly, in the town, on holydays, after dinner, to supplant gaming and drinking. One would thus learn to restore liberty, and to fashion it on the model of the ancient Church. For if we have broken with all human laws and shaken off the yoke, shall we stop at Melanchthon's not being shorn and anointed, at his being married? He is veritable priest, and discharges the priest's office; except that office be not the teaching of the word. Otherwise, no more will Christ be priest, since he sometimes teaches in the synagogues, sometimes on board ship, sometimes on the sea-shore, sometimes on the mountain: he has filled every part, in every place, at every hour, without ceasing to be himself. Melanchthon, too, should read the gospel to the people in German, as he has begun to read it in Latin, in order that he may thus gradually qualify himself for a German bishop, as he has become a Latin bishop." (September 9th.) Meanwhile, the emperor being taken up with the wars with the French king, the elector gained confidence, and allowed Luther a little more liberty:—" I have gone hunting these two days, in order to see what this γλυκύπικρον (sweet-bitter) sport of heroes is like. We caught two hares, and some poor wretched partridges: a fitting occupation for idle men. I theologized, however, in the midst of the nets and dogs: as much pleasure as the sight gave me, just as much was it for me a mystery of pity and of pain. What does the amusement image forth except the devil with his impious doctors as dogs; that is to say, the bishops and theologians who hunt these innocent little beasts. I was deeply sensible of the sad mystery shadowed forth in these simple and faithful animals. Take another more atrocious picture. We had saved a leveret alive. I had covered it up in the sleeve of my gown; but leaving it for a moment, the dogs found the poor thing, and broke its right leg and strangled it through the gown. It is thus that the pope and Satan rage to ruin even the souls that are saved. In short, I am sick of this sport. Methinks I should prefer piercing with darts and arrows bears, wolves, wild-boars, foxes, and the whole tribe of wicked doctors. . . . . I write thus lightly to teach you courtiers, devourers of beasts, that you will be beasts in your turn in Paradise, where Christ, the great hunter, will know how to take and encage you. 'Tis you who are the sport while you are enjoying the sport of hunting." (August the 15th.) All things considered, Luther was not dissatisfied with his residence at Wartburg, where, in his liberal treatment, he recognized the elector's hand. " The owner of this place treats me much better than I deserve." (June 10th.) " I do not want to be a burthen to any one. But I am convinced that I live here at the expense of our prince, otherwise I would not stay an hour longer. You know that if any one's money should be spent, it is that of princes." (August 15th.)

At the close of November, 1521, his desire to see and exhort his disciples led him to make a short excursion to Wittemberg; but he took care that the elector should know nothing of it. " I conceal," he writes to Spalatin, " both my journey and my return from him. For what reason? You know it well enough."

This reason was, the alarming character assumed by the Reformation in the hands of Carlstadt, of theological demagogues, of breakers of images, Anabaptists, and others, who began to start up. " I have seen the prince of those prophets, Claus-Stork, stalking about with the air and in the attire of those soldiers whom we call *lanzknecht;* there was another, too, in a long gown, and Doctor Gerard, of Cologne. Stork seems to me carried away by a fickleness of mind, which will not allow him to depend on his own opinions. But Satan makes himself sport with these men." (September 4th, 1522.) Still, Luther did not attach any great importance to this movement: " I quit not my retreat," he writes, " I budge not for these prophets, for they little move me." (January 17th, 1522.) He charged Melanchthon to try them; and it was on this occasion that he addressed to him the following fine letter:—(January 13th, 1522): " If you wish to put their inspiration to the proof, ask them whether they have experienced those spiritual agonies and those divine births, those deaths and those hells. . . . . If you hear only of sweet, and peaceful, and devout things (as they say), albeit they should profess to be caught up to the third heaven, sanction nothing of the kind. The sign of the Son of Man is wanting—the βάσανος (touchstone), the sole proof of Christians, the rule which distinguishes minds. Do you wish to know the place, the manner, and the time of divine colloquies? Listen: '*As a lion, so will he break all my bones,*' &c. '*Why castest thou off my soul? why hidest thou thy face from me?*' &c. '*The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me.*' The Majesty of Heaven does not speak, as they pretend, immediately, and in sight of man: nay, '*No man shall see me and live.*' Therefore, He speaketh by the mouth of men; because we cannot all receive His word. The Virgin even was troubled at the sight of an angel. Hearken, also, to the cry of Daniel and of Jeremiah: '*Correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger.*'" On January 17th he writes: 'Take care that our prince does not stain his hands with the blood of these new prophets. You must fight with the word alone, conquer with the word alone, destroy with the word what they have raised by force and violence. . . . . I condemn solely by the word: let him who believeth believe and follow; let the unbeliever continue in his unbelief and go his way. No one must be forced

unto the faith or the things of the faith, but be prevailed upon by the word. I condemn images, but by the word; not that they may be burnt, but that no trust may be put in them."

But things were taking place in Wittemberg which would not suffer Luther to remain longer in his dungeon. He set off without asking the elector's leave. A curious account of his journey is given by one of the historians of the Reformation:—

"John Kessler, a young theologian of Saint-Gall, on his way with a friend to Wittemberg to finish his studies there, fell in one evening in an inn near the gates of Jena with Luther, who wore a riding dress. They did not know him. The horseman had a little book before him, which, as they saw afterwards, was the Psalter in Hebrew. He saluted them politely, and invited them to seat themselves at his table. In the course of conversation, he inquired what was thought of Luther in Switzerland? Kessler replied, that some did not know how to laud him enough, and thanked God for having sent him on earth to exalt the truth; whilst others, and especially the priests, denounced him as a heretic who was not to be spared. From something which the innkeeper said to the young travellers, they took him to be Ulrich von Hutten. Two traders came in. One of them drew from his pocket, and put on the table by him, a newly-printed work of Luther's, in sheets, and asked if they had seen it. Luther said a few words about the indifference towards serious matters manifested by the princes at that time assembled at the diet of Nuremberg. He also expressed his hopes 'that the Gospel truth would bear more fruit in succeeding generations, which should not have been poisoned by the Papal error.' One of the traders said, 'I am unskilled in these questions; but, to my mind, Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil from hell; at all events, I will spend the last ten florins that I have saved up in going to confess to him.' This conversation took place during supper. Luther had settled beforehand with the hosteller to pay the reckoning of the whole company. When the party broke up, Luther shook hands with the two Swiss (the traders had been called away by their business), and begged them to bear his remembrances to Doctor Jerome Schurff, their countryman, as soon as they reached Wittemberg. And when they enquired whose remembrances it was they were to bear, he replied: 'Simply tell him that he who is to come salutes him; he will be sure to understand from whom the message comes.' When the traders returned, and learnt that it was Luther with whom they had been talking, they were in despair that they had not known it sooner, that they had not shown him more respect, and had spoken so sillily before him. The following morning they were up betimes, on purpose to see him before he left, and to tender him their most humble excuses. Luther only owned to its being himself by implication."

On his road to Wittemberg he wrote to the elector, who had forbade him to leave Wartburg: ". . . . I do not hold the Gospel of men, but of Heaven, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and I might well have called myself his servant, and assumed the name of evangelist, as I intend doing henceforward. If I have sought to be examined, it is not that I doubted the goodness of my cause, but through deference and humility alone. Now, seeing that this excess of humility only depreciates the Gospel, and that the devil, if I yield an inch of ground, seeks to take possession of the whole, my conscience compels me to act differently. It is enough that, to pleasure your electoral grace, I have spent a year in retirement. Well does the devil know that this was through no fears of mine. He saw my heart when I entered Worms. Had that town been filled with devils I would joyfully have flung myself into it. Now, duke George cannot even pass for a devil; and I leave it to your electoral grace whether it would not be offensive to the Father of all mercy, who bids us put our trust in Him, to fear the anger of this duke! Did God summon me to Leipsic, his capital, as He summons me to Wittemberg, I would thither (forgive the silly expression) though it should rain Duke Georges nine days on end, and each nine times more furious than he. . . . He takes Jesus Christ, then, for a man of straw. The Lord may bear with this for a time, but not always. No more will I conceal from your electoral grace that I have more than once besought God with tears to be pleased to enlighten the duke; and I will do so once more with all zeal, but it shall be for the last time. I also beg your grace's own prayers, and that you would order prayers to be put up, to the end that we may turn away from him, if God so please, that fearful judgment which, alas! threatens him each day more nearly. I write this to apprize you that I am on my way to Wittemberg, under higher protection than that of the elector; so that I have no intention of asking your grace's support. Nay, I even believe that I shall be a better protection to the elector than the elector to me; and did I think that I had to trust to him I should stay my steps. The sword is powerless here. God must act, without man's interference. He, in whom faith most abounds, will be the most efficacious protector; and, as I feel your grace's faith to be still weak, I can by no means recognize in you him who is to protect and save me. Your electoral grace asks me what you are to do under these circumstances, thinking you have done little hitherto? I answer, with all submission, that your grace has done only too much, and that you should do nothing. God desireth not all this uneasiness and turmoil about His cause; but that we should trust in Him alone. If your grace entertain this faith you will reap peace and security; if not, I at least will rest in faith, and shall be obliged to leave to your grace the torment with which God punishes unbelievers. Since, then, I decline complying with your grace's exhortations, you will be justified before God if I am taken or am put to death. And, before men, it is my wish your grace should act as follows:—That you be obedient to authority like a good elector, allow the emperor to rule in his states conformably with the laws of the empire, and forbear from resisting any power which shall attack my liberty or my life; for no one ought to disarm authority or resist it, save Him who has instituted it; else 'tis revolt, and against God. I only hope that they will have sense enough to discern that your electoral grace is too high in place to turn my gaoler; so that, if you leave the doors open and insist on the recognition of the safe-conduct, should they come to seize me, you will have satisfied the calls of obedience. On the contrary, if they are unreasonable enough to order your grace yourself to lay hands on me, I will so manage that you shall suffer on my account no prejudice in body, goods,

or soul. I will explain myself, if necessary, more at length another time. I forward this, for fear of your grace's being distressed at hearing of my arrival; for, as a Christian, I ought to comfort every one and harm none. If your grace had faith, you would behold the wondrous doings of God; but if you yet have it not, you have yet seen nothing. Let us love and glorify God for ever. Amen. Written at Borna, with my guide by me, Ash Wednesday, (March 5th,) 1522. Your electoral grace's most humble servant, MARTIN LUTHER."

(March 7th.) The elector had requested Luther to explain to him his reasons for returning to Wittemberg, in a letter which might be shown to the emperor. Luther, in his letter, gives three reasons:—The urgent entreaties of the Church of Wittemberg; the confusion that had arisen in his flock; and, thirdly, the desire to hinder, as far as in him lies, the outbreaks which he considers to be imminent.

"... My second reason for returning," he writes, "is, that during my absence Satan has entered my sheepfold, and has committed ravages which I can only repair by my own presence and lively word; writing would have been useless. My conscience would not allow me to delay longer; I was bound to disregard not only your highness's favour or disfavour, but the whole world's wrath. It was my flock, the flock entrusted to me by God, my children in Christ Jesus; I could not hesitate a moment. I am bound to suffer death for them, and would cheerfully lay down my life, with God's grace, even as it is asked by Jesus Christ (St. John x. 11). Could my pen have remedied the mischief, wherefore should I have come? Why not, if my presence were unnecessary, have made up my mind to quit Wittemberg for ever?" .. In the same month, soon after his return to Wittemberg, Luther writes to his friend Hartmuth von Kronberg. "... Satan, *who is ever busy amongst the children of God*, as Job says (i. 6, 7), has just done us all, and me in particular, a grievous mischief. Not all my enemies, however near they have often been to me, have ever struck me such a blow as I have sustained at the hands of my friends. I am forced to own that the smoke from this fire offends alike my eyes and heart. 'Tis by attacking him on this side,' Satan has said to himself, 'that I can prostrate Luther's courage, and overcome his stubborn mind. This time he will not escape me.' ... Perhaps God designs to punish me by this stroke for having repressed the spirit within me at Worms, and spoken too gently to the tyrants. The pagans, it is true, have since then accused me of having shown pride. They know not what faith is. I yielded to the entreaties of my good friends, who would not have me appear too unpolished; but I have often repented of this deference and humility. .. I myself no longer know Luther, and wish not to know him. What I preach comes not from him, but from Jesus Christ. Let the devil fly away with Luther if he can, I care not, so long as he leaves Jesus Christ reigning in all hearts."

About the middle of this year, Luther broke out with the greatest violence against princes. A great number of princes and bishops (amongst the rest, duke George), had just prohibited the translation which he was then publishing of the Bible; and the price was returned to such as had purchased it. Luther boldly took up the gauntlet so thrown down:—"We have reaped the first fruits of victory, and have triumphed over the papal tyranny, which had weighed down kings and princes; how much easier will it not be to bring the princes themselves to their senses! ... I greatly fear troubles arising, if they continue to hearken to that silly-pated duke George, which will bring ruin on princes and magistrates, over all Germany; and, at the same time, involve the clergy in a similar fate. Such is my view of the aspect of affairs. The people are agitated in all directions, and on the look-out. They will, they can no longer suffer themselves to be oppressed. This is the Lord's doing. He shuts the eyes of the princes to these menacing symptoms, and will bring the whole to a consummation, by their blindness and their violence. Methinks I see Germany swimming in blood! I tell them that the sword of civil war is hanging suspended over their heads. They are doing their utmost to ruin Luther, and Luther does his utmost to save them. Destruction is yawning, not for Luther, but for them; and they draw nigh of themselves, instead of shrinking back. I believe the Spirit now speaks in me; and that if the decree of wrath goes forth in heaven, and neither prayer nor wisdom can avail, we shall obtain that our Josiah sleep in peace, and the world be left to itself in its Babylon.—Although hourly exposed to death, in the midst of my enemies, and without any human aid, I have yet never so despised anything in my life as these stupid threats of prince George's and his fellows. The Spirit, doubt it not, will master duke George and his comrades in folly. I have written all this to you fasting, and at a very early hour, with my heart filled with pious confidence. My Christ lives and reigns; and I shall live and reign" (March 19th).

About the same time, Henry VIII. published the work which he had got his chaplain Edward Lee to write, and in which he announced himself the champion of the church.

"This work betrays royal ignorance, but a virulence and mendacity as well, which are wholly Lee's" (July 22nd). Luther's reply came out the following year, and exceeded in violence even all that might have been expected from his writings against the pope. Never had any private man, before him, addressed a monarch in such contemptuous and audacious terms:—

"To the words of fathers, men, angels, devils, I oppose, not ancient usage, or a multitude of men, but the word alone of the Eternal Majesty—the Gospel which they themselves are forced to recognize. On this, I take my stand; this is my glory, my triumph; and from this, I mock popes, Thomists, Henricists, sophists, and all the gates of hell. I care little about the words of men, whatever their sanctity, and as little for tradition and deceitful usage. God's word is above all. If I have the Divine Majesty with me, what signifies all the rest, even if a thousand Austin friars, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand of Henry's churches, were to rise up against me? God cannot err, or be deceived; Augustin and Cyprian, as well as all the elect, can err, and have erred. The mass conquered, we have, I opine, conquered the popedom. The mass was as it were the rock on which the popedom, with its monasteries, episcopacies, colleges, altars, ministers, and doctrines, on which, in fine, its whole

papacy was founded. All this will topple down along with the abomination of their sacrilegious mass. In Christ's cause I have trodden under foot the idol of the Roman abomination, which had seated itself in God's place, and had become mistress of kings, and of the world. Who then is this Henry, this new Thomist, this disciple of the monster, that I should respect his blasphemies and his violence? He is the defender of the Church; yes, of his own church, which he exalts so high, of the whore who lives in purple, drunken with debauch, of that mother of fornications. My leader is Christ; and with one and the same blow, I will dash in pieces this Church, and its defenders, who are but one. My doctrines, I feel convinced, are of heaven. I have triumphed with them over him who has more strength and craft in his little finger than all popes, kings, and doctors, put together. My doctrines will remain, and the pope will fall, notwithstanding all the gates of hell, and all the powers of the air, the earth, and the sea. They have defied me to war; well, they shall have war. They have despised the peace I offered them; peace shall no more be theirs. God will see which of the two will first have enough of it, the pope or Luther. Thrice have I appeared before them. I entered Worms, well aware that Cæsar was to violate the public faith in my person. Luther, the fugitive, the trembling, came to cast himself within the teeth of Behemoth. . . . But they, these terrible giants, has one single one of them presented himself for these three years at Wittemberg? And yet they might have come in all safety, under the Emperor's guarantee. The cowards! Do they dare yet to hope for triumph? They thought that my flight would enable them to retrieve their shameful ignominy. It is now known by all the world; it is known that they have not had the courage to face Luther alone" (A. D. 1523).

He was still more violent in the treatise which he published in German on the Secular Power: "Princes are of the world, and the world is alien from God; so that they live according to the world, and against God's law. Be not surprised then by their furious raging against the Gospel, for they cannot but follow the laws of their own nature. You must know, that from the beginning of the world, a wise prince has been rare; still more, an honest and upright prince. They are generally great fools, or wicked castaways (*maxime fatui, pessimi nebulones super terram*). And so the worst is always to be expected from them, and scarcely ever good; especially when the salvation of souls is concerned. They serve God as lictors and executioners, when he desires to chastise the wicked. Our God is a powerful King, and must have noble, illustrious, rich executioners and lictors, such as they, and wills them to have riches and honours in abundance, and to be feared of all. It is his divine pleasure that we style his executioners merciful lords, that we prostrate ourselves at their feet, that we be their most humble subjects. But these very executioners do not push the trick so far, as to desire to become good pastors. If a prince be wise, upright, a Christian, it is a great miracle, a precious sign of divine favour; for, commonly, it happens as with the Jews, to whom God said, 'I will give thee a king in my anger, and take him away in my wrath' (*Dabo tibi regem in furore meo, et auferam in indignatione meâ*). And look at our Christian princes who protect the faith, and devour the Turk. . . . Good people, trust not to them. In their great wisdom, they are about to do something; they are about to break their necks, and precipitate nations into disasters and misery. . . . Now I will make the blind to see, in order that they may understand those four words in Psalm cvii. *Effundit contemptum super principes* (He poureth contempt on princes). I swear to you by God himself, that if you wait for men to come and shout in your ears these four words, you are lost, even though each of you were as powerful as the Turk; and then it will avail you nothing to swell yourselves out and grind your teeth. . . Already there are very few princes who are not treated as fools and knaves; for the plain reason that they show themselves such, and the people begin to use their understanding. . . . . Good masters and lords, govern with moderation and justice, for your people will not long endure your tyranny; they neither can, nor will. This world is no more the world of former days, in which you went hunting down men like wild beasts." Luther remarks with regard to two severe rescripts of the emperor's against him: "I exhort every good Christian to pray with me for these blind princes, whom God has no doubt sent us in his wrath, and not to follow them against the Turks. The Turk is ten times more able and more religious than our princes. How can these wretches, who tempt and blaspheme God so horribly, succeed against him? Does not that poor and wretched creature, who is not for one moment sure of his life, does not our emperor impudently boast that he is the true and sovereign defender of the Christian faith? Holy Scripture says that the Christian faith is a rock, against which the devil, and death, and every power shall be broken; that it is a divine power, and that this divine power can be protected from death by a child, whom the slightest touch would throw down. O God! how mad is this world! Here is the king of England, who, in his turn, styles himself, *Defender of the Faith!* Even the Hungarians boast of being the protectors of God, and sing in their litanies, '*Ut nos defensores tuos exaudire digneris*' (Vouchsafe to hear us, thy defenders). . . Why are not there princes to protect Jesus Christ as well, and others to defend the Holy Ghost? On this fashion, the Holy Trinity and the faith would, I conclude, at last be fitly guarded!" . . . (A.D. 1523.)

Daring like this alarmed the elector. Luther could hardly reassure him:—"I call to mind, my dear Spalatin, what I wrote from Born to the elector, and would to God that, warned by such evident signs from God's own hand, you would but have faith. Have I not escaped these two years from every attempt? Is not the elector not only safe, but has he not for this year past seen the rage of the princes abated? It is not hard for Christ to protect Christ in this cause of mine; which the elector espoused, induced by God alone. Could I devise any means of separating him from this cause, without casting shame on the Gospel, I should not grudge even my life. Nay, I had made sure that before a year was over, they would drag me to the stake; and in this was my hope of his deliverance. Since, however, we cannot comprehend or divine

God's designs, we shall ever be perfectly safe if we say—*'Thy will be done!'* And I have no doubt but that the prince will be secure from all attack, so long as he does not publicly espouse and approve our cause. Why is he forced to partake our disgrace? God only knows; although it is quite certain that this is not to his hurt or danger, but, on the contrary, to the great benefit of his salvation" (October 12th, 1523).

What constituted Luther's safety, was the apparent imminency of a general revolutionary movement. The lower classes grumbled. The petty nobility, more impatient, took the initiative. The rich ecclesiastical principalities lay exposed as a prey; and it seemed as if their pillage would be the signal for civil war. The catholics themselves protested by legal means, against the abuses which Luther had pointed out in the church. In March, 1523, the diet of Nuremberg suspended the execution of the imperial edict against Luther, and drew up against the clergy the *Centum Gravamina* (The Hundred Grievances). Already the most zealous of the princes of the Rhine, Franz von Sickingen, had begun the contest between the petty barons and princes, by attacking the Palatine. "Matters," exclaimed Luther, "are come to a grievous pass. Certain signs indicate approaching revolution; and I am convinced Germany is threatened either with a most cruel war or its last day" (January 16th, 1523).

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNINGS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.—ATTEMPTS AT ORGANISATION, &c.

THE most active and laborious period of Luther's life, was that succeeding his return to Wittemberg. He was constrained to go on with the Reformation, to advance each day on the road he had opened, to surmount new obstacles, and yet, from time to time, to stop in this work of destruction to reconstruct and rebuild as well as he might. His life loses the unity it presented at Worms, and in the castle of Wartburg. Hurried from his poetic solitude into a vortex of the meanest realities, and cast as a prey to the world, 'tis to him that all the enemies of Rome will apply. All flock to him, and besiege his door—princes, doctors, or burgesses. He has to reply to Bohemians, to Italians, to Swiss, to all Europe. Fugitives arrive from every quarter. Indisputably, the most embarrassing of these are the nuns who, having fled from their convents, and having been rejected by their families, apply for an asylum to Luther. This man, thirty-six years of age, finds himself obliged to receive these women and maidens, and be to them a father. A poor monk, his own situation a necessitous one (see, above, c. iv), he labours to get some small help for them from the parsimonious elector, who is allowing himself to die of hunger. To sink into these straits, after his triumph at Worms, was enough to calm the reformer's exaltation.

The answers he returns to the multitude that come to consult him, are impressed with a liberality of spirit which, afterwards, we shall see him occasionally lose sight of; when, raised to be the head of an established church, he shall himself experience the necessity of staying the movement which he had impressed on religious thought.

First comes the pastor of Zwickau, Ham calling on Luther to determine the limits of gelical liberty. He answers:—"We gra liberty with regard to the communion in kinds; but to such as approach becoming with fear. In all the rest, let us observe th ritual, let each follow his own lights, and ex terrogate his own conscience, how to ans the Gospel." The Moravian brethren com the Vaudois of Moravia, (March 26th, 1522). sacrament itself," writes Luther to them, "is indispensable as to render faith and charity fluous. It is madness to be meddling with the matters, to the neglect of the precious cone salvation. Where faith and charity are, th be no sin either in adoring or not adoring. contrary, where faith and charity are not, the not but be one enduring sin. If these wr will not say concomitance, let them say oth and give over disputing, since they agree fun tally. Faith, charity does not adore (it worship of saints that is alluded to), bec knows that adoration is not commanded, a there is no sin in not adoring. So does it liberty through the midst of these people, conciles them all, by leaving each to enjoy opinion. It forbids wrangling with and cond one another, for it hates sects and schis would resolve the question of the adoration in the saints, by saying, that it is altoget different, and open to individual choice o tion." He expressed himself in regard latter subject with singular haughtiness: " own marvel, my opinion of the worship of s so called for by the whole world, that I feel to publish it. I had rather the questio suffered to rest, for the one reason that it i cessary" (May 29th, 1522). "As to the exh of relics, I think they have already been ex over and over again, throughout the whole With respect to purgatory; it seems to me doubtful matter. It is probable that, w exception of a small number, all the dead sl state of insensibility. I do not suppose pu to be a determinate spot, as imagined by phists. To believe them, all those who are in heaven nor in hell, are in purgatory. dare affirm this? The souls of the dea sleep between heaven, earth, hell, purgatory, things, as it happens with the living, in p sleep. . . . I take this to be the pain w called the foretaste of hell; and from which Moses, Abraham, David, Jacob, Job, He and many others, suffered such agony. this is like hell, and yet temporary, whether place in the body or out of the body, it is pu to me." (January 13th, 1522.)

In Luther's hands, confession loses the ch it had assumed under the Church. It is no that formidable tribunal which shuts and heaven. With him, the priest simply pla wisdom and his experience at the penitent vice; and from the sacrament which it w fession is transformed into a ministry of c and good advice. "It needeth not, in com to recapitulate all one's sins; each can tell v likes; we shall stone no one for this; if they from the bottom of their heart that they a sinners, we are satisfied. If a murderer s his trial that I had given him absolution, I

mow not whether he is absolved, for it is
ho confess and absolve, it is Christ. A
at Venice killed, and flung into the water,
gallant who had slept with her. A monk
r absolution, and then informed against
he woman produced in her defence the
absolution. The senate decided that the
ould be burnt and the woman banished the
t was a truly wise sentence. But if I gave
eation signed with my own hand to an
conscience, and it were handed to the
might lawfully insist on his giving it up to
did with duke George; for he who holds
s letters, without a good title to them, is a
As to mass, from the year 1519, he treats
nal celebration as a matter of perfect indif-
writing to Spalatin, "You ask me for a model
ceremonial for mass. I implore you not to
yourself about minutiæ of the kind. Pray
s whom God shall inspire you to pray for,
p your conscience free on this subject. It
o important a matter as to require us
tle still further by decrees and traditions
it of liberty: the prevailing traditions that
then the mass are enough, and more than
" Towards the end of his life, in 1542, he
rote to the same Spalatin (November 10th):
h regard to the elevation of the host, do
t pleases you. I wish no fetters forged on
nt matters. This is the strain in which I
ave written, and ever shall write to all who
me on this question." Nevertheless, he
ted the necessity of external worship:—
ceremonies are not necessary to salvation,
eless they make an impression on rude
I allude mainly to the ceremonies of the
hich you may retain as we have here at
berg." (January 11th, 1531.) "I condemn
mony, except such as are contrary to the
We have retained the baptistery and
; although we administer it in the vulgar
I allow of images in the temple; mass is
ed with the usual rites and habits, with the
n of some hymns in the vulgar tongue, and
nouncing the words of consecration in Ger-
In short, I should not have substituted the
ongue for Latin in the celebration of mass,
t been compelled to it." (March 14th, 1528.)
re about to organise the church of Kœnigs-
pray you, in Christ's name, change as few
as possible. You have some episcopal
ear you, and must not let the ceremonies of
r Church differ much from the ancient
If mass in Latin be not done away with,
t; only, introduce some hymns in German.
done away with, retain the ancient ceremo-
l habits." (July 16th, 1528.)
most serious change which Luther intro-
nto the mass, was translating it into the vul-
gue. "Mass shall be said in German for
r; but the daily service shall be performed
in, introducing, however, some German
" (October 28th, 1525.) "I am glad to find
ss is now celebrated in Germany, in Ger-
But that Carlstadt should make this impe-
is going too far. He is incorrigible. Al-
ays, always obligations, sins of omission, or
sion! But he cannot help it. I should be
d to sing mass in German, and am busied
; but I want it to have a true German air.
Simply to translate the Latin text, preserving the usual tone and chant, may pass; but it does not sound well, or satisfy me. The whole, text and notes, accent and gestures, ought to spring from our native tongue and voice; otherwise, it can only be imitation and mockery. . . . ." "I wish, rather than promise, to furnish you with a mass in German; since I do not feel myself equal to this labour, which requires both music and brain-work. (November 12th, 1524.) "I send you the mass; I will even consent to its being sung; but I do not like to have Latin music with German words. I should wish the German chant to be adopted." (March 26th, 1525.) "I am of opinion that it would be advantageous, after the example of the prophets, and the ancient Fathers of the Church, to compose psalms in German for the people. We are looking for poets everywhere; but sith you have been gifted with considerable fluency and eloquence in the German tongue, and have cultivated these gifts, I pray you to assist me in my labour, and to essay a translation of some psalm, on the model of those I have composed. I am anxious to avoid all new words and court phrases. To be understood by the people, you require to use the simplest and commonest language, attending, however, to purity and precision; and your phrases must be as clear and as close to the text as possible." (A.D. 1524.)

It was no easy task to organize the new Church. The ancient hierarchy was broken up. The principle of the Reformation was to reinstate everything according to Scripture warrant; and to be consistent, the Church should have been restored to the democratic form it assumed during the first centuries. Luther, at first, seemed to incline to this. In his *De Ministris Ecclesiæ Instituendis*, (On the Appointment of Ministers to the Church,) addressed to the Bohemians, he writes—"What a notable invention it is of the papists, that the priest is invested with an indestructible character, which no fault he commits can deprive him of. . . . The priest ought to be chosen, elected by the suffrages of the people, and then confirmed by the bishop; that is to say, after election, the senior, the most venerable of the electors, should ratify it by imposition of hands. Did Christ, the first priest under the New Testament, require the tonsure and other fooleries of episcopal ordination? Did his apostles, his disciples? . . . . All Christians are priests, all may teach God's word, administer baptism, consecrate the bread and wine; for Christ has said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' All of us Christians have the power of the keys. Christ said to his apostles, who represented the whole human race before him, 'I say unto you, that what you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' But to bind and to unloose is no other thing than to preach and to apply the Gospel. To loose, is to announce that God has forgiven the sinner his errors. To bind, is to deprive of the Gospel and announce that his sins are remembered. The names which priests ought to bear, are those of ministers, deacons, bishops (overseers), dispensers. On a minister's ceasing to be faithful, he ought to be deposed; his brethren may excommunicate him, and put some other minister in his place. Preaching is the highest office in the Church. Jesus Christ and Paul preached, but did not baptize." (A. D. 1523.) He would not, as

we have already seen, restrict all churches to one uniform rule. "I do not opine that our Wittemberg rules should be imposed on all Germany." And again, "It does not seem to me safe to call a council of ourselves, in order to establish uniformity of ceremonies, a mode of proceeding fraught with evil consequences, as is proved by all the councils of the Church from the beginning. Thus, in the council of the Apostles, works and traditions received more attention than faith; and, in the succeeding councils, the faith was never brought under consideration, but always opinions and minute questions, so that the name of council has become as suspicious and distasteful to me as that of free-will. If one church does not wish to imitate another in these external matters, what need of hampering ourselves with decrees of councils, which soon become laws and nets for souls!" (November 12th, 1524.)

He, nevertheless, felt that this liberty might be extended too far, and lead the Reformation into innumerable abuses. "I have read your plan of ordination, my dear Hausmann, but think it would be better not to publish it. I have long since been repenting of what I have done; for since all, in imitation of me, have proposed their reforms, so infinite has been the increase in the variety and number of ceremonies, that we shall soon exceed the ocean of the papal ceremonial." (March 21st, 1534.) With the view of introducing some unity into the ceremonies of the new church, annual visitations were instituted, and held over all Saxony. The visitors were to inquire into the lives and doctrines of the pastors, revive the faith of the erring, and exclude from the priesthood all whose manners were not exemplary. These visitors were nominated by the elector, on the recommendation of Luther; who, as he had fixed his residence at Wittemberg, formed along with Jonas, Melanchthon, and some other theologians, a sort of central committee for the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs. "The inhabitants of Winsheim have petitioned our illustrious prince, to allow you to take charge of their church; on our advice, he has refused their prayers. He allows you to return to your own country, should we judge you worthy of the ministry there (November, 1531). Signed LUTHER, JONAS, MELANCHTHON."

Numerous similar notices occur amongst Luther's letters, signed by himself and many other protestant theologians.

Although Luther enjoyed no rank which placed him above the other pastors, he yet exercised a kind of supremacy and control. "Still," he writes to Amsdorf, "still fresh complaints against you and Frezhans, because you have excommunicated a barber. As yet, I would fain not decide betwixt you; but, tell me, I pray you, why this excommunication!" (July, 1532). "We can only refuse the communion. To endeavour to give to religious excommunication all the effects of political excommunication, would be to get ourselves laughed at by trying to assert a power incompatible with the present age, and which is above our strength . . . The province of the civil magistrate should not be interfered with. . ." (June 26th, 1533.) However, at times, excommunication seemed to him a good weapon to employ. A burgess of Wittemberg had purchased a house for thirty florins, and, after some repairs, asked four hundred for it. "If he persist," says Luther, "I excommunicate him. must revive excommunication." As he sp reviving the consistorial courts, Christian I the juris-consult, said to him: "The noble citizens fear you are about to begin wit peasants in order to end with them." "J replied Luther, "keep to your law and to concerns the public peace." In 1538, learnin a man of Wittemberg despised God, his wor his servants, he has him threatened by two lains. At a later period he excludes a nobl who was a usurer, from the communion table of the things which most troubled the ref was the abolition of the monastic vows. the middle of the year 1522, he published hortation to the four mendicant orders. month of March the Austin friars, in Augu Carthusians, declared openly for him:—"T lieutenants of his imperial majesty at Nures . . . . God cannot ask for vows beyond l strength to fulfil. . . . Dear lords, suffer you to be entreated. You know not the horrib infamous tricks the devil plays in convents. B not his accomplices; burden not your cons therewith. Ah! did my most infuriate e know the things I hear daily from all con they would help me to-morrow to do awa convents. You force me to cry out louder like. Give way, I beseech you, before these dals become too disgracefully notorious." (A 1523.) "I am much pleased with the gener cree of the Carthusians, allowing the monks to leave and to renounce their habit, and sha lish it. The example set by so considera order will further our wishes and support ou sions." (August 20th, 1522.) However, he things to be done without noise or scandal writes to John Lange:—"You have not, I co left your monastery without a reason; but I have preferred your making your reasons not that I condemn your leaving, but that I have our adversaries deprived of all occas calumny."

Vain were his exhortations to avoid all vi The Reformation slipped away from his hand extended itself every day externally. At E in the year 1521, the people had forced the of several priests, and he had complained of following year they went further in the Low tries. "You know, I believe, what has taken at Antwerp, and how the women have forci Henry of Zutphen at liberty. The brethren been expelled from the convent; some ar soners in divers places: others have been after denying Christ; others, again, have be such as are by birth citizens of the town hav cast into the house of the Beghards; all the ture of the convent has been sold, and the c as well as the convent, shut, and they are al pull it down. The holy sacrament was trans with pomp to the church of the Holy Virgin, had been rescued from an heretical spot. Bur and women have been put to the tortur punished. Henry himself is returning by Bremen, where he is stopping to preach the at the prayers of the people, and by order council, in despite of the bishop. The peop animated by marvellous desire and ardour; a chapman has been set up in business h some individuals, in order to import book

Wittemberg. Henry, indeed, required letters of licence from you; but we could not get at you quickly enough, so we have granted them in your name, under the seal of our prior." (December 19th, 1522.) All the Austin friars of Wittemberg had left their monastery one after the other; the prior resigned its temporalities into the elector's hands, and Luther threw off the gown. On the 9th of October, 1524, he appeared in public with a robe like the one worn at the present day by preachers in Germany; and it was the elector's present. Luther's example encouraged monks and nuns to re-enter the world; and these helpless females, suddenly cast out of the cloister, and all at a loss in a world of which they knew nothing, hurried to him whose preaching had drawn them out of their conventual solitude. "Nine nuns came to me yesterday, who had escaped from their imprisonment in the convent of Nimpschen; Staupitza and two other members of Zeschau's family were of the number." (April 8th, 1523.) "I feel great pity for them, and especially for those others who are dying in crowds of this accursed and incestuous chastity. This most feeble sex is united to the male by nature, by God himself; if they are separated, it perishes. O tyrants! O cruel parents of Germany! . . . You ask my intentions with respect to them. In the first place, I shall have their parents written to to receive them; if they refuse, I shall provide for them elsewhere. Their names are as follow:—Magdalen Staupitz, Elsa von Canitz, Ave Grossin, Ave Schonfeld, and her sister Margaret Schonfeld, Laneta von Golis, Margaret Zeschau, and Catherine von Bora. They made their escape in the most surprising manner. . . . . Beg some money for me from your rich courtiers, to enable me to support them for a week or fortnight, until I restore them to their parents, or to those who have promised me to take care of them." (April 10th, 1523.) "I am surprised, Spalatin, master mine, that you have sent this woman back to me, since you know my handwriting well, and give no other reason than the letter's not being signed. . . . Pray the elector to give some ten florins, and a new or old gown, or something of the kind; in short, to give to these poor souls, virgins against their will." (April 22nd, 1523.)

On April 10th, 1522, Luther writes to Leonard Koppe, a wealthy burgess of Torgau, who had aided nine nuns to escape from their convent, approving of his conduct, and exhorting him not to allow himself to be alarmed by any clamour that may be raised against him. "You have done a good work; and would to God we were able to effect a like deliverance for the numerous consciences still held in captivity. . . . God's word is now in the world, and not in convents." . . . . On June 18th, 1523, he writes to comfort three young ladies whom duke Henry, son of duke George, had expelled his court for having read Luther's writings:—"Bless those who persecute you, &c. . . . . Unhappily, you are only too well avenged on their injustice. You must pity these insensates, these madmen, who do not see that they are hurrying their souls to perdition by seeking to do you harm." . . . . "You have already, no doubt, heard the news that the duchess of Montsberg has escaped, most miraculously, from the convent of Freyberg. She is at present in my house with two young girls, the one, Margaret Volckmarin, daughter of a Leipsic burgher; the other, Dorothea, daughter of a burgess of Freyberg." (October 20th, 1528.) "This hapless Elizabeth von Reinsberg, expelled from the girls' school at Altenburg, has applied to me, after having petitioned the prince, who had referred her to the commissioners of the sequestered property, begging me to get you to interest yourself for her with them, &c." (March, 1533.) "That young girl of Altenburg, whose aged father and mother have been arrested in their own house, has applied to me for succour and advice. What I am to do in this business, God only knows." (July 14th, 1533.) From some expressions of Luther's we discover that his good-nature was often imposed upon by these women who flocked to him, and that in many cases even they were only pretended nuns:—"What numbers of nuns have I not supported, at heavy expense. How often have I not been deceived by pretended nuns, mere harlots, whatever their noble birth (*generosas meretrices*)." (August 24th, 1535.)

Luther's notions of the propriety of suppressing religious houses were soon modified by these impositions. In an exordium addressed to the commune of Leisnick (A.D. 1523) he dissuades from their violent suppression, and recommends their being gradually extinguished by forbidding the reception of any more novices:—"As no one ought to have force put upon him in matters of faith," he goes on to say, "such as are desirous of remaining in their convents, either from their advanced age, from love of an idle life and of good cheer, or from conscientious motives, ought neither to be expelled nor illtreated. They must be left until their time come as they have before been; for the Gospel teaches us to do good even to the unworthy; and we must take into consideration that these persons embraced their vocation, blinded by the common error, and have learnt no trade by which they can support themselves. . . . . The property belonging to religious houses should be employed as follows:—firstly, as I have just intimated, in supporting these monks who continue in them; next a certain sum ought to be given to those who leave (even though they should have brought nothing to the convent), to enable them to enter upon another way of life, as they quit their asylum for ever, and they may have learnt something whilst in the convent. As for those who brought property into the convent, the greater part, if not all, ought to be restored to them; the residue should be placed in a common chest for loans and gifts to the poor of the district. The wish of the founders will thus be fulfilled; since, although they suffered themselves to be seduced into parting with their property for monastic uses, still their intent was to consecrate it to the honour and worship of God. Now, there is no finer worship than Christian charity, which comes to the relief of the indigent; as Jesus Christ will bear witness on the day of judgment (Matt. ch. xxv.). . . . Yet, if any of the founder's heirs should happen to be in want, it would be equitable and conformable to charity to put them in possession of a portion of the revenues of the foundation, even all if necessary, as it could not have been the wish of their fathers to deprive their children and heirs of bread to give it to strangers. . . . You will object to me that I make the hole too large, and that on this plan but little will be left for the common chest; each, you will

say, will come and pretend that he requires so much or so much, &c. But I have already said, that this ought to be a labour of equity and of charity. Let each conscientiously examine how much he requires for his wants, how much he can give up to the chest; and then let the commune weigh the circumstances in its turn, and all will go well. And though the cupidity of some individuals may find its advantage in this mutual accommodation, this would be infinitely preferable to the pillage and disorder which we have witnessed in Bohemia. . . . I would not recommend the aged to quit their monasteries; principally, because they would only return to the world to be a burden to others, and would be at a loss to meet, cold as charity is now-a-days, with the comforts they deserve. By remaining within the monastery, they will not be chargeable to any one, or obliged to throw themselves on the care of strangers; and they will be enabled to do much for the salvation of their neighbours, which in the world they would find difficult, nay, impossible." Luther ended by encouraging a monk to remain in his monastery:—"I lived there myself some years, and should have lived longer, and even up to the present time, had my brethren and the state of the monastery allowed of my so doing." (Feb. 28th, 1528.)

Some nuns in the Low Countries wrote to doctor Martin Luther, commending themselves to his prayers: pious virgins, fearing God, who supported themselves by their own industry, and lived in harmony. The doctor was moved with great compassion for them, and says:—"Poor nuns like these must be suffered to live in their own way; and so with the *feldkloster*, founded by princes for the nobility. But the mendicant orders . . . It is from cloisters like those of which I was just now speaking, that able men may be drawn forth for the ministry of the Church, and for civil government and administration." This epoch of Luther's life was one of overpowering toil and business, in which he was no longer supported, as at first, by the excitement of the struggle and the sense of danger. *To Spalatin:*—"Deliver me, I beseech you. I am so overwhelmed by others' business, that my life is a burthen to me. . . . *Martin Luther*, courtier, not belonging to the court, and in his own despite (*Aulicus extra aulam, et invitus*)." (A.D. 1523.) "I am fully occupied, being visitor, reader, preacher, author, auditor, actor, footman, wrestler, and I know not what besides." (October 29th, 1528.) Parochial reform, uniformity of ceremonial, the drawing up of the great Catechism, answers to the new pastors, letters to the elector, whose consent was to be obtained for every innovation—here was work enough, and tedium enough; and, with all this, his enemies left him no rest. Erasmus published his formidable work *De Libero Arbitrio* (On Free Will) against him; which Luther did not make up his mind to answer until 1525. The Reformation itself seemed to turn against the reformer. His old friend, Carlstadt, had hurried on in the path in which Luther was walking; and it was to check his sudden and violent innovations, that Luther had so precipitately quitted the castle of Wartburg. It was not religious authority alone that was at stake; the civil power was about to be brought into question. Beyond Carlstadt, glimpses might be caught of Münzer; beyond the sacramentarians and iconoclasts, there loomed in the distance the revolt of the peasants—a *Jacquerie*, a more reasonable, and more levelling, servile war than those of antiquity, and not less bloody.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1523—1525.

CARLSTADT.—MUNZER.—WAR OF THE PEASANTS.

"PRAY for me, and help me to trample under foot this Satan that has arisen at Wittemberg against the Gospel, in the name of the Gospel. We have now to combat an angel become, as he believes, an angel of light. It will be difficult to persuade Carlstadt to give way; but Christ will constrain him, if he does not yield of himself. For we are masters of life and death; we who believe in the Master of life and death." (March 12th, 1523.) "I am resolved to forbid him the pulpit, into which he has rashly intruded without any vocation, in despite of God and man." (March 19th.) "I have angered Carlstadt by annulling his ordinations, although I have not condemned his doctrine. Yet I am displeased at his busying himself with ceremonies and outward matters only, to the neglect of the true Christian doctrine; that is, of faith and charity. . . . By his foolish teaching, he induced his hearers to fancy themselves Christians on such accounts as—partaking of the communion in both kinds, renouncing confession, breaking images. . . . He has been seeking to become a new doctor, and to impose his ordinances on the people, rising on the ruin of my authority (*pressâ meâ auctoritate*)." March 30th. "This very day I took Carlstadt aside, and begged him to publish nothing against me, since (otherwise), we should be forced to come to sharps with each other. Our gentleman swore by all most sacred, to write nothing against me." (April 21st.) . . . "We must teach the weak gently and patiently. . . . Would you, who have been a suckling yourself, cut off the breasts, and hinder others from imbibing similar nourishment? Did mothers expose and desert their children, who cannot, as soon as born, eat like men, what would have become of yourself? Dear friend, if you have sucked enough, and grown enough, let others suck and grow in their turn . . . ."

Carlstadt gave up his functions as professor and archdeacon at Wittemberg, but not the emoluments, and repaired first to Orlamunde, then to Jena. "Carlstadt has established a printing-office at Jena. . . But the elector and our academy have promised, in conformity with the imperial edict, to allow no work to be published which has not previously been examined by the commissioners. We must not allow Carlstadt and his friends to be the only persons exempt from submission to princes." (January 7th, 1524.) "As usual, Carlstadt is indefatigable. With his new presses at Jena he has published, and will publish, I am told, eighteen works." (January 14th.) "Let us leave all sadness and anxiety to be Carlstadt's portion. Let us maintain the combat, without allowing it to engross us. 'Tis God's cause, 'tis God's business: the work will be God's, the victory God's. He can fight and conquer without us. If he judge us worthy of a part in this war, we shall be devotedly ready. I write this by way of exhorting you, and, through you,

others, not to be alarmed at Satan, or to suffer your heart to be troubled. If we are unjust, must not we be overborne? If just, there is a just God who will make our justice evident as the noonday. Perish who may, survive who may, that is no business of ours." (October 22nd, 1524.) "We shall recall Carlstadt, in the name of the university, to his duty as teacher of the word, which he owes to Wittemberg, and from a spot whither he had no call; and, if he does not return, shall accuse him to the prince." (March 14th, 1524). Luther thought it his duty to repair to Jena; and Carlstadt, conceiving himself aggrieved by a sermon of Luther's, requested a conference; and they met in Luther's apartments in presence of numerous witnesses. After much recrimination on both sides, Carlstadt said: "Enough, doctor, go on preaching against me, I shall know what course to take." *Luther:* "If you have anything you long to say, write it boldly." *Carlstadt:* "I will; and without fearing any one." *Luther:* "Yea, write against me publicly." *Carlstadt:* "If such be your wish, I can easily satisfy it." *Luther:* "Do; I will give you a florin by way of throwing down the gauntlet." *Carlstadt:* "A florin?" *Luther:* "May I be a liar, if I do not." *Carlstadt:* "Well! I'll take up your gauntlet." On this, Luther drew a golden florin from his pocket and presented it to Carlstadt, saying, "Take it, and attack me boldly; up and be doing." Carlstadt took the florin, showed it to all present, and said: "Dear brethren, here is earnest; this is a token that I have a right to write against doctor Luther: be ye all witnesses of this." Then he put it in his purse, and gave his hand to Luther. The latter drank to his health. Carlstadt pledged him, and added, "Dear doctor, I pray you not to hinder me from printing anything I shall wish, and not to persecute me in any manner. I think of supporting myself by my plough, and you shall be enabled to judge of its produce." *Luther:* "Why should I wish to hinder you from writing against me? I beg you to do it, and have given you the florin precisely that you may not spare me. The more violent your attacks, the more delighted I shall be." They again gave each other their hands, and parted.

However, as the town of Orlamunde entered too warmly into Carlstadt's opinions, and had even expelled its pastor, Luther obtained an order from the elector for Carlstadt's expulsion. Carlstadt read a solemn letter of farewell, first to the men, then to the women. They had been called together by the tolling of the bell, and all wept. "Carlstadt has written to the inhabitants of Orlamunde, and has subscribed himself, *Andrew Bodenstein, expelled, without having been heard or convicted, by Martin Luther.* You see that I, who have been all but a martyr, have come to making martyrs in my turn. Egranus plays the martyr as well; and writes that he has been driven away by the papists and the Lutherans. You cannot think how widely spread Carlstadt's doctrine is on the sacrament. . . * * * * has returned to his senses, and asks pardon. He, too, had been forced to quit the country. I have interceded for him; but I am not sure that I shall succeed. Martin of Jena, who had also received orders to depart, has taken his farewell from the pulpit, all in tears, and imploring pardon. The only answer he got was five florins; which sum, by begging through the town, was increased by twenty-five groschen. All this is likely to do good to preachers: it will be a trial of their vocation, and will, at the same time, teach them to preach and to conduct themselves with some fear before their eyes." (October 27th, 1524.) Carlstadt repaired to Strasburg, and thence to Bâle. His doctrines approximated closely to those of the Swiss, to Œcolampadius's, Zuinglius's, &c. "I defer writing on the eucharist until Carlstadt has poured forth all his poison, as he promised when taking a piece of gold of me. Zwingle, and Leo, the Jew, in Switzerland, hold the same opinions as Carlstadt, so the scourge is spreading: but Christ reigns, if he fights not." (November 12th, 1524.) However, he conceived it right to reply to Carlstadt's complaint of having been driven by him from Saxony. "In the first place, I can safely say that I never mentioned Carlstadt to the elector of Saxony, for I have never spoken a word in my life to that prince, nor have ever heard him open his lips, and have even never seen him, except once at Worms, in the emperor's presence, when I was examined the second day. But it is true that I have often written to him through Spalatin, and in particular to entreat him to resist the spirit arising at Alstet *. But my solicitations were so ineffectual as to induce me to feel angry with the elector. Carlstadt then should have spared such a prince the reproaches which he has heaped upon him. . . . As to duke John Frederick, I confess that I have often pointed out to him Carlstadt's attempts and perverse ambition." . . . "There is no joking with *my lord All-the-world (Herr Omnes);* for which reason, God has constituted authorities: it being his will that there should be order here below."

At last, Carlstadt broke out: "I heard yesterday of Carlstadt from a friend of mine at Strasburg, which city he left for Bâle, and has at length vomited forth five books, which are to be followed by two others. I am handled as double papist, the ally of Antichrist, and what not!" (Dec. 14th.) "I hear from Bâle, that Carlstadt's supporters have been punished. . . . . He has been in the town, but privily. Œcolampadius and Pellican have given in their adhesion to his doctrine." (Jan. 13th, 1525.) "Carlstadt had made up his mind to pitch his tent in Schweindorf; but the count of Henneberg has forbidden this by letters express to the town council. I should like Strauss to be treated in the same manner." (April 10th, 1525. Luther seems delighted with Carlstadt's declaring himself: "The devil was silent," he writes, "until I won him over by a florin, which, thanks to God, has been well laid out, and I don't repent of it." He straightway published various pamphlets, written with wonderful energy, *Against the Heavenly Prophets:*—"Men fear nothing, as if the devil were sleeping; whereas, he prowls around like a cruel lion. But, as long as I live, I trust there will be no danger; for whilst I live, I will do battle, hap what may." He goes on to argue, that all seek what is agreeable to reason only. So with the Arians and Pelagians. So with the papacy, it was a well-sounding proposition that grace could be advantaged by free-will. The inculcation of faith and a good conscience is more important than

* Where Münzer lived, the leader of the revolt of the peasants, spoken of further on.

the preaching of good works; since, if works fail, whilst faith remains, there is still hope of aid. Spiritual means ought to be employed to win true Christians to a knowledge of their sins:—"But for rude men, for *my lord Every-body* (*Herr Omnes*), they must be driven, corporally and rudely, to labour and do their allotted works, so that will ye, nill ye, they may be pious outwardly, under the law and the sword, as we keep wild beasts in cages and chained. . . . The spirit of the new prophets aspires to be the highest spirit, a spirit which has eaten the Holy Ghost, feathers and all. Bible, they cry out; yes, *bibel, bubel, babel*. Well! Sith the evil spirit is so obstinate in his opinion, I will not give way to him any more than I have done before. I will speak of images: firstly, according to the law of Moses, and I will say, that Moses forbids only images of God. Let us then confine ourselves to praying princes to put down images, and let us pluck them out of our own hearts." Further on, Luther breaks out into ironical surprise, that the modern iconoclasts do not push their pious zeal so far, as to get rid of their money, and of all precious articles which have figures upon them. "To aid the weakness of these holy folk, and deliver them from that by which they are defiled, they should be gallants with but little in their fobs. The *heavenly voice* it seems is not strong enough to induce them to throw away everything of themselves: they need a little violence."

". . . . When I discussed the question of images at Orlamunde, with Carlstadt's disciples, and proved by the context, that in every passage they quoted from Moses, the allusion was to the idols of the pagans; one of them, who, no doubt, fancied himself the ablest, got up and said to me—'Do thou listen! I may be allowed to thee and thou you, if thou art a Christian.' I replied, 'Speak to me as thou listest.' But I noticed that he would much more willingly still have struck me; he was so filled with Carlstadt's spirit, that the others could not get him to be silent. 'If thou wilt not follow Moses,' he went on to say, 'thou must at least admit the Gospel; but thou hast thrown the Gospel under the table, and it must be taken up; no, it cannot stay there.' 'What then does the Gospel say?' I replied. 'Jesus says in the Gospel (so he answered), I cannot say the place, but my brothers here know it well, that the bride ought to take off her shift on the wedding night. Therefore, we must take off and break all images, in order to become pure and free from the creature.' Thus he . . . . What could I do with men of this sort? At all events, it enabled me to learn that breaking images was, according to the Gospel, taking off the bride's shift on her wedding night. These words, and the speech about the Gospel's being flung under the table, he had heard from his master; for, no doubt, Carlstadt had accused me of throwing down the Gospel, in order to imply that he was come to raise it up. This pride has been the cause of all his misfortunes, and has driven him out of the light into darkness. . . . We are glad of heart and full of courage, wrestling with melancholy, timid, dejected spirits, that fear the rustle of a leaf, though not having the fear of God, as is usual with the wicked. (Psalm xxv.) Their passion is to domineer over God, and his word, and his works. They would not be so bold were not God invisible, intangible. Were he a visible man, present to their eyes, he would put them to flight with a straw. Whoso is inspired by God to speak, speaks freely and publicly, without giving himself any concern whether he is alone or unsupported. Thus did Jeremiah; and I may boast of having done thus likewise*. It is then beyond a doubt the devil, that apostate and homicidal spirit, who slips into the background and then excuses himself, saying, that first he had not been strong enough in the faith. No; the Spirit of God does not make such excuses. I know thee well, my devil. . . . If you ask them (Carlstadt's partisans) how this sublime spirit is attained, they do not refer you to the Gospel, but to their dreams, to imaginary spaces: 'Lie thee listlessly down,' say they, 'as I have lain me down, and thou wilt receive it in like manner. The heavenly voice will make itself heard, and God will speak to thee face to face.' If you then persist in inquiring what this listlessness (*essai*) is, they know as much about it as Dr. Carlstadt does of Greek and Hebrew. . . . Do you not recognize the devil in this, the enemy of divine order? Do you see how he opens wide his mouth, crying, 'Spirit, Spirit, Spirit,' and, whilst so crying, how he destroys bridges, roads, ladders; in a word, all means by which the Spirit can reach thee: to wit, the external order established of God in holy baptism, in signs, and in his own word! They wish you to scale the skies and ride on the wind, and tell you neither how, nor when, nor where, nor what; like them, you are to learn it of yourself."

"Martin Luther, an unworthy minister and evangelist at Wittemberg, to all Christians in Strasburg, loving friends in God:—I would willingly endure Carlstadt's intemperance in regard to images; and I have, indeed, done more injury to images by my writings, than he will ever do by all his violence and fury. But what is intolerable is the exciting and instigating men to all this, as if it were their bounden duty, and that there were no other proof of Christianity than breaking images. Beyond doubt, works do not make the Christian; these outward matters, such as images and the Sabbath, are left free in the New Testament, as well as all the other ceremonies of the law. St. Paul says, 'We know that idols are nothing in the world.' If they are nothing, wherefore shackle and torture the conscience of Christians about them? If they are nothing, it matters not whether they are tumbled down or are left standing." He proceeds to a loftier subject, the question of the real presence; the higher question of the Christian symbolism, of which that of images is the lower side. It was on this point, chiefly, that Luther found himself at variance with the Swiss reformers, and that Carlstadt was brought into union with them, however far removed he might be from them by the boldness of his political opinions. "I acknowledge, that if Carlstadt, or any one else, could have proved to me five years ago that the sacramental elements are

* "The spirit of these prophets has invariably chivalrously taken to flight, yet see how it glorifies itself as a magnanimous and chivalrous spirit. But I, I presented myself in Leipsic to dispute in presence of a hostile population. I presented myself at Augsburg, without safe-conduct, before my greatest enemies; at Worms, before Cæsar and the whole empire, although well aware that the safe-conduct was trampled upon. My spirit has remained free, like a flower of the field." (A.D. 1524.)

nd wine only, he would have done me service. I was then strongly tempted, thed, and struggled, and should have been appy to have found a solution of the . I saw clearly that I might so give the most fearful blow. . . . There were e who wrote to me on this point, and abler n doctor Carlstadt; and who did not, like rture words to suit their fancy. But I nd down, I cannot set myself free; the text werful, nothing can tear it from my mind. ow, if any one could convince by solid that there is only bread and wine, there e no need for attacking me so furiously. I appily, only too inclined to this interpreta- often as I feel my Adam within me. But ctor Carlstadt imagines and promulgates ubject touches me so little, that I am but e confirmed in my opinion; and, if I had not bought so, such idle tales found out of the es and in the clouds as it were, would be o convince me of the fallacy of his opinion." previously written in the pamphlet, *Against ial Prophets*:—"Carlstadt says that he can- *nably* conceive how the body of Jesus Christ educed into so small a compass. But if we reason, we shall no longer have faith in any ." . . . In the next page, Luther adds wing incredibly audacious piece of coarse :—"Yon seem to think that the drunkard, aving drunk too much at supper, bewildered ples with superfluous words."

violent polemic war of Luther's on Carl- as daily embittered by the fearful symp- general disturbance which threatened y. The doctrines of the bold theologian ed to the thoughts and desires which already minds of the masses in Suabia, Thuringia, and the whole western half of the empire. er classes, the peasantry, who had so long ed under the weight of feudal oppression, rinces and the learned speak of liberty, of isement, and they applied to themselves ich was not spoken for them*. The ion of the poor peasants of Suabia will in its simple barbarism, a monument of us moderation. By degrees, the eternal f the poor to the rich was aroused; less an in the *jacqueria*, but striving after a ic form, which it was only to attain after- the time of the English *levellers*, and com- with all the forms of religious democracy, ere supposed to have been stifled in the

*easants did not wait for the Reformation to break ebellion, but had risen up in 1491 and in 1502. owns had followed the example; Erfurth in 1509, 1512, and Worms in 1513. Disturbances broke in 1524; but this was the nobles' doing. Franz en, their leader, thought the moment was come ling the ecclesiastical princes of their temporalities, laid siege to Trèves. He is said to have been guidance of the celebrated reformers, Œcolam- d Bucer, and of Hutten, who, at the time, was in e of the archbishop of Mentz. The duke of the palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, ad- raise the siege, and were for attacking Mentz, in nish the archbishop for his personal connivance m. This nobleman fell; Hutten was exiled, and, moment without an asylum, but always writing, lent and a prey to passion; he died no long time in extreme want.

middle age. Lollards, Beghards, and a crowd of apocalyptic visionaries were in motion. At a later moment, the rallying cry was the necessity for a second baptism: at the beginning, the aim was a terrible war against the established order of things, against every kind of order—a war on property, as being a robbery of the poor; a war on knowledge, as destructive of natural equality, and a tempting of God, who had revealed all to his saints. Books and pictures were inventions of the devil. The peasants first rose up in the Black Forest, and then around Heilbronn and Frankfort, and in the country of Baden and Spires; whence the flame extended into Alsace, and nowhere did it assume a more fearful character. It reached the Palatinate, Hesse, and Bavaria. The leader of the insurgents in Suabia was one of the petty nobles of the valley of the Necker, the celebrated Goetz of Berlichingen, *Goetz with the Iron Hand*, who pretended they had forced him to be their general against his will.

"*Complaint and Loving Demand of the Confederation of Peasants, with their Christian prayers; the whole set forth very briefly in twelve principal articles.*—To the Christian reader, peace and divine grace through Christ! There are, now-a-days, many anti-Christians who seize the occasion of the confederation of the peasants to blaspheme the Gospel, saying: 'These are the fruits of the new doctrines; obedience is at an end; each man starts up and spurns control; the people flock together and assemble tumultuously, seeking to reform and depose authorities, ecclesiastic and secular; and, perhaps, even to murder them.' To these perverse and impious allegations the following articles are answers. In the first place, they turn aside the disgrace with which God's word is attempted to be covered; in the second, they, by Christian proof, clear the peasants from the reproach of disobedience and revolt. The Gospel is not a cause of insurrection or of trouble; it is a message which announces the Christ, the promised Messiah; this message, and the life it teaches, are love, peace, patience, and union alone. Know, too, that all who believe in this Christ will be united in love, peace, and patience. Since, then, the articles of the peasants, as will be more distinctly shown hereafter, have no other aim than to secure the hearing of the Gospel, and the living in conformity with it, how can anti-Christians call the Gospel a cause of trouble and disobedience? If the anti-Christians and the enemies of the Gospel oppose demands of the kind, it is not the Gospel which is the cause, it is the devil, the mortal enemy of the Gospel, who, through disbelief, has excited in his victims the hope of crushing and effacing God's word, which is only peace, love, and union. Hence, it clearly follows that the peasants, who, in their articles, demand such a Gospel for their edification and the regulation of their life, cannot be called disobedient or revolters. If God calls and invites us to live according to his word, if he choose to hearken to us, who will blame God's pleasure, who impeach his judgment, who strive against what he wills to do? He heard the children of Israel when they cried unto him, and delivered them from the hand of Pharaoh. Cannot he still save his own at the present day? Yes, he will save them, and speedily! Read, then, the following articles, Christian reader; read them carefully, and judge."

The articles follow:—

D

I. "In the first place, it is our humble prayer and request, our unanimous wish, to enjoy henceforward the power and the right of electing and choosing a pastor ourselves, with the power of deposing him if he conduct himself improperly. The pastor whom we choose must preach the holy Gospel to us clearly, in its purity, without any additions of human precept or command. For, by always having the true faith declared to us, we are enabled to pray to God, to beseech his grace, to form this true faith within us, and to strengthen it. If the divine grace be not formed within us, we still remain flesh and blood, and then we are worthless. 'Tis clearly seen in Scripture that we can only reach God by the true faith, and attain beatitude by his mercy. Such a guide and pastor, then, fulfilling his office as instituted in Scripture, is indispensable to us."

II. "Since the lawful tenth is established in the Old Testament (which the New has confirmed in everything), we will pay the lawful tenth of grain, but after suitable sort. . . . Being henceforward minded that the elders of a district receive and collect such tenth, supply the pastor elected by the district with sufficient for the fit support of himself and family, acquainting the district therewith, and apply the remainder to the relief of the poor: any surplus beyond should be reserved for the charges of war, of convoy, and other like things, so as to relieve poor folk from the taxes levied on those accounts. If, on the other hand, it be found that one or more villages have, in the hour of want, sold their tithes, the purchasers shall have nothing to fear from us, for we will enter into arrangements with them according to circumstances, so as to indemnify them proportionally as we shall be able. But as for those who, instead of acquiring the tithe of a village by purchase, have—either they or their ancestors—forcibly taken possession of it, we owe them nothing and shall give them nothing; this tithe is to be employed as specified above. With regard to small tithes, and the tithe of blood (of cattle), we will in no wise pay them, for God the Lord created animals to be freely used by man. We consider this tithe to be an unlawful tithe, invented by men; wherefore we shall no more pay it."

In their IIIrd article the peasants declare that they will no longer be treated as the property of their lords, "for Jesus Christ, by his precious blood, has redeemed all without exception, the shepherd the same as the emperor." They will be free, but only according to Scripture; that is to say, without any licentiousness, and duly recognizing authority; for the Gospel teaches them to be humble, and to obey the powers that be "*in all fitting and Christian things.*"

IV. "It is contrary to justice and charity that the poor should have no right in game, in birds, and in the fish of the running waters, or that they should be compelled to endure, without remonstrance, the enormous damage done to their fields by the beasts of the forests, since when God created man, he gave him power over all animals without distinction." They add, that in conformity with Gospel precepts, they will respect the rights of those nobles who can prove by title-deeds that they purchased their right of fishing; but that the rest shall lose all without indemnity.

V. "Those woods and forests which were anciently held in common, but have passed into the hands of a third party in any other way than by fair purchase, ought to return to their original proprietary, that is, to the *commune*; and every inhabitant should have the right to take out of them such proportions of fuel as shall seem good to the elders."

VI. They require the services imposed upon them, and which daily become more oppressive, to be alleviated; desiring to serve "like their fathers, after God's word."

VII. The seignior must not require more gratuitous services from the peasants than is prescribed by their mutual covenant (*Vereinigung*).

VIII. The rents on many lands are grievously burthensome. The lords are required to accept the arbitrement of irreproachable persons, and to lower the rents according to equity, "that the peasant may not toil in vain, since the labourer is worthy of his hire."

IX. Justice is partially administered, and new penalties constantly imposed. No one is to be favoured, and the ancient rules to be the law.

X. All fields and meadows taken from the common land, otherwise than by equitable purchase, to return to the *commune*.

XI. Fines on deaths are revolting, and in open opposition to God's will, "being a spoiling of the widow and the orphan," and are to be wholly and for ever abolished.

XII. . . . . "If it happen that any one or more of the preceding articles be opposed to Scripture (which we do not think is the case), we renounce such beforehand. If, on the contrary, Scripture suggest to us any others on the oppression of one's neighbour, we reserve all such, and declare our adhesion to them equally beforehand. May the peace of Jesus Christ be with us all! Amen."

Luther could not be silent at this great crisis. The nobles accused him of being the originator of these troubles. The peasants availed themselves of his name, and prayed him to be the arbiter. He did not shrink from the dangerous office; and in his reply to their twelve articles, acts as judge between the prince and the people. In none of his writings has he displayed more elevation.

Exhortation to Peace, in reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Suabia, and also in opposition to the spirit of murder and robbery evinced by the other peasants riotously assembled. "The peasants now assembled in Suabia have just drawn up and circulated, in print, twelve articles, containing their complaints against the powers that be. What I most approve of in this document, is their declaration in the twelfth article, of their readiness to receive any better evangelical instruction than their own on the subject of their griefs. In fact, if such be their true intentions (and as they have avowed their designs in the face of men, without fearing the light, I cannot conclude otherwise, a happy end to all these troubles may yet be looked for. And I, who am also of those who make the Holy Scriptures their study on this earth, I, to whom they apply by name (appealing to me in one of their printed statements), I feel myself singularly emboldened by this declaration of theirs to publish to the world my opinion also on the subject in question, in conformity with the precepts of charity which ought to bind all men together. By so doing, I shall free myself both

› God and men from the reproach of having ibuted to the evil by silence, should this end r. Perhaps, too, they have only made this ation by way of a blind; and, no doubt, are enow evil-disposed persons amongst for this, since it is impossible that all should ed Christians in so vast a multitude; it is more likely that many of them make the ty of the rest a cloak for their own evil s. Well, if there be imposture in this ation, I forewarn the impostors that they ot succeed, and that success would be their ation, their eternal loss. This business in we are engaged is great, and full of peril; ing both the kingdom of God and that of orld. In fact, if the revolt should spread be triumphant, both would perish; both r government and God's word, and the land of Germany would be laid waste. r such grave circumstances, then, we feel led to give our advice freely on all things, without regard to persons. At the same we are all of us no less bounden to be- at last attentive and obedient, and to closing our ears and hearts, the which has forth the fulness of God's wrath and his fearful thunders (*seinen vollen Gang und ng*). The numerous alarming sights which in these latter times appeared in heaven and , announce great calamities and unheard-of es to Germany. To our misfortune, we have but little moved by them; but God will not s pursue the course of his chastisements, he at last softens our heads of iron."

ST PART. *To the Princes and Nobles.*—"We no one on earth to thank for all this disorder surrectionary movement, if it be not you, ye s and lords, and you, above all, ye blind s, insensate priests and monks, who, even to ay, hardened in your perversity, cease not to m against the holy Gospel, albeit you know it st and good, and that you can say nothing t it. At the same time, as secular authori- you are the executioners and leeches of the sacrificing every thing to your unbridled y and pride, until the people neither will nor dure you any more. The sword is already at throats, and you yet think yourselves so firm saddle that you cannot be overthrown. With apious security of yours, you will break your . Many a time have I exhorted you to bear nd this verse (Psalm cvii.), '*Effundit con- s super principes*' (He poureth contempt princes). You are doing your utmost to have words fulfilled in you; you will have the already uplifted, fall and crush you; ad- counsels, are superfluous. Nevertheless, the of God's wrath on earth and in the heavens ldressed to you. 'Tis you, and your crimes, ked wishes to punish. If these peasants who you now are not the ministers of his will, will arise. Should you defeat them, you no less be conquered. God would raise up . He wishes to strike you, and he will strike You fill up the measure of your iniquity, by ing this calamity to the Gospel, and to my ng. Go on calumniating. You will now what my doctrine is, what the Gospel is; is another at the door who will teach you, if not amend. Have I not ever zealously and ardently exhorted the people to obedience unto authority, even to yours, tyrannical and intolerable as it has been? Who has combated sedition more than I? And so the prophets of murder hate me as much as you do. You persecuted my Gospel by every means in your power, whilst this Gospel was inducing the people to pray for you, and aiding to keep up your tottering power. And, truly, if I sought revenge, I need now only laugh in my sleeve, and look on whilst the peasants are at their work: I might even make common cause with them, and envenom the wound. God preserve me from such thoughts! Wherefore, dear lords, friends or enemies, scorn not my loyal aid, albeit I am but a poor man; scorn not either this rebellion, I beseech you: not that I mean to say that they are too strong for you; it is not they I would have you fear, but God, the angry Lord. If he wishes to punish you (you have only deserved it too well), he will punish you; and if there be not peasants enough, he will change the stones into peasants—one, in his hands, would slay a hundred of yours. As many as you are, neither your cuirasses, nor your might, would save you.

"If you are still open to advice, dear lords, in God's name, retreat a little from before the wrath which you see let loose. One fears and shuns a drunken man. Cease your exactions; give truce to your sharp tyranny; treat the peasants as a man in his senses treats madmen, or the drunken. Do not plunge into a struggle with them; you cannot know how it will end. Employ mildness at first, for fear a slight spark, spreading all around, should kindle throughout Germany such a fire as cannot be extinguished. You will be no losers by mildness; and even if you should, peace will indemnify you a hundred-fold. War may engulph and ruin you, body and soul. The peasants have drawn up twelve articles, some of which contain such just demands, as to dishonour you before God and men, and to realise Psalm cvii., for they cover the princes with contempt. Now I could easily draw up other articles against you, and more important ones, perhaps, as regards your government of Germany, as I have done in my book *To the German Nobility*. But my words have been to you as the passing wind; and therefore, you have now to undergo all these reclamations from peculiar interests. As to the first article, you cannot deny them the free choice of their own pastors. They wish to have the Gospel preached to them. Authority cannot and ought not to hinder this, but ought to allow every one to teach and to believe what he thinks right, whether it be the Gospel or falsehood: it is enough to prohibit the preaching of disorder and sedition. The other articles, touching the material condition of the peasants, fines on deaths, accumulation of services due, &c., are equally just; for authority was not instituted for its own interests, or to make subjects the tools of its caprices and bad passions, but for the interest of the people. Now your crying exactions cannot be long endured. What would it benefit the peasant to see his fields bear as many florins as blades of grass, or grains of wheat, if his lord should despoil him in the same proportion, and waste, like straw, the money he draws from him, in dress, castles, and feastings? What it most behoveth to do, is to retrench all this luxury, and stop up the holes by which money escapes, so that something may be left in the peasant's pocket.

SECOND PART. *To the Peasants.*—"Thus far, dear friends, you have seen but one side. I have set forth that the princes and lords who prohibit the preaching of the Gospel, and who bow down the people with intolerable burthens, have deserved that God should hurl them from their seats, for they have sinned against God and man, and are without excuse. Nevertheless, it is for you to prosecute your enterprise conscientiously and justly. If you are conscientious, God will aid you; though you should even momentarily succumb, you would eventually triumph; such of you as should fall in the struggle would be saved. But if justice and conscience be against you, you will succumb; and though even you should not succumb, but slay all the princes, you would be none the less lost for ever, body and soul. This is no jesting matter. Your bodies and life eternal are at stake. You have to weigh well, not your strength and the wrongs of your adversaries, but whether you are proceeding justly and conscientiously. Believe not, I beseech you, the prophets of murder whom Satan has raised up amongst you, and who come from him, although they invoke the holy name of Gospel. They will hate me for this advice which I am giving you, and will call me hypocrite; but I care not. My wish is to save from God's wrath the good and honest amongst you; I fear not the rest, and reck not of their contempt. I know One who is stronger than them all; and He teaches me, by Psalm iii., to do what I am now doing. The hundred thousand affright not me.....

"You call on God's name, and pretend to act according to his word. Then, forget not, above all, that God punishes him who calls upon his name in vain. Dread his wrath. Who are you, and what is the world? Forget you that He is the omnipotent and terrible God, the God of the deluge, and who rained his thunders upon Sodom? Now, it is plain, that you honour not his name. Does not God say, 'They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword!' And St. Paul, 'Be ye all obedient to authority in all respect and honour!' How can you, after this, still pretend that you act according to the Gospel? Beware; a fearful judgment awaits you. But, you say, authority is wicked, intolerable, will not allow us the Gospel, overwhelms us with burthens beyond all measure, is ruining us, body and soul. To this I reply, that the iniquity and injustice of authority are no excuse for revolt, for the punishment of the wicked does not appertain to every man. Besides, the natural law says, that no one should be judge in his own cause, or avenge himself, for the Proverb truly says, 'To strike the striker is naught.' The divine law teaches us the same thing: 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Your enterprise, therefore, is not only contrary to law, according to the Bible and the Gospel, but also to the natural law and simple equity. You cannot go on with it except you can prove that you have been called to it by a new commandment of God's, directed to yourselves, and confirmed by miracles. You see the mote in the eye of authority, but you cannot see the beam in your own. Authority is unjust in interdicting you the Gospel, and overwhelming you with burthens; but how much more unjust are you, who, not content with interdicting God's word, trample it under foot, and arrogate the power reserved to God alone! Again, who is the greater thief, (yourselves shall be the judge,) he who takes a part, or he who takes all! Now, authority takes your goods unjustly from you; but you strip it, not of goods only, but of body and life. You assert loudly, it is true, that you will leave it something; who will believe you! You have taken power from it; who takes all does not fear to take part; when the wolf devours the sheep, it devours ears as well.

"And how is it you do not see, my friends, that if your doctrine were true, there would no longer be on earth authority, order, or justice of any kind! Each would be his own judge; and there would be nothing to be seen but murder, desolation, and robbery. What would you do, if, assembled as you now are, each affected to be independent, to do himself justice, and be his own avenger! Would you allow it! Would you not say, that judgment belongs to one's superiors! This law must be alike observed, by pagans, Turks, and Jews, if there is to be order and peace on earth. So far from being Christians, you are worse than pagans and Turks. What will Jesus Christ say, seeing his name so profaned by you! Dear friends, I greatly fear Satan has sent amongst you prophets of murder, who covet the empire of this world, and who think to compass it through you, careless of the dangers, spiritual and temporal, into which they are plunging you.

"But, now, to pass to the Gospel law. This does not bind pagans like the law of which we have just been treating. Does not Jesus Christ, from whom ye are named Christians, say, 'Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also!' .... Do you hear him, ye assembled Christians! How does your conduct square with this command! If you know not how to endure, as our Lord requires, quickly resign his name; you are unworthy of it; or he will suddenly deprive you of it himself." (Here Luther quotes other scriptural injunctions to forbearance.) "Suffer, suffer—the cross, the cross—this is the law of Christ; there is none other.... Ah! my friends, if you act thus, when will you attain unto that other command which bids you love your enemies and do them good!... Oh! would to God that the greater number of us were rather good and pious pagans, observing the natural law! To show you how far you have been led astray by your prophets, I have only to remind you of some examples which throw light on the law of the Gospel. Look at Jesus Christ and St. Peter in the garden of Gethsemane. Did not St. Peter suppose that he was doing right in defending his Master and his Lord from those who were about to deliver Him to the executioners! And yet, you know that Jesus Christ upbraided him as a murderer for having resisted sword in hand. Again: what is the conduct of Jesus Christ on the cross! Does he not pray for his persecutors! does he not say, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!' And was not Jesus Christ glorified after having suffered, and has not his kingdom prevailed and triumphed! In like manner, God would aid you if you knew how to suffer as he requires. To take an example of the present day: how has it happened that neither emperor nor pope could anything against me! The greater their efforts to stay and destroy the Gospel, the greater its growth and power. I have

wn no sword, raised no revolt, have ever
sched obedience to authority even when perse-
ing me, have relied always on God, and put my
t in him. Hence, despite the pope and tyrants,
as not only preserved my life, itself a miracle,
has favoured and diffused my Gospel more and
e. And how, now, are you thinking to serve
Gospel by directly contravening it? In truth,
are inflicting a fearful wound on it in the minds
nen; crushing it, if I may so say, by your per-
e and mad attempts.

I tell you all this, dear friends, to show you how
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not permit it. I will not tolerate it. I
tear this name from you by every effort
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d. . . . . Not that I wish by this to
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es, but with the cross and patience; even as
r general, Jesus Christ, does not handle the
rd, but suffers himself to be bound to the cross.
ir triumph does not consist in dominion and
er, but in submission and humility. The arms
ur chivalry have no corporeal efficacy; their
ngth is in the Most High.

Call yourselves, then, men who wish to follow
ire, and not endure evil. Such is the name
ch suits you; and if you do not take it, but
ist in retaining and constantly calling upon the
e of Christ, I can only consider you as my
mies, as those of the Gospel, like the pope and
emperor. Now, know that in this case I have
le up my mind to refer myself wholly to God,
to implore him, in order to enlighten you, to turn
nst you, and to shipwreck your enterprise. I
l so risk my life, as I have done by opposing
pope and the emperor; for I see plainly that
devil having been unable to get the better of
through them, seeks to exterminate and de-
r me through the prophets of murder who are
ng you. Well, let him devour me; the morsel
not be easy of digestion. However, dear
ds, I humbly pray you, and as a friend who
es your good, to reflect well before you proceed
her, and to spare me fighting and praying
nst you; albeit I myself am but a poor sinner,
I know that I should be so justified in this
ter that God would infallibly listen to my
yers. He has himself taught us in the holy
r Master, to pray that *his name may be hallowed*
arth as it is in heaven. It is impossible for you
ave the same trust in God; since Scripture and
r conscience condemn you, and tell you that you
acting like pagans and enemies of the Gospel. If
were Christian you would not be using the fist
sword, but saying, '*Deliver us from evil*,' and
y *will be done*' (here follow texts from Scripture
lustration). But you wish yourselves to be your
i God and Saviour; the true God, the true
Saviour abandon you then. The demands which you have drawn up are not contrary to natural law and equity in their tenor, but in the violence with which you would force them from authority; and he who has drawn them up is not a pious and sincere man, for he has referred to numerous chapters from Scripture, without citing the verses, in order to throw an air of speciousness around your enterprise, and to seduce you and plunge you into dangers. On reading these chapters, one does not see much bearing on your enterprise, but the contrary rather; to wit, to live and act Christianly. He must, I take it, be a seditious prophet who would wish to attack the Gospel through you. May God be pleased to oppose him, and to keep you from him.

"In the first place, you boast in your preface, of only asking to be allowed to live according to the Gospel. But do you not yourselves confess that you are in rebellion? And how, I ask you, have you the audacity to colour such conduct with the holy name of the Gospel? You cite the example of the children of Israel; you say that God heard the cries they raised unto him, and delivered them. Why then not follow this boasted example? Call on God, as they did, and wait till he send you also a Moses, who will prove his mission by his miracles. The children of Israel did not rebel against Pharaoh; they did not combine for mutual aid as you propose to do. This example then is directly adverse to you, and damns instead of saving you. No more is it true that your articles, as you proclaim in your preface, teach the Gospel, and are in conformity with it. Is there one out of the twelve which contains any point of evangelical doctrine? Have they not all the one single object of enfranchising your persons and your goods? Do they not all treat of temporal things? You, you covet power and worldly goods, and will endure no wrong. The Gospel, on the contrary, takes no care of these matters, and makes external life consist in suffering, in bearing injustice, the cross, in patience, and contempt of life and of all worldly matters. You must either then renounce your enterprise, and consent to suffer wrong, if you wish to bear the name of Christians; or else, if you persist in your resolution, lay down this name and take another. Choose; there is no alternative. You say that the Gospel is hindered from reaching you. I reply, that there is no power earthly or heavenly which can hinder it. Public teaching marches free under the heavens, and is as little bound to any place as the star which, traversing the clouds, announced to the wise men of the East the birth of Jesus Christ. . . If the Gospel be interdicted the town or village in which you are, follow it wheresoever it may be preached. . . Jesus Christ has said (Matthew x.), 'But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.' He does not say, 'If they persecute you, stay there, conspire against the lords in the name of the Gospel, and make yourselves masters of the town.' What then are those Christians who, in the Gospel's name, turn robbers and thieves? Have they the effrontery to call themselves evangelical?"

Reply to first article:—"If the authorities will not cheerfully support the pastor desired by the *commune*, the latter," says Luther, "may charge itself with his support. If the authorities will not

tolerate the said pastor, let the faithful follow him into another commune."

Reply to the second article:—"You desire to dispose of a tithe which is not yours; this would be a robbery. If you wish to do good, do it out of your own means, not those of others. God says through Isaiah, 'A stolen offering I detest.'"

Reply to the third article:—"You wish to apply to the flesh the Christian liberty taught by the Gospel. Had not Abraham and the other patriarchs, as well as the prophets, slaves! Read St. Paul; the empire of this world cannot subsist without inequality of persons."

Reply to the eight last articles:—"As to your articles touching game, fuel, *services*, rent, &c., I refer them to the lawyers, it is not for me to judge of them; but I repeat to you that the Christian is a martyr, and has no care for all these things. Cease, then, speaking of Christian law, and rather say it is human law, the natural law which you claim; for the Christian law commands you to suffer, as regards these matters, and to complain to God alone."

"Dear friends, such is my teaching in reply to your request to me. May it be God's will that you faithfully keep your promise, and be guided according to Scripture. Do not all cry out at once—Luther is a flatterer of princes; he speaks contrary to the Gospel; but read first, and consider whether what I say is not founded on God's word.

"*Exhortation to both parties*:—Since, then, my friends, you neither of you are maintaining a Christian cause, but acting alike against God, forego, I beseech you, all violence. Otherwise, you will cover all Germany with horrible and endless carnage. For as you are both equally involved in injustice, you will but rush to mutual destruction, and God will chastise one offender by the other.

"You, lords, have Scripture and history against you, which teach you the punishment which has ever followed tyranny. You are yourselves tyrants and executioners, for you interdict the Gospel. There is no hope, then, that you will escape the fate which has hitherto visited your equals. Consider the empires of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, how they all perished by the sword after having begun by the sword. God wished to prove that it is he who judges the earth, and that no injustice shall remain unpunished.

"You, peasants, you, too, have Scripture and experience against you. Revolt has never ended well, and God has sternly cared that the text, 'They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword,' shall not be a deceitful one. Though you should conquer all the nobles; when conquerors of the nobles, you would turn upon and rend yourselves like wild beasts. The Spirit not reigning over you, but flesh and blood only, it would not be long before God would send an evil spirit, a destroying spirit, as he did to Sichem and its king.....

"What fills me with grief and pity (and would to heaven that it could be redeemed with my life!) are the two irreparable misfortunes which must fall upon both parties. In the first place, as you all fight for injustice, it is inevitable that those who shall perish in the struggle will be everlastingly lost, body and soul; for they will die i sins, without repentance, and unsuccoured by The other misfortune is, that Germany will waste; such a carnage once begun, there no ceasing until the destruction is complete. easy to commence the battle, but beyon power to stop it. Madmen, what have children, women, and old men, done to you you are hurrying to ruin with you, that you fill the country with blood and rapine, and so many widows and orphans! Oh! S rejoicing! God has waxed into his most wrath, and threatens to let him loose up Beware, dear friends; all are involved. will it benefit you to damn yourselves g ever, and to leave behind you a land emban and desert! Wherefore, my advice would choose some counts and lords from the n and an equal number of councillors fro towns, and to entrust them with the ar arrangement of the matters in dispute. lords, if you will listen to me, will renoun outrageous pride of which you must at last yourselves, and will relax your tyranny the poor man also may enjoy a little ease. peasants, you will give way on your sid will abandon some of your articles, which far. On this wise, matters will not, inde treated according to the Gospel, but they least be arranged conformably with human

"If you do not (which may God forfend!) some such plan, I cannot hinder you from into collision; but I shall be innocent of the your souls, of your blood, of your goods. sins will lie at your own door. I have to this is no struggle of Christians with Christia of tyrants and oppressors with robbers and ners of the name of the Gospel. Those wh perish will be everlastingly damned. For and mine will pray to God to reconcile you, restrain you from proceeding to the extrem contemplate. Nevertheless, I cannot conce you that the terrible signs which have been manifest in these latter times sadden my so fill me with fear lest God's wrath be too kindled, and he may exclaim, as in Jer 'Though these three men, Noah, Job, and were in it, they only shall be delivered, land shall be desolate.' God grant that you m his wrath, and amend, that the calamity least be deferred! Such are the counsels my conscience bears me witness, I tender y Christian and a brother; God grant they forth fruit. Amen!"

The biographical character of this work, limits within which we must restrict it, do no us to enter into the history of this German pe (See, however, the Additions and Illustration must be contented here with citing the sang proclamation issued by Dr. Thomas Münz leader of the Thuringian peasants, which co strikingly with the mild and moderate tone vable in the twelve articles given above:—

"*The true fear of God before all.*

"Dear brethren—How long will you alw Will you for ever disobey God's will, becau your limited comprehension, you deem you abandoned! How often have I repeated hortations! God cannot longer reveal h You must be firm; if not, sacrifice and griefs

have been in vain. I forewarn you, your sufferings will in such case, re-commence. We must either suffer in God's cause, or become martyrs to the devil. Be firm, then; give not way to fear or sloth; cease from flattering dreamers and impious wretches who have wandered from the path. Arise, and fight the Lord's fight. Time presses. Make your brethren respect God's testimony; otherwise, all will perish. Germany, France, Italy, are wholly up in arms; the Master wishes to play his game; the hour of the evil-doers is come. At Fulda, during Passion week, four churches of the bishopric were sacked: the peasants of Klegen in Hegau, and those of the Black Forest, have risen to the number of three hundred thousand. Their mass increases daily. All my fear is, that these silly ones may be ensnared into some deceitful compact, the disastrous consequences of which they cannot foresee. Though you should be but three, yet, confiding in God and seeking his honour and glory, a hundred thousand enemies would not affright you. Up, up, up! (*Dran, dran, dran!*) 'Tis time; the wicked tremble. Be without pity, though even Esau should speak you fairly. (Gen. xxxiii.) Listen not to the groans of the impious: they will supplicate you most tenderly; they will weep like children; be not moved by them; God forbade Moses to be so (Deut. vii.), and has made a revelation to us of the same prohibition. Raise the towns and villages, above all, the miners of the mountains. . . . Up, up, up, whilst the fire is heating; let not the sword, warm with blood, have time to chill. Forge Nimrod on the anvil, *pink pank*. Slay all in the tower; whilst they shall live, you will never be freed from the fear of men. One cannot speak of God to you, as long as they reign over you. Up, up, up, whilst it is day. God goes before you; follow. The whole of this history is described and explained in St. Matthew, c. xxiv. Be not then afraid. God is with you, as it is said, c. ii., paragraph 2. God tells you to fear nothing. Fear not numbers. 'Tis not your battle, 'tis the Lord's; 'tis not you who fight. Be bold, and you will experience the power of succours from on high. Amen. Given at Müllhausen, in 1525. THOMAS MÜNZER, God's servant against the wicked."

In a letter to the elector Frederick and duke John, Luther draws a comparison between himself and Münzer. "As to me, I am only a poor man, and began my undertaking with fear and trembling, like St. Paul, as he himself confesses (1 Cor. ii. 3—6), he who, nevertheless, could boast of having heard a heavenly voice. I hear not such voices, and am not sustained by the Spirit. With what humble and apologetic frame of mind did I not begin to attack the pope! What internal struggles did I not go through! What supplications did I not address to God! My first publication attests this. Yet, with this poor spirit of mine, I have done what this terrible *world-cracking* (*Weltfresser-geist*,) spirit has not yet dared to attempt*. I have held disputations at Leipzig, in the midst of a hostile population. I have attended the summons of my greatest enemy to Augsburg. I have shown myself at Worms, before Cæsar and the whole empire, although well-aware that my safe-conduct was broken through, that craft and treachery were on the watch for me. However weak and poor I then was, my heart, notwithstanding, assured me that I behoved to enter Worms, although I should find there as many devils as tiles on the roofs.....I have been compelled, in my career, to meet in argument, without remission, one, two, three, no matter how many, and upon their own ground. Weak and poor in mind, I have been necessitated to stay by myself like the flower of the field; I could select neither adversary, nor hour, nor place, nor mode of attack, nor distance to be observed, but have been necessitated to hold myself ready to answer the whole world, as the apostle teaches (1 St. Peter, iii. 15). And this spirit who has soared above us all as high as the sun above the earth, this spirit who barely regards us as insects and worms, requires an assembly of such as are favourable to him, and from whom he has nothing to fear, and refuses to reply to two or three challengers who would question him apart. The reason is, that we have no other strength than that which Jesus Christ gives us; if he leave us to ourselves, the rustling of a leaf will make us tremble; if he support us, our spirit is conscious within itself of the power and glory of the Lord. I am forced to vaunt myself, foolish though it be, and St. Paul was forced as well (2 Cor. xi. 16); but would willingly refrain, could I do so in the presence of these lying spirits."

Immediately after the defeat of the peasants, Melanchthon published a brief account of Münzer, of course, singularly unfavourable to the conquered. He asserts, that Münzer fled to Frankenhausen, where he concealed himself in a bed, and feigned to be sick, but was found out by a cavalier, and recognized through his portfolio. "Whilst he was being handcuffed, he kept crying out, and duke George saying to him, 'You are in pain, Thomas; but those poor people who have been killed, pushed on to their death by you, have suffered more to-day;' 'They would not have it otherwise,' was his reply, bursting out into laughter, as if possessed by the devil. Münzer confessed, on his examination, that he had long thought of reforming Christendom, and that the insurrection of the Suabian peasants had struck him as a favourable opportunity. He showed extreme pusillanimity in his last moments, and was so bewildered, as to be unable to repeat the *Credo* of himself. Duke Henry of Brunswick repeated it, and he said it after him. He also publicly confessed that he had acted erroneously. With regard to the princes, he exhorted them to be less hard to the poor, and to read the books of Kings, saying, that if they followed his advice, they would never have similar dangers to fear. He was then decapitated. His head was fixed upon a pike, and remained exposed as an example. Before his execution, he wrote to the inhabitants of Müllhausen, recommending his wife to them, and praying them not to avenge themselves on her. He added, that "before he quitted the world, he thought it his duty earnestly to exhort them to discontinue the revolt, and avoid all fresh effusion of blood."

Whatever may have been the atrocities that sullied Münzer and the peasants, one cannot but be surprised at the severity with which Luther speaks of their defeat. He could not pardon them, for having compromised the name of Reformation. "O wretched spirits of troubles, where are now

* Münzer refused to dispute in any assembly, public or private, which was unfavourable to him.

the words with which you excited and stirred up poor people to revolt—when you said that they were God's people, that God fought for them, that any one of them could beat down a hundred enemies, that with a hat they could kill five at a blow, and that the stones fired from the arquebuss, instead of striking those opposite, would turn, and kill those who fired them? Where now is Münzer, with that sleeve in which he boasted he could catch all the missiles directed against his people? What is now that God, who for near a year has prophesied by the mouth of Münzer? I am of opinion, that all the peasants ought to perish, rather than the princes and magistrates, since they take up the sword without divine authority. The peasants deserve no mercy, no tolerance, but the indignation of God and man." (May 30th, 1525.) "The peasants," he says elsewhere, "are under the ban both of God and the emperor, and may be treated as mad dogs." In a letter dated the 21st of June, he enumerates the horrible massacres committed upon them by the nobles, without displaying the least sign of interest or pity.

He showed more generosity towards his enemy Carlstadt, who was, at the time, exposed to the greatest dangers, and had infinite difficulty in justifying himself for having taught doctrines akin to those of Münzer. He returned to Wittemberg, and humbled himself before Luther, who interceded for him, and obtained the elector's permission for his settling as a husbandman at Kemberg, which he desired to do. "I am grieved about the poor man; and your grace knows that we should have pity on the unfortunate, especially when they are innocent." (Sept. 12th, 1525.) On Nov. 22nd, 1526, he again writes. . . . "Doctor Carlstadt earnestly prays me to intercede with your grace to allow him to inhabit the city of Kemberg, as the malice of the peasants renders living in a village irksome to him. Now, as he has kept himself quiet up to the present time, and as he will be under the eye of the provost of Kemberg, I humbly beseech your electoral grace to grant his request, although your grace have already done much for him, and have even drawn suspicion and calumnies on yourself on his account. But so much the more abundantly will God return it to you. 'Tis for him to think of the safety of his soul—that is his concern; to treat him well as regards his bodily wants, is ours."

"To all dear Christians into whose hands the present writing shall fall, the grace and peace of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ; Doctor *Martin Luther*.—Doctor Andreas Carlstadt has just forwarded to me a small work, in which he clears himself of the charge of having been one of the leaders of the rebels, and earnestly entreats me to get it printed, in order to save the honour of his name, and, perhaps, even his life, which is endangered through the haste with which they will hurry through the trial of the accused. Indeed it is reported that rapid proceedings are about to be instituted against many poor persons, and the innocent to be executed along with the guilty, without hearing or proof, in the wantonness of rage; and I much fear the cowardly tyrants, who before trembled at the fall of a leaf, waxing now so bold in glutting their rage, that, on the destined day, God will cast them down in their turn. Now, albeit doctor Carlstadt is my greatest enemy on questions of doctrine, and there is no hope of our agreeing on such points, the confidence with which he applies to me in his hour of fear, rather than to those old friends of his who erst excited him against me, shall not be deceived, and I shall gladly do him this service, and others, if possible." Luther goes on to express his hopes that, by God's grace, all will yet turn out well for Carlstadt, and that he will at the last renounce his errors touching the sacrament. At the same time, he defends himself against any charge that may be brought on account of his conduct on this occasion, of his yielding a jot on doctrinal points; whilst to any charge of excess of credulity, he replies, "That is becomes neither him nor any one to judge another's heart. 'Charity suffereth long,' says St. Paul; and, elsewhere, 'Charity believeth all things, hopeth all things.' This, then, is my opinion. So long as doctor Carlstadt offers to take his trial, and to undergo fitting punishment should he be convicted of having taken part in the rebellion, I am bound to credit both his word and this writing of his, although previously inclined to consider himself and his friends animated with a seditious spirit, and am bound to aid him to procure the inquiry which he solicits."

Luther next proceeds to ascribe much of what has happened, to the violence with which princes and bishops have opposed the spread of religion. "Hence that popular fury which, naturally, will not be appeased until the tyrants be low in the mud; since things cannot last when a master can only inspire fear instead of love. No, let us leave our black-coats and country squires to shut their ears against warnings: let them go on, let them go on; let them continue to accuse the Gospel of the evil which they have brought upon themselves; let them always say, 'What do I care for it?' Soon will there come Another, who will answer them, 'Yet a little while and there shall be nor prince nor bishop on the face of the earth.' Let them, then, alone; they will soon find what they have been so long looking for; the thing is set a-going. God grant they may yet repent in time! Amen. Therefore, I beseech nobles and bishops, and every one, to suffer doctor Carlstadt, on this solemn allegation of his that he can clear himself from all implication in the rebellion, to enter on his defence, for fear of tempting God more, and of the people's anger becoming more violent and justified. . . . He has never lied, He who has promised to hearken to the cries of the oppressed; and He wanteth not power to punish. May God grant us his grace. Amen." (A.D. 1525.)—"Germany, I fear me, is lost. Perish she must, since the princes will only employ the sword. Ah! they think that they can thus pluck out, hair by hair, the good God's beard. He will smite them on the cheek therefore." (A.D. 1526.)—"The spirit of these tyrants is impotent, cowardly, foreign from every honest thought. They deserve to be the slaves of the people. But, by the grace of Christ, I am sufficiently avenged in the contempt I entertain for them, and for Satan, their god." (The end of December, 1525.)

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1524 — 1527.

ATTACKED BY THE RATIONALISTS.—ZWINGLE.—BUCER, &c.—ERASMUS.

the whole of this terrible tragedy of the the peasants, the theological war was raging Luther. The Swiss and Rhenish reformers, e, Bucer, Œcolampadius, participated in dt's theological principles, differing from little save in their submission to the civil

Not one of them would remain within the to which Luther desired to restrict the nation. Hard and frigid logicians, they ffaced the traces of that antique Christian which he sought to preserve. Less daring, ore dangerous still, the king of the literary the cold and ingenious Erasmus, rained blows upon him. Zwingle and Bucer*, f a political cast of mind, had long been g to preserve, at any price, the apparent f Protestantism. Bucer, that *grand architect ldties* (Bossuet), concealed his opinions for time from Luther, and even translated his n works. "No one," says Luther, "no one anslated my works into Latin more ably or r than master Bucer. He foists into them f his vagaries touching the sacrament. Did to display my inmost heart and thought in I could not do better." At another time, he to have detected the infidelity of the transla- On September 13th, 1527, he writes to a r, that Bucer, in translating his works into had so altered certain passages as to pervert nse; "it is on this fashion that we have made hers heretics." And he begs him, should he t the volume, to prefix a preface from him- arning the reader of the changes introduced cer. In 1527, he published a work against le and Œcolampadius, in which he styled new Wickliffites, and denounced their opinions rilegious and heretical. At length, in 1528, l, "I know enough, and more than enough, er's iniquity to feel no surprise at his per- g against me my own published sentiments sacrament. . . . . Christ keep you, you who ring in the midst of these ferocious beasts, ripers, lionesses, panthers, with almost more r than Daniel in the lions' den." "I believe le to be worthy of a holy hate for his rash riminal handling of God's word." (October 1527.) "What a fellow is this Zwingle, his rank ignorance of grammar and dia- , not to speak of other sciences!" (November 1527.)

a second publication against them, in 1528, ra, "I reject, and condemn as mere error, all ne which assumes the will to be free." This ne subject of his grand quarrel with Erasmus; began in 1525, the year that Erasmus pub-

* learned of the sixteenth century generally trans- their proper names into Greek. So, Kuhhorn (Cow- changed his name into that of Bucer; Hausschein -light) into Œcolampadius; Didier (from *Desiderium*, into Erasmus; Schwarz-Erde (Black-earth) into chthon, &c. Luther and Zwingle, the two popular ers, are the only ones who retained their own proper tions in the vulgar tongue.

lished his *De Libero Arbitrio*. Up to that time, they had been on friendly terms. Erasmus had frequently stood forth in defence of Luther; and the latter, in return, consented to respect the neutrality of Erasmus. The following letter proves that down to 1524, Luther thought it expedient to observe some delicacy towards him:—"This has been a long silence, dear Erasmus; and although I waited for you, as my superior, to break it, charity now seems to bid me make a commencement. I do not reproach you with having kept aloof from us through fear of embarrassing the cause which you abetted against our enemies, the papists; and, indeed, the only annoyance I feel is your having harassed us with some sharp stings and bites in various passages of the works which you have published, to catch their favour or mitigate their anger. We see that the Lord has not yet granted you sufficient energy or understanding to attack these monsters freely and courageously, and we are not the men who would exact from you what is above your strength. We have respected in you your weakness, and the measure of God's gifts. The whole world must bear witness to your successful cultivation of that literature by which we arrive at a true understanding of the Scriptures, and this gift of God's has been magnificently and wonderfully displayed in you; calling for all thanks. And so I have never desired to see you quit the distance which you keep, in order to enter our camp. Great, doubtless, would be the services you could render us by your talent and eloquence; but, since your heart fails, better serve with what He has given you. There was a fear that you might suffer yourself to be led away by our adversaries to attack our doctrine publicly, when I should feel bound to oppose you to your face; and I have quieted some of our friends who had written with the design of forcing you into the arena: hence, I should have been glad that the Hutten's *Expostulatio*, and still more that thy *Hutten's Sponge* had not been published; a circumstance which may have taught you to feel how easy it is to write about moderation, and to accuse Luther of intemperance, but how difficult and impossible to practise these lessons except by a singular gift of grace. Believe it or not, Christ is my witness that I pity you from the bottom of my soul when I see such passions and hates against you, to which it were too much (weak and worldly as is your virtue to bear up against such storms) to suppose you insensible. Yet, perchance, our friends may be instigated by a lawful zeal, deeming themselves unworthily attacked by you. . . . For my own part, although irritable and often hurried away by anger to write bitterly, it has been in the case of the obstinate only; being merciful and mild to sinners generally, however insensate and iniquitous, as my conscience bears me witness, and numbers can tell. And thus I have restrained my pen, notwithstanding your goadings, and have resolved to restrain it, until you declare yourself openly. For whatever be our points of disagreement, and with whatever impiety or dissimulation you express your disapprobation or your doubts on the most important points of religion, I neither can nor will accuse you of obstinacy. What steps take now? On both sides there is exceeding exasperation. Might I be mediator, I would have them forbear their furious attacks upon you, and

suffer your declining years to sleep in peace in the Lord; and they would do so, did they take into consideration your weakness and the greatness of our cause, which has long exceeded your small measure. We have advanced so far that we have scant need to fear for our cause, even though Erasmus should assemble all his forces against us. . . . However, there is some show of reason in our friends feeling so annoyed at your attacks; for it is only human weakness to fidget and alarm itself about the name and authority of Erasmus. To be bitten by Erasmus but once, is a very different thing from being a prey to the attacks of all the papists put together. I have written to you thus, dear Erasmus, to prove my candour, and because I yearn that the Lord may grant you grace befitting your name. Should this be delayed, yet I pray you to remain at least a spectator of our tragedy. Join not your forces to our adversaries; publish no books against me, and I will publish none against you. As for those who complain of being attacked in Luther's name, remember that they are men like you and me, to whom we must grant indulgence and pardon, and that, as St. Paul says, '*we must bear each other's burden.*' Biting is enough; we must beware of devouring one another. . . " (April, 1524.)

To Borner. "Erasmus knows less about predestination than even the sophists of the school. Erasmus is not formidable on this, any more than on any other Christian matter. I will not lunge at Erasmus, and shall let him lunge at me once or twice, without parrying and returning the thrust. It is not wise in him to be preparing the strength of his eloquence against me. . . . . I shall present myself confidently before the most eloquent Erasmus, stammerer as I may be in comparison with him, and caring not for his credit, his name, or his reputation. I am not angry with Mosellanus's attaching himself to Erasmus rather than me. Tell him to be Erasmian with all his strength." (May 28th, 1522.) This forbearance could not last. The publication of the *De Libero Arbitrio* was a declaration of war. Luther perceived that the true question was at last mooted. "What I esteem, what I laud in thee is, that thou alone hast touched the root of the subject, the whole gist of the matter, I mean free will. Thou dost not plague me with disputes foreign to the question, with the papacy, purgatory, indulgences, and other fooleries with which they have paid me off. Alone thou hast seized the knot, hast struck at the throat. Thanks, Erasmus! . . . It is irreligious, thou sayest, it is superfluous, a matter of pure curiosity, to inquire whether God be endowed with prescience, whether our will is operant as regards everlasting salvation, or is only acted upon by grace; whether what good and evil we do, we do actively or passively! . . Great God! what then is religious, grave, useful? Erasmus, Erasmus, it is difficult to accuse thee of ignorance; a man of thy years, living in the midst of Christian people, and who has so long meditated upon the Scriptures! It is impossible to excuse, or to think well of thee. . . . What! you, a theologian, you, a Christian doctor, not satisfied to abide by your ordinary scepticism, you to decide that those things are unnecessary, without which there is no longer God, nor Christ, nor Gospel, nor faith; without which there remains nothing, I will not say of Christianity, but of Judaism!" But all in vain is Luther powerful and eloquent; he cannot break asunder the bonds which entwine him. "Why," asks Erasmus, "does not God correct the viciousness of our will, since it is not in our power to control it? or why does he impute it to us, since this viciousness of will is inherent in man? . . . . The vessel says to the potter, 'Wherefore have you made me for the everlasting fire?' . . . If man be not free, what is the meaning of *precept, action, reward*, in short, of all language? Why speak of repentance, &c." Luther is exceedingly put to it to answer all this. "God speaks to us on this fashion," he says, "solely to convict us of our powerlessness if we do not implore his assistance. Satan said, 'Thou art free to act.' Moses said, 'Act;' in order to convict us before Satan of our inability to act." A cruel and seemingly silly answer; equivalent to tying our legs, and then bidding us walk, and punishing us every time we fall. Recoiling from the consequences which Erasmus either deduces or hints at, Luther rejects every system of interpretation for the Scripture, and yet finds himself obliged to have recourse to interpretation in order to escape the conclusions of his adversary. For instance, he explains the "*I will harden Pharaoh's heart*," as follows: "God does evil in us, that is to say, through us, not through any defect in himself, but through the effect of our vices; for we are sinners by nature, whilst God can only do good. By virtue of his omnipotence, he carries us along with him in his course of action, but, although good itself, he cannot prevent an evil instrument from producing evil."

It must have been glorious for Erasmus to behold the triumphant enemy of papacy writhing under his blows, and clutching to oppose him a weapon so dangerous to him who employs it. The more Luther struggles, the more he takes advantage; the more he pushes his victory, the deeper he sinks into immorality and fatalism, even to being constrained to admit that Judas could do no other than betray Christ. Deep and lasting, therefore, was Luther's recollection of this quarrel. He did not deceive himself with regard to his triumph: he had not discovered the solution of the terrible problem; he felt this in his *De Servo Arbitrio* (On the Bondage of the Will); and, to his latest day, the name of him who had beaten him down to the most immoral consequences of the doctrine of grace, is mixed up in his writings and sermons, with curses upon the blasphemers of Christ.

He was, most of all, angered by Erasmus's apparent moderation; who, not daring to attack the foundations of the edifice of Christianity, seemed desirous of destroying it slowly, stone by stone. This shifting and equivocation did not suit Luther's energy. "Erasmus," he says, "that amphibolous king, who sits quietly on the throne of amphibology, mocks us with his ambiguous words, and claps his hands when he sees us entangled in his insidious figures, like a quarry in the nets. Taking it as an opportunity for his rhetoric, he falls upon us with loud cries, tearing, flogging, crucifying, throwing all hell at our head, because, he says, we have understood in a slanderous, infamous, and Satanic sense, words which he, nevertheless, wished to be so understood. . . . See him advance, creeping like a viper, to tempt simple souls, like the serpent that

d Eve into doubt, and infused into her sus-
of God's commands." Whatever Luther
ay, this dispute occasioned him so much
r and trouble, that he at last declined battle,
evented his friends from replying for him:
ight with dirt, conqueror or conquered, I am
defiled." "I would not," he writes to his
m, "for a thousand florins find myself in
resence in the danger in which Jerome will
still less in Erasmus's place. If I recover
and strength I will fully and freely bear wit-
my God against Erasmus. I will not sell
r little Jesus. I daily draw nearer to the
and, before I descend into it, wish to bear
to my God with my lips, and without put-
rth a single leaf as my shield. As yet I have
ed, and have said to myself, 'Shouldst thou
a what would be his fate?' I killed Münzer,
s death is a load round my neck. But I
im because he sought to kill my Christ."
ing on Trinity Sunday, doctor Martin Luther
'I pray all of you, who have seriously at
he honour of Christ and of the Gospel, to be
emies of Erasmus. . . ." One day, doctor
exclaimed to doctors Jonas and Pomeranus,
nergetic earnestness: "My dying prayers
would be, 'Scourge this serpent.' . . . When
recover, with God's aid, I will write against
d kill him. We have endured his mockery
nd having taken us by the throat; but now,
e seeks to do the same by Christ, we will
urselves against him. . . . It is true, that
g Erasmus is crushing a bug; but my Christ,
he mocks, is nearer to me than Erasmus's
in danger." "If I live, I will, with God's
rge the Church of his ordure. 'Tis Erasmus
as given birth to Crotus, Egranus, Witzeln,
mpadius, Campanus, and other visionaries or
eans. Be it thoroughly understood, I will no
ecognize him as a member of the Church."
g one day at a portrait of Erasmus, Luther
'Erasmus, as his countenance proves, is a
designing man, who has laughed at God and
; he uses fine words, as, 'dear Lord Christ,
rd of salvation, the holy sacraments,' but
the truth to be a matter of indifference.
he preaches, it rings false, like a cracked
e has attacked the papacy, and is now draw-
head out of the noose."

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1526 — 1529.

S MARRIAGE.—HIS POVERTY, DISCOURAGEMENT, IR, SICKNESS.—BELIEF IN THE APPROACHING D OF THE WORLD.

nost souls would have found it difficult to
p against such a succession of shocks; and
's visibly failed after the crisis of the year
His part had been changed, and most dis-
gly. Erasmus's opposition was the signal
estrangement of men of letters, who, at the
ad so powerfully aided Luther's cause. He
llowed the *De Libero Arbitrio* to remain
t any serious reply. The great innovator,
ople's champion against Rome, saw himself
pped by the people, and, in the war of the peasants, cursed by the people; so that one cannot be surprised at the discouragement which overwhelmed him at this period. In this prostration of his mind, the flesh regained its empire; he married. The two or three succeeding years are a sort of eclipse for Luther; in which we find him for the most part preoccupied with worldly cares, that cannot, however, fill up the void he experiences. At last, he succumbs. A grand physical crisis marks the end of this period of atony. He is aroused from his lethargy by the dangers that threaten Germany; which is invaded by Soliman (A.D. 1529), and threatened in its liberty and its faith at the diet of Augsburg, by Charles the Fifth. (A.D. 1530.)

"Since God has created woman such as to require of necessity to be near man, let us ask no more, God is on our side. So, let us honour marriage, as an honourable and divine institution. This mode of life is the first which it pleased God to ordain, is that which he has constantly maintained, is the last which he will glorify over every other. Where were kingdoms and empires when Adam and the patriarchs lived in marriage? Out of what other kind of life do all states proceed? Albeit, man's wickedness has compelled the magistracy to usurp it for the most part, so that marriage has become an empire of war, whilst, in its purity and simplicity it is the empire of peace." (Jan. 17th, 1525.) "You tell me, my dear Spalatin, that you wish to renounce the court, and your office. My advice to you is, to remain, except you leave to marry. For my part, I am in God's hand, a being whose heart he can change and change back, whom he can slay, or call to life, at each moment, and at every hour. Nevertheless, in the state in which my heart has ever been, and still is, I shall not take a wife: not that I do not feel my flesh and my sex; I am neither wood nor stone, but my mind inclines not to marriage whilst I am daily expecting the heretic's death and punishment." (Nov. 30th, 1524.) "You need not be surprised that I, *qui sic famosus sum amator* (who am so notorious a lover), do not marry. You should rather be surprised that I, who have written so much upon marriage, and have constantly had so much to do with women, have not long since been changed into a woman rather than marrying one. Still, if you will regulate yourself by my example, it should be all-powerful with you to learn that I have had three spouses at the same time, and have loved them so much as to lose two, who are about to take other husbands. The third, I hardly detain by the left-hand, and she is slipping from me." (April 16th, 1525.)

To Amsdorff. "Hoping to have my life spared for some time yet, I have not liked to refuse giving my father the hope of posterity. Besides, I have chosen to practise what I have preached, since so many others have shown themselves afraid to practise what is so clearly announced in the Gospel. I follow God's will; and am not devoured with a burning, immoderate love for my wife, but simply love her." (June 21st, 1525.)

His bride, Catherine von Bora, was a young girl of noble birth, who had escaped from her convent; was twenty-four years of age, and remarkably beautiful. It appears that she had been previously attached to a young student of Nuremberg, Jerome

Baumgartner; and Luther wrote to him (Oct. 12th, 1524).—"If you desire to obtain your Catherine von Bora, make haste before she is given to another, whose she almost is. Still, she has not yet overcome her love for you. For my part, I should be delighted to see you united." He writes to Stiefel, a year after his marriage. (Aug. 12th, 1526). "Catherine, my dear *rib*, salutes you. She is, thanks to God, in the enjoyment of excellent health. She is gentle, obedient, and complying in all things, beyond my hopes. I would not exchange my poverty for the wealth of Crœsus." Luther, in truth, was at this time extremely poor. Preoccupied with household cares, and anxiety about his future family, he turned his thoughts to acquiring a handicraft. "If the world will no longer support us in return for preaching the word, let us learn to live by the labour of our own hands." Could he have chosen, he would no doubt have preferred one of the arts which he loved—the art of Albert Durer, and of his friend Lucas Cranach—or music, which he called a science inferior to theology alone; but he had no master. So he became turner. "Since our barbarians here know nothing of art or science, my servant Wolfgang and I have taken to turning." He commissioned Wenceslaus Link to buy him tools at Nuremberg. He also took to gardening and building. "I have planted a garden," he writes to Spalatin, "and have built a fountain, and have succeeded tolerably in both. Come, and be crowned with lilies and roses." (Dec. 1525.) In April, 1527, on being made a present of a clock by an abbot of Nuremberg, "I must," he says, in acknowledging its receipt, "I must become a student of mathematics in order to comprehend all this mechanism, for I never saw anything like it." A month afterwards he writes, "The turning tools are come to hand, and the dial with the cylinder and the wooden clock. I have tools enough for the present, except you meet with some newly-invented ones, which can turn of themselves, whilst my servant snores or stares at the clouds. I have already taken my degree in clockmaking, which is prized by me as enabling me to tell the hour to my drunkards of Saxons, who pay more attention to their glasses than the hours, and care not whether sun, or clock, or whoso regulates the clock, go wrong." (May 19th, 1527.) "You may absolutely see my melons, gourds, and pumpkins grow; so I have known how to employ the seeds you have sent me." (July 5th.)

Gardening was no great resource, and Luther found himself in a situation equally strange and distressing. This man, who governed kings, saw himself dependent on the elector for his daily food. The new church had only compassed her deliverance from the papacy, by subjecting herself to the civil power, which, at the outset, starved and neglected her. Luther had written to Spalatin in 1523, that he desired to resign the income which he drew from his convent, into the elector's hands. . . . "Since we read no more, bawl no more, say mass no more, and, indeed, do nothing for which the house was founded, we can no longer live on this money which is no longer ours." (Nov. 1523.) "As yet, Staupitz has paid no fraction of our income. . . . We are daily plunging deeper into debt; and I know not whether to apply to the elector again, or to let things go on, and the worst come to the worst, until want drives me forth from Wittemberg into the tender hands of pope and emperor." (Nov. 1523.) "Are we here to pay every one, and yet no one to pay us? This is passing strange." (Feb. 1st. 1524.) "Each day burdens me with fresh debts; I must seek alms by some other means." (April 24th, 1524.) "This life cannot last. Are not these delays of the prince justly calculated to arouse suspicion? For my own part, I would long since have left my convent for some other abode, and have lived by my own labour (although I cannot now be said to live without labour), had I not feared to bring scandal on the Gospel, and even on the prince." (End of Dec. 1524.)

"You ask me for eight florins; but where shall I get them? You know that I am obliged to use the strictest economy; and I have imprudently contracted debts this year to the amount of above a hundred florins. I have been forced to leave three goblets in pledge for fifty florins. It is true, that my Lord, who has thus punished me for my improvidence, has at last set me free. . . . Besides, Lucas and Christian will no longer take my security, finding that they either lose all, or else drain my purse to the bottom." (Feb. 2nd, 1527.) "Tell Nicolas Endrissus to ask me for some copies of my works. Although very poor, I have yet made certain stipulations with my printers, asking them nothing for all my labour, except the power of taking occasionally a copy of my works. This is not exacting, I think, since other writers, even translators, receive a ducat a sheet." (July 5th, 1527.) "What has happened, my dear Spalatin, that you write to me in so threatening and imperious a tone? Has not Jonas experienced enough of your contempt and your prince's, that you still rage so furiously against that excellent man? I know the prince's character, and how lightly he treats men. . . . . 'Tis thus, then, that the Gospel is honoured, by refusing a poor stipend to its ministers! . . . . Is it not iniquitous and detestably perfidious to order him to leave, and yet to manage to make it appear that no such order had been given him? And think you that Christ does not note the stratagem! . . . I do not conceive, however, that the prince has sustained any injury through us. . . A tolerable proportion of the good things of this world has found its way into his purse, and each day is adding to it. God will find the means of feeding us, if you withhold your alms and some accursed money. . . Dear Spalatin, treat us, I pray you, us, Christ's poor and exiles, more gently, or else explain yourself frankly, so that we may know what we are about, and no longer be forced to ruin ourselves by following an equivocal order, which, whilst it obliges us to leave, does not allow of our naming those who compel us to the step." (Nov. 27th, 1524.)—"We have been gratified, my dear Gerard Lampadarius, by the receipt of the letter and the cloth, which you have sent us with such candour of soul and benevolence of heart. . . . Catherine and myself use your lamps every night, and we reprove each other with having made you no present, and having nothing to send you to keep us in your recollection. I feel much shame at not having made you a present of paper even, though easy for me so to do. . . . Ere long I will send you a bundle of books, at the least. I would have forwarded to you, by this same conveyance, a German Isaiah, which has just seen the light, but I

have been stripped of every copy, so that I have not one left." (Oct. 14th, 1528.)

To Martin Gorlitz, who had made him a present of beer:—"Your Ceres of Torgau has been happily and gloriously consumed. It had been reserved for myself and for visitors, who were never weary of praising it above all they had ever tasted. Like a true boor, I have not yet sufficiently thanked your Emilia and you for it. I am so careless a housekeeper (*οἰκοδεσπότης*) that I had utterly forgotten it was in my cellar, until reminded by my servant of it. Remember me to all our brethren, and, above all, to your Emilia and her son, the graceful hind and the young fawn. May the Lord bless you, and make you multiply by thousands, both according to the spirit and the flesh." (Jan. 15th, 1529.) Luther writes to Amsdorff, that he is about to extend his hospitality to a young wife:—"If my Catherine should be brought to bed at the same time, thou wouldst be the poorer for it. Gird thee, then, not with sword and cuirass, but with gold and silver and a good purse, for I will not let thee off without a present." (March 29th, 1529.)—*To Jonas*:—"I had got to the tenth line of this letter when they came to tell me that my Kate had given me a girl: '*All glory and praise to our Father who is in heaven!*' My little John is safe. Augustin's wife is doing well; and, lastly, Margaret Mochinn has escaped death, contrary to all expectation. By way of set-off, we have lost five pigs. . . . May the plague be satisfied with this contribution! I am, as heretofore, an apostle truly, '*as dying, and behold, we live!*'" Luther's wife was pregnant; his son ill, cutting his teeth; his two women-servants (Hannah and Margaret Mochinn) had been attacked by the plague, which was raging at the time at Wittemberg. He writes to Amsdorff: "My house is turned into a hospital." (Nov. 1st, 1527.) "The wife of Georges, the chaplain, is dead of a miscarriage and the plague. . . . Every one is seized with terror. I have taken the curate and his family into my house." (Nov. 4th, 1527.) "Your little John does not salute you, for he is ill, but begs your prayers. He has not touched food for these twelve days. It is marvellous to see how the child would fain be gay and cheerful as usual, but is too weak for the effort. The chirurgeon opened Margaret Mochinn's abscess yesterday, and she is beginning to recover. I have given her our winter apartment; we occupy the large front parlour; Hanschen is in my room, with the stove; and Augustin's wife in hers. We are beginning to hope that the plague has run its course. Adieu. Embrace your daughter and her mother for us, and remember us in your prayers." (Nov. 10th, 1527.)

"My poor son was dead, but has been resuscitated. He had not eaten for twelve days. The Lord has increased my family by a little girl. We are all well, save Luther himself, who, sound in body and utterly isolated from the world, suffers inwardly from the attacks of the devil and his angels. I am writing for the second and last time against the Sacramentarians and their vain words, &c." (December 31st, 1527.) "My little daughter Elizabeth is dead. I am surprised how sick she has left me at heart; a woman's heart, so shaken I am. I could not have believed that a father's soul would have been so tender towards his child." (August 5th, 1528.) "I can teach you what it is to be a father, especially of one of that sex which has the power of awakening your softest emotions beyond the reach of sons (*præsertim sexûs qui ultra filiorum casum etiam habet misericordiam valdè moventem*)." (June 5th, 1530.)

Towards the close of the year 1527, Luther himself was frequently seriously indisposed both in body and mind. Writing to Melanchthon, October 27th, he concludes his letter as follows:—"I have not yet read Erasmus's new work, and what should I read, I, a sick servant of Jesus Christ's, I, who am scarcely alive? What can I do? What write? Is it God's will thus to overwhelm me with all ocean's waves at once? And it is they who ought to have compassion on me who come to give me the final blow after so many sufferings! May God enlighten them and their hearts! Amen." Two of Luther's intimate friends, doctors John Bugenhagen and Jonas, have left us the following account of a fainting fit with which Luther was seized about the end of 1527:—"On the Saturday of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (A.D. 1527), in the afternoon, doctor Luther complained of pains in the head and such inexpressibly violent humming in his ears, that he thought he must sink under it. In the course of the morning, he sent for doctor Bugenhagen to confess him; when he spoke to him with affright of the temptations he had been going through, begged him to strengthen him, and to pray to God for him, and concluded by saying, 'Because I sometimes wear a gay and jovial air, many conclude that my path is on roses; and God knows how far my heart is from any such feeling. Often have I resolved, for the world's sake, to assume a more austere and holier demeanour (I do not explain myself well), but God has not favoured my resolve.' In the afternoon of the same day he fell down senseless, turned quite cold, and gave no sign of life. When recalled to himself by unceasing care, he began to pray with great fervour:—'Thou knowest, my God!' he said, 'how cheerfully I would have poured out my blood for thy word, but thou hast willed it otherwise. Thy will be done! No doubt, I was unworthy of it Death would be my happiness; yet, O my God! if it be thy will, gladly would I still live to spread thy holy word, and comfort such of thy people as wax faint. Nevertheless, if my hour be come, thy will be done! In thy hands are life and death. O my Lord Jesus Christ, I thank thee for thy grace in suffering me to know thy holy name. Thou knowest that I believe in thee, in the Father, and in the Holy Ghost; thou art my divine Mediator and Saviour. . . . Thou knowest, O my Lord, that Satan has laid numerous snares for me, to slay my body by tyrants and my soul by his *fiery arrows*, his infernal temptations. Up to this time, thou hast marvellously protected me against all his fury. Protect me still, O my steadfast Lord, if it be thy will!'

"Then he turned to us both (Bugenhagen and Jonas), and said, 'The world is prone to lying, and there will be many who will say that I retracted before I died. I call on you, therefore, at once to receive my profession of faith. I conscientiously declare that I have taught the true word of God, even as the Lord laid upon me and impelled me to do. Yea; I declare that what I have preached upon faith, charity, the cross, the holy sacrament, and other articles of the Christian doctrine, is just, good, and conducive to salvation. I have

been often accused of violence and harshness; I acknowledge that I have sometimes been violent and harsh towards my enemies. Yet have I never sought to injure any one, still less the perdition of any soul. I had intended to write upon baptism, and against Zwingle; but God, apparently, has willed the contrary.' He next spoke of the sects that will arise to pervert God's word, and will not spare, he said, the flock which the Lord has redeemed with his blood. He wept as he spoke of these things. 'As yet;' he said, 'God has suffered me to join you in the struggle against these spirits of disorder, and I would gladly continue so to do; alone, you will be too weak against them all. However, the thought of Jesus Christ re-assures me; for he is stronger than Satan and all his arms; he is the Lord of Satan.' Some short time after, when the vital heat had been a little revived by frictions, and the application of hot pillows, he asked his wife, 'Where is my little heart, my well-beloved little John?' When the child was brought, he smiled at his father, who began saying, with tears in his eyes, 'Poor dear little one, I commend you to God, you and your good mother, my dear Catherine. You are penniless, but God will take care of you. He is the father of orphans and widows. Preserve them, O my God; inform them, even as thou hast preserved and informed me up to this day.' He then spoke to his wife about some silver goblets. 'Thou knowest,' he added, 'they are all we have left.' He fell into a deep sleep, which recruited his strength; and on the next day, he was considerably better. He then said to doctor Jonas, 'Never shall I forget yesterday. The Lord takes man into hell, and draws him out of it. The tempest which beat yesterday morning on my soul, was much more terrible than that which my body underwent towards evening. God kills, and brings to life. He is the master of life and death.'"

"For nearly three months, I have been growing weaker, not in body, but in mind; to such a degree, that I can scarcely write these few lines. This is Satan's doing." (Oct. 8th, 1527.) "I want to reply to the Sacramentarians, but shall be able to do nothing except my soul be fortified." (Nov. 1st, 1527.) "I have not yet read Erasmus, or the Sacramentarians, with the exception of some three sheets of Zwingle. It is well done of them to trample me so mercilessly under foot, so that I may say with Jesus Christ, '*He persecuted the poor and needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart.*' I alone bear the weight of God's wrath, because I have sinned towards him. The pope and Cæsar, the princes, the bishops, the whole world, hates and assails, but yet 'tis not enough without my very brother come to torment me. My sins, death, Satan and his angels, rage incessantly against me. And who would keep or comfort me if Christ were to desert me; for whose sake I have incurred their hate! But he will not desert the wretched sinner when the end cometh; for I think I shall be the last of all men. Oh! would to God that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians were to undergo for a quarter of an hour only the misery of my heart!" (Nov. 10th, 1527.) "Satan tries me with marvellous temptations, but I am not left without the prayers of the saints, albeit the wounds of my heart are not easy to cure. My comfort is, that there are many others who have to sustain the same struggles. N there is no suffering so great that my sin deserve it. But what gives me life and str the consciousness that I have taught, to t tion of many, the true and pure word o This it is which burns up Satan, who woul see me and the word drowned and lost. suffer nothing at the hands of the tyrant world, while others are killed, burnt, and Christ; but I have so much the more spiritually from the prince of this world." 21st, 1527.) "When I wish to write, my filled as it were with tinklings, thunders, did not stop at once, I should faint outr have now been three days, unable even at a letter. My head is wearing into chapter; and if this goes on, it will soo more than a paragraph, a period (*caput s tum est capitulum, peryet verò fietque pari tandem periodus*). The day I received yo from Nuremberg, Satan visited me. I wa Vitus and Cyriacus had left me. This was the stronger. He drove me out of and forced me to go and seek the face (May 12, 1530). "Although well in bodil I am ever ill with Satan's persecutions hinder me from writing or doing anythi last day, I fully believe, is not far from us well, cease not to pray for poor Luther." (I 1529). "One may overcome the ter of the flesh, but how hard it is to struggl the temptation of blasphemy and despa neither comprehend the sin, nor know medy." After a week of constant suffe wrote: "Having all but lost my Christ beaten by the waves and tempests of des blasphemy." (Aug. 2nd, 1527.)

Luther, far from receiving support and from his friends, whilst undergoing these troubles, saw some lukewarm and timidly others fairly embarked in the path of n which he had himself opened up for them, dering further from him daily. The first t himself was Agricola, the leader of the Anti We shall hereafter see how Luther's last d embittered by his controversy with so friend. "Some one has been telling me you, my dear Agricola, and with such that I promised him to write and make it you. The tale is, that you are beginnin vance the doctrine of faith without wo that you profess yourself ready to main novelty against all and sundry, with magazine of Greek words and rhetorical . . . I warn you to be on your guard ag snares of Satan. . . . Never did event co unexpectedly upon me than the fall of padius and of Regius. And what have I to fear for those who have been my friends! It is not surprising that I sho ble for you also, whom I would not see in opinion from me for aught that the w bestow." (Sept. 11th, 1528.) "Wherefor be provoked with the papists! They m war upon me. We are declared enem they who do me most evil are my dearest *fraterculi mei, aurei amiculi mei*; they who, had not written, would know nothing of C the Gospel, and would never have throw papal yoke; at least, who, if they had

uld have lacked the courage. I thought
ed by this time suffered and exhausted
mity; but my Absalom, the child of my
d not yet deserted his father, had not yet
David with shame. My Judas, the terror
ciples of Christ, the traitor who delivered
aster, had not yet sold me: and now all
befallen me.
ndestine, but most dangerous persecution
going on against us. Our ministry is
We ourselves are hated, persecuted,
ved to die of hunger. See what is now
of God's word. When offered to those
d in need of it, they will not receive it. . .
uld not have been crucified, had he left
n. But the prophet will not die out of
n, and yet it is only in his own country
prophet is without honour. It is the
h us. . . . It will soon come to pass that
of this duchy will have emptied it of minis-
e word; who will be driven from it by
not to mention other wrongs." (Oct. 18th,

e is nothing certain with regard to the
ns about which so much noise has been
Bohemia: many deny the fact. But
gulfs which opened here, before my own
Sunday after Epiphany, at eight o'clock
evening, it is a certainty, and has been
in many places as far as the sea-coast.
r, in December, doctor Hess writes me
e heavens were seen in flames above the
of Breslaw; and another day, he adds,
ns were in flames, and a tower of fire
These signs, if I mistake not, announce
day. The empire is falling, kings are
riests are falling, and the whole world
just as small fissures announce the approaching fall of a large house. Nor will it be long before this happen, unless the Turk, as Ezekiel prophesies of Gog and Magog, lose himself in his victory and his pride, with the pope, his ally." (March 7, 1529.) "Grace and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ. The world hastens to its end, and I often think that the day of judgment may well overtake me before I have finished my translation of the Holy Scriptures. All temporal things predicted there are being fulfilled. The Roman empire inclines to its ruin, the Turk has reached the height of his power, the splendour of the papacy suffers eclipse, the world is cracking in every corner, as if about to crumble to pieces. The empire, I grant, has recovered a little under our emperor Charles, but 'tis, perhaps, for the last time; may it not be like the light which, the moment before it goes out for ever, emits a livelier flash. . . . The Turk is about to fall upon us. Mark me; he is a reformer sent in God's wrath." (March 15th.)

"There is a man with me, just come from Venice, who asserts that the doge's son is at the court of the Turk: so that we have been only fighting against the latter until pope, Venetians, and French openly and impudently turn Turks. The same man states that there were eight hundred Turks in the army of the Frenchmen at Pavia; three hundred of whom, sick of the war, have returned safe and sound to their own country. As you have not mentioned these montrosities to me, I conclude you to be ignorant of them; but they have been told me both by letters and personal informants, with details which do not allow me to doubt of their truth. The hour of midnight approaches, when we shall hear the cry, '*The bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.*'" (May 6th, 1529.)

BOOK THE THIRD.

A.D. 1529—1546.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1529 — 1532.

ES.—DANGER OF GERMANY.—AUGSBURG, SMALKALDE.—DANGER OF PROTESTANTISM.

was roused from his dejection, and restored
life, by the dangers which threatened the
tion and Germany. When that *scourge of*
ne coming he awaited with resignation,
ign of the judgment, burst in reality on
y, when the Turks encamped before Vi-
ather changed his mind, called on the
o take up arms, and published a book
he Turks, which he dedicated to the land-
Hesse. On the 9th of October, 1528, he
this prince, explaining to him the motives
ad induced him to compose it:—"I can-
says, "keep my peace. There are, un-
sly, preachers among us who exhort the people to pay no attention to the invasion of the Turks; and there are some extravagant enough to assert that Christians are forbidden to have recourse to temporal arms under any circumstances. Others, again, who regard the Germans as a nation of incorrigible brutes, go so far as to hope they may fall under the power of the Turks. These mad and criminal notions are imputed to Luther and the Gospel, just as, three years since, the revolt of the peasants was, and as, in fact, every ill which befalls the world invariably is; so that I feel it incumbent on me to write upon the subject, as well to confound calumniators, as to enlighten innocent consciences on the course to be pursued against the Turks. . . ." "We heard yesterday that, by God's miraculous grace, the Turk has left Vienna for Hungary. For, after having been repulsed in his twentieth assault, he sprang a mine, which opened a breach in three places, but nothing could induce his army to renew the attack. God had struck a panic into

it, and his soldiers preferred falling by the hands of their chiefs to advancing to another assault. Some believe that he has drawn off his forces through fear of bombards and our future army; others think otherwise. God manifestly has fought for us this year. The Turk has lost twenty-six thousand men; three thousand of ours have fallen in sorties. I have written this news to you, in order that we may offer up thanks and prayer together; for the Turk, now that he is our neighbour, will not leave us for ever in peace." (Oct. 27th, 1529.)

Germany was saved, but German Protestantism was only the more endangered. The exasperation of the two parties had been brought to a climax, by a circumstance which occurred prior to Solyman's invasion. To believe Luther's Roman Catholic biographer, Cochlæus, whom we have before quoted, duke George's chancellor, Otto Pack, feigned that the Roman Catholic princes had formed a league against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, and showed forged documents with the duke's seal to them, to the landgrave, who, believing himself to be menaced, levied an army, and entered into close alliance with the elector. The Catholics, and, above all, duke George, vehemently repelled the charge of having ever thought of menacing the religious independence of the Lutheran princes, and disavowed the chancellor, who, perhaps, had only been guilty of divulging the secret designs of his master. "Doctor Pack, in my opinion a voluntary prisoner of the landgrave's, has hitherto borne the blame of having got up this alliance of the princes. He asserts that he can rebut the charge, and clear himself with honour; and may God grant this plot to rebound on the head of the clown whom I believe to be its author, on that of our grand adversary; you know whom I mean, duke George of Saxony." (July 14th, 1528.) "You see the troubles this league of wicked princes, which they deny however, has stirred up. For my part, I look upon duke George's cold excuse as a confession. God will confound this madheaded fool; this Moab, who exalts his pride above his strength. We will lift up our voice in prayer against these homicides; enough indulgence has been shown. And, if they are still plotting, we will first invoke God, then summon the princes to destroy them without pity."

Although all the princes had declared the documents to be forgeries, the bishops of Mentz, Bamberg, &c., were called upon to pay a hundred thousand crowns of gold, by way of indemnity for the armaments which the Lutheran princes had prepared; and who, indeed, asked no better than to begin war. They had computed, and they felt their strength. The grand-master of the Teutonic order had secularised Prussia; and the dukes of Mecklenburg and of Brunswick, encouraged by this great event, had invited Lutheran preachers. (A.D. 1525.) The Reformation prevailed over the north of Germany. In Switzerland, and on the Rhine, the Zwinglians, who increased daily in numbers, were seeking to identify themselves with Luther. Finally, on the south and the east, the Turks, masters of Buda and of Hungary, constantly menaced Austria, and held the emperor in check. In default of the latter, duke George of Saxony, and the powerful bishops of the north, had constituted themselves the opponents of the Reformation. A violent controversial war had long been going on between this prince and Luther. The duke wrote to the latter:—"Thou fearest our having to do with hypocrites; the present letter will show thee how far this is the case, in which, if thou findest us dissemble, thou mayest speak as ill of us as thou likest; if not, thou must look for hypocrites there, where thou art called a prophet, a Daniel, the apostle of Germany, the evangelist. . . . Thou imaginest, perchance, that thou art sent of God to us, like those prophets whom God commissioned to convert princes and the powerful. Moses was sent to Pharaoh; Samuel to Saul; Nathan to David; Isaiah to Hezekiah; St. John the Baptist to Herod, as we well know. But, amongst all these prophets, we do not find a single apostate. They were consistent in doctrine, sincere and pious men, free from pride and avarice, and friends of chastity. . . . We reck little of thy prayers, or of those of thy associates. We know that God hates the assembly of thy apostates. . . . God punished Münzer for his perversity, through us. He may well visit Luther likewise; nor shall we refuse to be in this, too, his unworthy instrument. . . . No, Luther, rather return thyself, and be no longer led astray by the spirit which seduced the apostate Sergius. The Christian church closes not her bosom against the repentant sinner. . . . If it be pride which has lost thee, consider that haughty Manichean, St. Augustin, thy master, whose rule thou hast sworn to observe: return, like him; return to thy fidelity and thy oaths; be, like him, a light to Christendom. . . . Such are our counsels to thee for the new year. Conform to them, thou wilt be eternally rewarded by God, and we will do our utmost to obtain thy pardon from the emperor." (Dec. 28th, 1525.)

Luther's *Protest* against duke George, who had intercepted one of his letters, 1529:—"As to the fine names duke George showers on me—wretch, criminal, perjurer, I cannot but thank him. They are the emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, with which I ought to be adorned by princes in return for the honour and power which temporal authority receives from the restoration of the Gospel. . . . Would not one say that duke George knows no superior? 'I, squire of squires,' he says, 'am alone master and prince, am above all the princes in Germany, am above the empire, its laws and customs. I am the one to be feared, the one to be obeyed; my will is law, despite what all others may think or say.' Where, friends, will the pride of this Moab stop? There is only now left for him to scale heaven, to spy and punish letters and thoughts even in the sanctuary of God himself. See our little prince; and withal, he will be glorified, respected, adored! Mighty well, gramercy."

In 1529, the year of the treaty of Cambrai and of the siege of Vienna by Solyman, the emperor convened a diet at Spire (March 15th), where it was settled that the states of the empire were to continue to obey the decree launched against Luther in 1524, and that every innovation was to remain interdicted until the convocation of a general council. It was on this that the party of the Reformation broke out. The elector of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Luneburg, the prince of Anhalt, and, in conjunction with them, the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, published a solemn protest against the decree of the diet, declaring it

pious and unjust; and from this they kept
e of Protestants.
andgrave of Hesse, feeling the necessity of
g all the dissident sects so as to form a
ich might be formidable to the Catholics
any, endeavoured to bring about a recon-
between Luther and the Sacramentarians;
er foresaw the inutility of the attempt:—
andgrave of Hesse has summoned us to
t Marburg on St. Michael's day, in the
reconciling us and the Sacramentarians. . .
no good from it; it is all a snare; and the
I fear, will be theirs, as in the age of
leetings of the kind are ever more injurious
ful. . .This young man of Hesse is restless
of ebullient ideas. The Lord has saved
two last years from two great conflagra-
ich would have set all Germany on fire."
2nd, 1529.) "We have been most sump-
ntertained by the landgrave. Œcolampa-
vingle, Bucer, &c., were there; and all
d for peace with extraordinary humility.
ference lasted two days. I opposed Œco-
s and Zwingle with the text, '*This is my*
nd refuted their objections. In short,
ignorant persons, incapable of sustaining
sion." (October 12th.) "I am delighted,
Amsdorff, that you are delighted with our
f Marburg. The thing is apparently
but, in reality, of great importance. The
of the pious have confounded, paralyzed,
ed them. The whole of Zwingle's argu-
reducible to this, that there can be no
thout place or dimension. Œcolampadius
ed that the Fathers called the bread a
l that therefore it was not very body. . . .
sought us to give them the name of
. Zwingle asked it of the landgrave with
There is no spot on earth,' he said, 'where
sooner pass my life than Wittemberg.'. . .
allowed them the name save as charity com-
o give it to our enemies. . . They conducted
es in every way with incredible humility
lour; in order, as is now clear to be seen,
le us into a fictitious agreement, so as to
the partisans and patrons of their errors.
rafty Satan; but Christ, who has saved us,
than thou. I am now no longer astonished
impudent lies. I see that they cannot act
e, and glorify myself for their fall." (June
h.)
theological war of Germany filled up the
of truce in the grand European war
n by Charles the Fifth against Francis I.
inst the Turks; indeed, seldom slackened
the most violent crises of the latter. Ger-
absorbed at this moment in the considera-
eligion as to be on the point of forgetting
nding ruin with which she was threatened
ost formidable enemies, presents an im-
pectacle. Whilst the Turks were over-
all the ancient barriers, and Solyman
on his Tartars beyond Vienna, Germany
ating on transubstantiation and free-will,
most illustrious warriors sat in diets and
ted doctors. Such was the phlegmatic
ty of the great nation; such its confidence
assive strength. Charles the Fifth and
d were so taken up with the Turkish and
ch war, with the taking of Rome and
defence of Vienna, that the Protestants were granted toleration until the next council. But in 1530, Charles, seeing France humbled, Italy subjected, and Solyman repulsed, undertook the grand trial of the Reformation. Both parties appeared at Augsburg. Luther's followers, designated by the general name of Protestants, were anxious to distinguish themselves from the other enemies of Rome whose excesses might injure their cause, from the republican Zwinglians of Switzerland, who were odious to the princes and nobles, and especially from the Anabaptists, proscribed as enemies of order and society. Luther, still obnoxious to the sentence pronounced against him at Worms, by which he was declared a heretic, could not be present. His place was filled by the mild and peaceful Melanchthon, a gentle and timid being like Erasmus, whose friend he remained in despite of Luther. However, the elector brought him as near as possible to Augsburg, lodging him in the fortress of Cobourg, where Luther could be in constant correspondence with the Protestant ministers, and whence he wrote to Melanchthon on the 22nd of April:—"I have arrived at my Sinai, dear Philip, but will make it a Zion, and erect thereon three tabernacles, one to the Psalmist, one to the prophets, one to Æsop (whose fables he was then translating). There is nothing wanting to render my solitude complete. I have a vast house which commands the castle and the keys of all the rooms. There are barely thirty persons in the fortress; and twelve of these are watchers by night, and two others sentinels, always posted on the towers." (April 22nd.)

To Spalatin, (May 9th):—"You are going to Augsburg without having taken the auspices, and not knowing when they will allow you to begin. I, indeed, am already in the midst of the comitia, in the presence of magnanimous sovereigns, kings, dukes, princes, nobles, who confer gravely on affairs of state, and with indefatigable voice fill the air with their decrees and preachings. They do not sit confined in the royal caves you call palaces, but have the heavens for their tent, the verdure of the trees for their rich and variegated carpet, and the earth, to its remotest bounds, for their domain. They have a horror of the stupid luxury of gold and silk, and all wear the same colours and countenances; they are all equally black; all indulge in the same music; and this song of theirs, on a single note, is varied only by the agreeable dissonance of the younger voices blending with the older. I have never heard a word about their emperor; and they have a sovereign contempt for that quadruped in which our knights delight, possessing something better with which they can laugh at the rage of cannons. As far as I can understand their decrees, they have unanimously determined upon making war the whole of this year on barley, wheat, and grain, and, in fact, on the choicest fruits and seeds. It is to be feared, too, that they will triumph in all directions, being a race of skilful and crafty warriors, equally skilled to seize their prey by force or by surprise. I, an idle spectator, have assisted with great satisfaction at their comitia. The hope I have conceived of the victories their courage will ensure them over the wheat and barley, or any other enemy, has made me the sincere friend of these *patres patriæ*, these saviours of the republic. And if I can aid them by vows, I ask of Heaven, that

delivered from the odious name of crows, &c. All this is trifling; but serious trifling, and necessary to chase the thoughts which oppress me, if chase them it can." (May 9th.) "The noble lords who form our comitia run, or rather sail, through the air. They sally forth early in the morning to war, armed with their invincible beaks, and while they pillage, ravage, and devour, I am freed for a time from their eternal songs of victory. In the evening, they return in triumph; fatigue closes their eyes; but their sleep is sweet and light, like a conqueror's. Some days since I made my way into their palace to view the pomp of their empire. The unfortunates were seized with terror, imagining that I came to destroy the results of their industry. When I saw that I alone made so many Achilleses and Hectors tremble, I clapped my hands, threw my hat into the air, and thought myself sufficiently avenged to be able to laugh at them. All this is not mere trifling; 'tis an allegory, a presage of what will come to pass. And, even thus, we shall see all these harpies, who are now at Augsburg screeching and Romanising, trembling before God's word." (June 19th.)

Melanchthon, transformed at Augsburg into a partisan leader, and forced to do battle daily with legates, princes, and emperor, was exceedingly discomposed with the active life with which he had been saddled, and often unbosomed his troubles to Luther, when all the comfort he got was rough rebuke: "You tell me of your labours, dangers, tears; am I on roses? Do not I share your burden? Ah! would to heaven my cause were such as to allow me to shed tears!" (June 29th.) "May God reward the tyrant of Saltzburg, who works thee so much ill, according to his works! He deserves another sort of answer from thee; such as I would have made him, perchance; such as has never struck his ear. They must, I fear, hear the saying of Julius Cæsar: '*They would have it.*'" . . . "I write in vain, because, with thy philosophy, thou wishest to set all these things right with thy reason, that is, to be unreasoning with reason. Go on; continue to kill thyself so, without seeing that neither thy hand nor thy mind can grasp this thing." (30th June, 1530.) "God has placed this cause in a certain spot, unknown to thy rhetoric and thy philosophy—that spot is faith; there all things are inaccessible to the sight; and whoever would render them visible, apparent, and comprehensible, gets pains and tears as the price of his labour, as thou hast. God has said that his dwelling is in the clouds and thick darkness. Had Moses sought a means of avoiding Pharaoh's army, Israel would, perhaps, still be in Egypt. . . . If we have not faith, why not seek consolation in the faith of others, for some must necessarily have it, though we have not? Or else, must we say that Christ has abandoned us before the fulfilment of time? If he be not with us, where is he in this world? If we be not the church, or part of the church, where is the church? Is Ferdinand the church, or the duke of Bavaria, or the pope, or the Turk, or their fellows? If we have not God's word, who has? These things are beyond thee, for Satan torments and weakens thee. That Christ may heal thee is my sincere and constant prayer!" (June 29th.) "I am in poor health. . . But I despise the angel of Satan, that is buffeting my flesh. If I cannot read or write, I can at least think and pray, and even wrestle with the devil; and then sleep, idle, play, sing. Fret not thyself away, dear Philip, about a matter which is not in thy hand, but in that of One mightier than thou, and from whom no one can snatch it." (July 31st.)

Melanchthon believes it possible to reconcile the two parties; but Luther had early seen its impracticability. At the commencement of the Reformation, he had often demanded public disputations, feeling bound to try every means before giving up the hope of preserving Christian unity; but, towards the close of his life, in fact, from the holding of the diet of Augsburg, he declared against all such word-combats, in which the conquered party will never own its defeat. "I am opposed to all attempts to bring the two doctrines into harmony; for the thing is impossible, except the pope consent to abolish the papacy. It is enough for us to have rendered an account of our belief, and asked for peace. Why hope to convert them to the truth?" (August 26th.) *To Spalatin.* (August 26th.) "I hear you have undertaken a marvellous task, to reconcile Luther and the pope. . . . If you accomplish it, I promise you to reconcile Christ and Belial." In a letter of the 21st of July, to Melanchthon, he writes: "You will see how true a prophet I am in reiterating the impossibility of reconciling the two doctrines, and that it is enough for us to obtain the preservation of the public peace." His prophecies were unheeded; conferences were held; and the Protestants were asked for a confession of faith. Melanchthon drew it up, taking Luther's opinion on the most important points. *To Melanchthon.* "I have received your apology, and am astonished at your asking what we are to cede to the papists. If the prince, indeed, be in any danger, that is another question. But, as far as I am concerned, more concessions are made in this apology than are becoming. If they reject them, I do not see how I can go further, except their arguments strike me with much more force on reflection than now. I pass my days and nights pondering, interpreting, analysing, searching the Scriptures, and am only daily more confirmed in my doctrine. Our adversaries do not yield us a hair, and yet require us to yield them the canon, masses, communion in one kind, their customary jurisdiction, and, still more, to acknowledge that they are justified in the whole of their conduct to us, and that we have accused them wrongfully; in other words, they require us to justify them, and condemn ourselves out of our own lips, which would be not simply to retract, but to be trebly accursed by our own selves. . . . I do not like your supporting yourselves in such a cause by my opinions. I will neither be nor seem your chief. . . If it be not your own cause, I will not have it called mine, and of my imposing. If I be its sole supporter, I will be its sole defender." (September 20th.) Two days previously he had written to him, "If I hear you are getting on badly, I shall hardly be able to refrain from facing this formidable row of Satan's teeth." And shortly after, "I would fain be the victim to be sacrificed by this last council, as John Huss was at Constance that of the last day of the papal fortunes." (July 21st.)

The Protestant profession of faith was presented to the diet, "and read by order of Cæsar before all the princes and states of the empire. 'Tis exceeding happiness for me to have lived to see Christ

by his confessors before such an assembly, fine a confession." (July 6th.) This con- s signed by five electors, thirty ecclesias- ics, twenty-three secular princes, twenty- s, thirty-two counts and barons, and thirty- and imperial cities. "The prince elector y, the margrave George of Brandenburg, derick the younger, landgrave of Hesse, id Francis, dukes of Luneburg, prince of Anhalt, the cities of Nuremberg and of n have signed the confession. . . . Many ieline to peace, without caring about the of Eck and Faber. The archbishop of shes for peace, as does duke Henry of k, who invited Melanchthon familiarly to id assured him that he could not deny the eness of the articles touching communion inds, the marriage of priests, and the of making distinctions as to matters of l our people confess that no one has mself more conciliatory in all the con- han the emperor, who received our prince ith kindness, but with respect." (July 6th.) op of Augsburg, and even Charles V.'s were favourably disposed to the Lu- and the Spaniard told Melanchthon that rprised at Luther's view of faith being in Germany, and that he had always d the same opinion. But whatever Lu- say of Charles V.'s graciousness, he discussions by calling on the reformers ce their errors under pain of being put ban of the empire, seemed even inclined lence, and at one time closed the gates of for a moment. "If the emperor chooses an edict, let him; he published one ms. Let us listen to the emperor in- he is emperor, nothing more. What is (he alludes to duke George) to us, who e thought emperor?" (July 15th) "Our defend itself better from violence and an from the Satanic wiles which I dread, at the present moment. . . . Let them Leonard Keiser, and the many whom unjustly put to death; let them restore numerable souls lost by their impious let them restore all the wealth which accumulated with their deceitful indul- frauds of every kind; let them restore is glory violated by such innumerable es; let them restore, in person and in hat ecclesiastical purity which they have fully sullied. What then? Then we, be able to speak *de Possessorio*." (July

emperor intends simply to order all e restored to their pristine state, and of the pope to recommence; which, I , will excite great troubles, to the ruin of d clerks. The most powerful cities, as g, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort, Strasburg, others, openly reject the imperial de- make common cause with our princes. heard of the inundations at Rome, and s and Brabant; signs sent of God, but stood by the wicked. You are aware, vision of the monks of Spire. Brentius word, that a numerous army has been air at Baden, and, on its flank, a sol- phantly brandishing a lance, and who passed by the adjoining mountain, and over the Rhine." (Dec. 5th.) Hardly was the diet dissolved before the Protestant princes assembled at Smalkalde, and concluded a defensive league, by which they agreed to form themselves into one body. (Dec. 31st.) They entered a protest against the election of Ferdinand to the title of king of the Romans; prepared for war, fixed the contingents, and addressed the kings of France, England, and Denmark. Luther was accused of having instigated the Protestants to assume this hostile attitude. "I have not advised resistance to the emperor, as has been reported. My opinion, as a theologian, is, If the jurists can show by their laws that resistance is allowable, I would leave them to follow their laws. If the emperor have ruled in his laws, that in such a case he may be resisted, let him suffer by the law of his own making. The prince is a political personage; in acting as prince, he does not act as Christian; for the Christian is neither prince, nor man, nor woman, nor any one of this world. If then it be lawful for the prince, as prince, to resist Cæsar, let him do as his judgment and his conscience dictate. To the Christian, nothing of the kind is lawful; he is dead to the world." (Jan. 15th, 1531.) This year, (1531), Luther wrote an answer to a small work anonymously printed at Dresden, which accused the Protestants of secretly arming themselves, and wishing to surprise the Catholics, who were thinking solely of peace and concord. "No one is to know the author of this work. Well, I will remain in ignorance too. I will have a *cold* for once, and not smell the awkward pedant. However, I will try my hand and strike boldly on the sack; if the blows fall on the ass that carries it, it will not be my fault; they were intended of course for the sack. Whether the charge against the Lutherans be true or not, is no concern of mine. I did not advise them to such a course; but, since the papists announce their belief in it, I can only rejoice in their illusions and alarms, and would willingly increase them if I could, were it only to kill them with fears. If Cain kills Abel, and Annas and Caiaphas persecute Jesus, 'tis just that they should be punished for it. Let them live in transports of alarm, tremble at the sound of a leaf, see in every quarter the phantom of insurrection and death; nothing juster. Is it not true, impostors, that when our confession of faith was presented at Augsburg, a papist said, 'Here they give us a book written with ink; would they had to record their answer in blood? Is it not true that the elector of Brandenburg, and duke George of Saxony, have promised the emperor a supply of five thousand horses against the Lutherans? Is it not true, that numbers of priests and lords have betted that it would be all over with the Lutherans before St. Michael's day? Is it not true, that the elector of Brandenburg has publicly declared, that the emperor and all the empire would devote body and goods to this end? Do you think your edict is not known? that we are unaware that by that edict all the swords of the empire are unsheathed and sharpened, all its cavalry in saddle, to fall upon the elector of Saxony and his party, in order to put all to fire and sword, and spread far and wide tears and desolation? Look at your edict; look at your murderous designs, sealed with your own seal and arms, and then dare accuse the Lutherans of troubling the

general harmony! O impudence, O boundless hypocrisy!.... But I understand you. You would have us neglect to prepare for the war with which you have been so long threatening us, so that we may be slaughtered unresistingly, like sheep by the butcher. Your servant, my good friends, I, a preacher of the word, ought to endure all this, and all, to whom this grace is given, ought equally to endure it. But that all the rest will, I cannot answer for to the tyrants. Were I publicly to recommend our party so to do, the tyrants would take advantage of this, and I will not spare them the fear they entertain of our resistance. Do they wish to win their spurs by massacring us? Let them win them with risk, as it becomes brave knights. Cutthroats by trade, let them expect at least to be received like cutthroats.

. . . "I care not about being accused of violence; it shall be my glory and honour henceforward to have it said how I rage and storm against the papists. For more than ten years I have been humiliating myself, and speaking them fairly. To what end? Only to exasperate the evil. Those clowns are but the haughtier for it. Well! since they are incorrigible, since there is no longer any hope of shaking their infernal resolutions by kindness, I break with them, and will leave them no rest from my curses until I sink into the grave. They shall never more have a good word from me; I would have them buried to the sound of my thunders and lightnings. I can no longer pray without cursing. If I say, '*Hallowed be thy name,*' I feel myself constrained to add, 'Accursed be the name of papists, and of all who blaspheme thee!' If I say, '*Thy kingdom come,*' I add, 'Cursed be the popedom, and all kingdoms opposed to thine.' If I say, '*Thy will be done,*' I follow with, 'Cursed and disappointed be the schemes of the papists, and of all who fight against thee!' . . . Such are my ardent prayers daily, and those of all the truly faithful in Christ. . . . Yet do I keep towards all the world a kind and loving heart, and my greatest enemies themselves know it well. Often in the night, when unable to sleep, I ponder in my bed, painfully and anxiously, how the papists may yet be won to repent, before a fearful judgment overtakes them. But it seems that it must not be. They scorn repentance, and ask for our blood with loud cries. The bishop of Saltzburg said to Master Philip, at the diet of Augsburg: 'Wherefore so long disputing? We are well aware that you are in the right?' and another day: 'You will not yield, nor will we, so one party must exterminate the other; you are the little, we the great one; we shall see which will gain the day.' Never could I have thought to hear of such words being spoken."

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1534 — 1536.

THE ANABAPTISTS OF MUNSTER.

WHILST the two great leagues of the princes are in presence, and seem to defy each other, a third starts up between them to their common dismay;—the people, again, as in the war of the peasants, but an organized people, in possession of a wealthy city. The *jacquerie* of the north, more systematic than that of the south, produces the ideal of the German democracy of the sixteenth century—a biblical royalty, a popular David, a handicraft messiah. The mystic German companionship enthronises a tailor. His attempt was daring, not absurd. Anabaptism was in the ascendant, not in Munster only, but had spread into Westphalia, Brabant, Guelders, Holland, Frisia, and the whole littoral of the Baltic, as far as Livonia. The Anabaptists formalised the curse impreeated by the conquered peasants on Luther. They detested him as the friend of the nobles, the prop of civil authority, the *remora* of the Reformation. "There are four prophets—two true, two false; the true are David and John of Leyden, the false, the pope and Luther; but Luther is worse than the pope."

"*How the Gospel first arose at Munster, and how it ended there after the destruction of the Anabaptists. A veritable history, and well worthy of being read and handed down (for the spirit of the Anabaptists of Munster still lireth); narrated by Henricus Dorpius of that city.*" We shall confine ourselves to a summary of this prolix narrative:—

Rothmann (a Lutheran or Zwinglian) first preached the Reformation at Munster in 1532, with such success that the bishop, at the landgrave of Hesse's intercession, allowed the Gospellers the use of six of his churches. Shortly afterwards a journeyman tailor (John of Leyden) introduced the doctrine of the Anabaptists into several families. He was aided in his labours by Hermann Stapraeda an Anabaptist preacher of Mœrsa; and their secret meetings soon became so numerous, that Catholics and Reformers equally took the alarm, and expelled the Anabaptists from the city. But they boldly returned, intimidated the council, and compelled it to fix a day for a public discussion in the town-hall, on the baptism of children; and Rothmann himself became their convertite, and one of their leaders. . . One day, one of their preachers runs through the streets, exclaiming, "Repent, repent; reform and be baptized, or suffer God's vengeance!" Whether through fear or religious zeal, many who heard him hurried to be baptized; and on this the Anabaptists throng the market-place, crying out, "Down with the pagans who will not be baptized." They seize the cannon and ammunition, take possession of the town-hall, and maltreat all Catholics and Lutherans they fall in with. The latter, in their turn, coalesce, and attack the Anabaptists. After various indecisive struggles, it was agreed that each party should be free to profess its own belief; but the Anabaptists broke the treaty, and secretly summoned their brethren in the adjoining cities to Munster:—"Leave all you have," they wrote, "houses, wives, children; leave all, and join us; your losses shall be made up to you tenfold. . . . ." When the richer citizens saw the city crowded with strangers, they quitted it as they could (in Lent, 1534). Emboldened by their departure and the reinforcements they were receiving, the Anabaptists soon replaced the town council, which was Lutheran, with men of their own party. They next took to plundering the churches and convents, and scoured the city, armed with halberts, arquebusses, and clubs, exclaiming, "Repent, Repent!" a cry which soon became, "Quit the city, ye wicked! quit it, or be sacrificed!" and they pitilessly drove forth all who were not of their own sect, sparing neither aged men nor pregnant

men. Many of these poor fugitives fell into
bishop's hands, who was preparing to lay siege
the city, and who, disregardless of the fact that
y were not Anabaptists, threw some into prison,
executed others.

The Anabaptists being now masters of the city,
ir chief prophet, John Matthiesen, ordered all
bring their goods into one common stock, without
reservation, under pain of death. The terrified
ple obeyed; and the property of those they had
pelled the city was also appropriated. The pro-
et next proclaimed it to be the will of the Father,
t all books should be burnt save the Old and
w Testament; and twenty thousand florins'
rth of books were accordingly burnt in the
are before the cathedral. The same prophet
ots a farrier dead, who has maligned the pro-
ets; and, soon afterwards, runs through the
ets, a halbert in his hand, crying out that the
ther has ordered him to repulse the enemy.
rdly had he passed the gates before he was
led. He was succeeded by John of Leyden, who
rried his widow, and who reanimated the people,
pirited by the death of his predecessor. The
hop ordered the assault to be delivered on Pen-
ost, but was repulsed with great loss. John of
yden named twelve of the faithful (among whom
re three nobles) to be ancients in Israel. . . .
also announced new revelations from God con-
ning marriage; and the preachers, convinced
his arguments, preached for three days suc-
sively a plurality of wives. Many of the towns-
n declared against the new doctrine, and even
ng the preachers and one of the prophets into
son; but were soon obliged to release them,
h a loss of forty-nine on their part.

On St. John's day, 1534, a new prophet, a gold-
ith of Warendorff, assembled the people, and
nounced that it had been revealed to him that
hn of Leyden was to rule over the whole earth,
sit on the throne of David, until such time as
d the Father should come and claim it. . . . The
lve ancients were deposed, and John of Leyden
claimed king.

The more wives the Anabaptists took, the more
spirit of libertinism spread, and they committed
rful excesses on young girls of ten, twelve, and
rteen. These violences, and the distress conse-
ent on the siege, alienated part of the inhabitants;
d many suspected John of Leyden of imposi-
n, and thought of giving him up to the bishop.
e king redoubled his vigilance, and nominated
lve bishops to maintain his authority in the
wn (Twelfth-day, 1534), promising them the
wns of all the princes of the earth, and distri-
ting beforehand among them, electorates and
incipalities, exempting from this proscription
he noble landgrave of Hesse" alone, whom he
pes to have to call a brother in the faith. . . .
e named Easter-day as the time the town would
delivered. . . . One of the queens, having ob-
rved that she could not think it to be God's will
t the people should be left to die of misery and
nger, the king led her to the market-place, made
r kneel down in the midst of her other wives in
e same posture, and struck off her head, whilst
ey sang, "*Glory to God in the highest*," and all
e people danced around. Yet they were left
th nothing to eat but bread and salt; and, towards
e close of the siege, regularly distributed the
flesh of the dead, with the exception of such as had died of contagious diseases. On St. John's day, 1535, a deserter informed the bishop how he might attack the city with advantage; and it was taken the self-same day, after an obstinate resistance and a general massacre of the Anabaptists. The king, with his vicar and his lieutenant, was borne off prisoner between two horses, a double chain round his neck, and his head and his feet bare. . . . The bishop questioned him sternly on the horrible calamity of which he had been the cause, when he replied,—"Francis of Waldeck (the bishop's name), if I had had my way, they should have all died of hunger before I would have surrendered the city."

Many other interesting details are given in a document, inserted in the second volume of Luther's German works (Witt's edition), under the following title: *News of the Anabaptists of Munster.*

". . . A week after the repulse of the first assault, the king began his reign by forming a complete court, appointing masters of ceremonies, and all the other officers usual in the courts of secular princes; and he chose a queen out of his wives, who has her court likewise. She is a handsome Dutch woman, of noble birth, who was the wife of a prophet recently killed, and who left her in the family way. The king has one-and-thirty horses covered with housings of cloth of gold, and has had costly robes made for himself, adorned with the gold and silver ornaments taken from the churches. His squire is similarly arrayed; and he wears, besides, golden rings, as do the queen and her virgins. When the king parades the city in state, on horseback, he is accompanied by pages; one, on his right hand, bearing the crown and the Bible; another, a naked sword. One of them is the bishop of Munster's son, who is a prisoner, and who is the king's valet. The king's triple crown is surmounted by a globe, transfixed with a golden and a silver sword; and in the middle of the pummels of the two swords, is a small cross on which is inscribed, *A king of justice over the world.* The queen wears the same. In this array, the king repairs thrice a week to the market-place, where he seats himself on a throne made on purpose. His lieutenant, named Knipperdolling, stands a step lower, and then come the councillors. All who have business with the king, incline their bodies twice before the king, and prostrate themselves on the ground at the third inclination, before entering on their business. One Tuesday, they celebrated the holy supper in the public square; about four thousand two hundred sat down to table. There were three courses; bouilli, ham, then roast meat. The king, his wives, and their servants waited on the guests. After the meal, the king and the queen took barley bread, broke it, and distributed it, saying, 'Take, eat, and proclaim the Lord's death.' They then handed a jug of wine, saying, 'Take, drink all of you, and proclaim the Lord's death.' In like manner, the guests broke their cakes, and presented them to each other, saying, 'Brothers and sisters, take and eat. Even as Jesus Christ offered himself up for me, so do I wish to offer myself up for thee; and even as the grains of barley are joined in this cake, and the grapes in this wine, so are we united.' They also exhorted one another to use no idle words, or break the law of the Lord; and concluded by returning thanks to God, ending with the canticle, *Glory be to God in*

the highest. The king, his wives, and servants, then sat down with them at table. When all was over, the king asked the assembly, whether they were ready to do and suffer God's will? They all replied, *Yea.* Then the prophet John of Warendorff, arose and said, 'That God had bade him send forth some from among them to announce the miracles which they had witnessed;' adding, that those whom he should name were to repair to four towns of the empire, and preach there. . . . Each of these was presented with a piece of gold, of the value of nine florins, together with money for his expenses; and they set out that very evening.

"They reached the appointed cities on the eve of St Gall, and paraded the streets, crying out, 'Repent ye, for God's mercy is exhausted. The axe is already at the root of the tree. Your city must accept peace, or perish!' Taken before the council, they laid their cloaks on the ground, and casting into them the said pieces of gold, they said, 'We are sent by the Father to declare peace unto you. If you accept it, bring all your goods together in common; if you will not, we protest against you before God with this piece of gold, which shall be for a witness that you have rejected the peace which he sent you. The time is now come foretold by the prophets, the time when God wills there to be only justice upon earth; and when the king shall have established the reign of justice all over the earth, then Jesus Christ will remit the government into the hands of the Father.' They were then thrown into prison, and interrogated on their belief, way of life, &c. . . . . They said that there were four prophets, two true, two false; that the true were David and John of Leyden; the false, the pope and Luther. 'Luther,' they said, 'is still worse than the pope.' They consider all Anabaptists elsewhere as damned. . . . 'In Munster,' they said, 'we have in general from five to eight wives, or more; but each is obliged to confine himself to one until she is pregnant. All young girls, above twelve, must marry.' . . . They destroy churches and all buildings consecrated to God. . . . They are expecting, at Munster, people from Groningen and other countries of Holland, and when they come, the king will arise with all his forces, and subjugate the whole earth. They hold it to be impossible to comprehend Scripture aright, without its being interpreted by prophets; and when it is objected to them that they cannot justify their enterprise by Scripture, some say that their Father does not allow them to explain themselves thereupon; others answer, 'The prophet has commanded it by God's order.' Not one of them would purchase mercy by retreating. They sang and returned thanks to God that they had been found worthy to suffer for his name's sake."

The Anabaptists, who were called upon by the landgrave of Hesse to justify themselves for having elected a king, replied (Jan. 1535), "That the time for the restoration mentioned by the holy books was come; that the Gospel had thrown open to them the prison of Babylon; and that it now behoved to render unto the Babylonians according to their works; and that an attentive perusal of the prophets and the Apocalypse, &c., would show the landgrave whether they had elected a king of themselves or by God's order, &c.

After the convention entered into in 1533, between the bishop of Munster and the city, and which was brought about by the mediation of the landgrave of Hesse's councillors . . . the Anabaptists sent the landgrave their book *De Restitutione.* He read it with indignation, and ordered his theologians to reply to it, and to oppose the Anabaptists on nine points, which he particularly specified, and in which he objects to them, amongst other things,—1st, The making justification consist not in faith alone, but in faith and works together. 2nd, Of unjustly accusing Luther of never having preached good works. 3rd, Of defending free-will. In the *De Restitutione,* the Anabaptists classified the whole history of the world into three principal parts. "The first world, which lasted until Noah, was sunk beneath the waters. The second, that in which we live, will be melted and purified by fire. The third will be a new heaven and a new earth, inhabited by justice. This is what God prefigured in the holy ark, in which there were the porch, the sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies. . . . The coming of the third world will be preceded by universal restitution and chastisement. The wicked will be put to death, the reign of justice prepared, Christ's enemies cast down, and all things restored. It is this time which is now beginning."

"*Discourse or Discussion, held at Beeverger, by Anthony Corrinus and John Kymeus, with John of Leyden, king of Munster.*—When the king entered our room, with his gaoler, we gave him a friendly greeting, and invited him to take a seat by the fire. We enquired after his health, and how he felt in his prison. He replied that he suffered from the cold there, and was ill at heart, but that since it was God's will, he ought to endure all patiently. By degrees, and conversing friendly with him, for we could get nothing out of him by any other means, we drew him on to speak of his kingdom and his doctrine as follows:—

Opening of the examination. The ministers. "Dear John, we have heard extraordinary and horrible things of your government. If they are as told us, and, unfortunately, the whole is only too true, we cannot conceive how you can justify your undertaking from Holy Scripture."

The king. "What we have done and taught, we have done and taught rightfully, and we can justify our undertaking, our actions, and our doctrine before God, and to whomsoever it belongs to judge us."

The ministers object to him, that the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ is alone spoken of in Scripture; "My kingdom is not of this world," are his own words.

The king. "I clearly comprehend your argument touching the spiritual kingdom of Jesus, and do not contravene the texts you quote. But you must distinguish the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ, which has reference to the time of suffering, and of which, after all, neither you nor Luther have any clear notion, from that other kingdom, which, after the resurrection, will be established in this world for a thousand years. All the texts which treat of the spiritual kingdom of Jesus, relate to the time of suffering; but those which we find in the prophets and the Apocalypse, and which treat of the temporal kingdom, refer to the time of glory and of power, which Jesus will enjoy in this world with his followers. Our kingdom of Munster was an image of this temporal kingdom of Christ's. You know that God announces many things by figures. We believed that our kingdom

would last until the coming of the Lord; but we now see our error on this point, and that of our prophets. However, since we have been in prison, God has revealed to us the true understanding . . I am not ignorant that you commonly refer those passages to Christ's spiritual kingdom, which ought to be understood of the temporal. But of what use are these spiritual interpretations, if nothing is to be one day realized! . . . God's chief object in creating the world, was to take pleasure in men, to whom he has given a reflection of his strength and his power."

The ministers. "And how will you justify yourself when God shall ask you on the day of judgment, 'Who made you king! Who ordered you to diffuse such frightful errors, to the great detriment of my word!'"

The king. "I shall answer, 'The prophets of Munster ordered me so to do, as being your divine will; in proof whereof they pledged me their body and soul.'"

The ministers enquire what divine revelations he enjoyed touching his elevation to the throne.

The king. "I was vouchsafed no revelation; only thoughts came into my head, that there must be a king in Munster, and that I must be that king. These thoughts deeply agitated and afflicted me. I prayed to God to deign to consider my inability, and not to load me with such a burden; but if he willed otherwise, I besought him to grant that I should be designated as the chosen person by prophets worthy of faith, and in possession of his word, so held my peace, and communicated my thoughts to no one. But a fortnight afterwards, a prophet arose in the midst of the people, and proclaimed that God had made known to him that John of Leyden was to be king. He announced the same to the council, who immediately divested themselves of their power and proclaimed me king. He, likewise, placed in my hand the sword of justice. On this wise it was that I became king."

SECOND ARTICLE. *The king.* "We only resisted the authorities because they forbade us our baptism and God's word, and we resisted to violence. You assert that we acted wrongfully therein, but does not St. Peter say, that we are to obey God rather than men! . . . You would not pass wholesale condemnation on what we have done, did you know how those things took place." . . .

The ministers. "Set off and justify your acts as you may, you will not the less be rebels and guilty of high treason. The Christian is bound to suffer; and though the whole council had been of your party, (which was not the case,) you ought to have borne with violence rather than have begun such a schism, sedition, and tyranny, in opposition alike to the word of God, the majesty of the emperor, the royal dignity, and that of the electorate, and princes and states of the empire."

The king. "We know what we have done; God be our judge."

The ministers. "We, too, know the foundation we have for what we say: God be our judge, likewise!"

THIRD ARTICLE. *The king.* "We have been besieged and destroyed on account of God's holy word; for it, have suffered hunger and all evils, have lost our friends, and have fallen into this frightful calamity! Those of us who still live will die unresistingly, and uncomplainingly, like the slaughtered lamb." . . .

FIFTH ARTICLE. The king said, that he had long been of Zwingle's opinion; but that he returned to the belief in transubstantiation. Only he does not grant his interlocutors that it is operant in him who is without faith.

SIXTH ARTICLE. ". . . What then do ye make of Jesus Christ, if he did not receive flesh and blood from his mother Mary? Will you have him to have been a phantom, a spectre? Our Urbanus Regius must print a second book to teach to understand your native tongue, or your asses' heads will always be impervious to instruction."

The king. "If you knew the infinite consolation contained in the knowledge that Jesus Christ, God and Son of the living God, became man, and shed his blood, not Mary's, to redeem our sins (He who is without blemish), you would not speak as you do, and you would not entertain such contempt for our belief."

SEVENTH ARTICLE. *On Polygamy.* The king objects to the ministers the examples of the patriarchs. The ministers entrench themselves behind the generally established custom of modern times, and declare marriage to be *res politica*. The king contends that it is better to have many wives than many harlots, and concludes again with the words, "God be our judge."

Although drawn up by the ministers themselves, the impression left by a perusal of this document is not favourable to them. One cannot help admiring the firmness, good sense, and modest simplicity of the king of Munster, which were made more conspicuous still by the pedantic harshness of his interlocutors.

Corvinus and Kymeus to the Christian reader: "We have reported our conversation with the king, almost word for word, without omitting one of his arguments; only we have put them into our own language, and stated them more scholarly. About a week after, he sent to beg us to confer again with him. We had a fresh discussion, which lasted two days. We found him more docile than the first time, but only saw in this a desire to save his life. He voluntarily declared, that if pardoned, he would, with the help of Melchior Hoffman, and his queens, exhort to silence and obedience all the Anabaptists, who, according to him, are very numerous in Holland, Brabant, England, and Frisia; and even get them to baptize their children, until arrangements could be entered into with the civil power with regard to their religion." . . . There follows a new profession of faith, in which John of Leyden, whilst exhorting the Anabaptists to obedience, gives it to be understood that he means outward obedience only. He recants none of his peculiar doctrines, and desires liberty of conscience. With regard to the Eucharist, he declares all his brethren to be Zwinglians, but states that God has shown him his error on this point whilst in prison. This confession is signed in Dutch: *I, John of Leyden, signed with my own hand.*

On the 19th of January, 1536, John of Leyden, and Knipperdolling and Krechting, his vicar and his lieutenant, were removed from their dungeons; and the next day the bishop sent his chaplain to confer with them separately on their belief and acts. The king testified repentance and retracted; but the two others justified all they had done. . . . The morning of the 22nd all the gates of Munster were closed; and, about eight o'clock, the king,

stripped to the waist, was led to a scaffold erected in the market-place, which was guarded by two hundred foot soldiers and three hundred horse, and crowded with spectators. He was bound to a post, and two executioners tore off his flesh by turns with red-hot pincers, until at last one of them plunged a knife into his breast, and so finished the execution, which had lasted for an hour. "At the three first wrenches of the pincers the king uttered no cry; but, afterwards, kept incessantly exclaiming, with eyes raised to heaven, '*O my Father, take pity on me!*' and he prayed to God earnestly to forgive him his sins. When he felt himself sinking, he exclaimed: '*O my Father, I yield my spirit into thy hands,*' and expired. His dead body was flung upon a hurdle, and dragged to the open place in front of St. Lambert's tower, where three iron panniers were ready, into one of which it was put, and secured with chains, and then hoisted to the top of the tower, where it was suspended by a hook. Knipperdolling and Krechting were executed in the same horrible manner; and their bodies placed in the two other panniers, and suspended on either side of John of Leyden's, only not so high."

Luther's preface to the News of the Anabaptists of Munster:—"Ah! what and how ought I to write against or upon these poor people of Munster! Is it not clear that the devil reigns there in person, or, rather, that there is a whole troop of devils! Let us, however, recognize here the infinite grace and mercy of God. After Germany, by innumerable blasphemies and the blood of so many innocents, has deserved so severe a rod, still the Father of all mercy withholds the devil from striking his deadliest blow, and gives us paternal warning by the gross game Satan is playing at Munster. God's power constrains the spirit of a hundred wiles to set about his work awkwardly and unskilfully, in order to allow us time to escape by repentance from the better-aimed blows reserved for us. In fact, for the spirit who seeks to deceive the world to begin by taking women, by stretching forth the hand to grasp honours and the kingly sword, or else, by slaughtering people, is too gross. All can see that such a spirit only seeks its own elevation, and to crush all besides. To deceive, you should don a grey gown, assume a sad and piteous air, refuse money, eat no meat, fly women like poison, reject as damnable all temporal power, refuse the sword, then stoop gently down and stealthily pick up crown, sword, and keys. A show like this might deceive even the wise and spiritual. There were a fine devil, with feathers finer than peacock or pheasant! But to seize the crown so impudently, to take not only one wife, but as many as caprice and lust dictates! Ah! this is the act of a devilkin in his horn-book; or else, of the true Satan, the learned and able Satan, but fagoted by God's hands with such potent chains as to be unable to act more cunningly. And so the Lord warns us to dread his chastisements, lest he leave the field free to a learned devil, who will attack us, not with the A, B, C, but with the true text, the difficult text. If he does such things as a devilkin at school, what would he not do as a rational, wise, learned, lawyer-like doctor of divinity devil!

". . . When God, in his wrath, deprives us of his word, no deceit of the devil's is too gross. The first attempts of Mahomet were gross; yet, God interposing no obstacle in his way, a damnable and infamous empire has grown up, as all the world knows: and if God had not been our aid against Münzer, a Turkish empire would have arisen through him, like unto Mahomet's. In fine, no spark is so small, but that, if God suffers the devil to blow at it, a fire may be kindled to consume the whole world. The best weapon against the devil is the sword of the Spirit, the word of God. The devil is a spirit, and laughs at cuirass, horse, and horseman. But our lords, bishops, and princes will not allow the Gospel to be preached, and souls to be rescued from the devil by the divine word: they think throat-cutting sufficient, and so rob the devil of bodies whilst leaving him souls. They will succeed in like manner as the Jews, who thought to exterminate Christ by crucifying him. . . . The Munsterites, among other blasphemies, speak of the birth of Jesus Christ as if he did not come (such is their language) of the seed of Mary, and yet was of the seed of David. But they do not explain themselves clearly. The devil keeps the hot soup in his mouth, and only mutters *mum, mum*, meaning, probably, to infer worse. All that one can make out is, that according to them, Mary's seed or flesh cannot redeem us. Well, devil! mutter and spit as you list, that one little word *born* overthrows all you say. In all tongues, and over all the earth, the child of flesh and blood, who issues from the entrails of woman, is said to be *born*, and nothing else. Now, Scripture every where says, that Jesus Christ is *born* of his mother Mary, and is her first-born. So speak Isaiah, Gabriel, &c. 'Thou shalt conceive, &c.' *To conceive*, my duck, does not mean to be a funnel through which water flows (according to the Manichean blasphemy), but that a child is taken out of the flesh and blood of his mother, is nourished in her, grows in her, and is at last brought into the world. The other tenet maintained by these folk, namely, that infant baptism is a pagan rite, is similarly gross. And since they regard all that the wicked possess as unholy, why did they not reject the gold, silver, and other goods they took from the wicked in Munster! They ought to coin quite new gold and silver. . . Their wicked kingdom is so visibly a kingdom of gross imposture and revolt, that it recks not to speak of it. I have already said too much."

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1536 — 1545.

LATTER YEARS OF LUTHER'S LIFE.—POLYGAMY OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, &c.

THE momentary union of the Catholics and Protestants against the Anabaptists, left them only the greater enemies. A general council was talked of; but the pope dreaded it, and the Protestants rejected it beforehand. "I hear from the diet that the emperor urges a council on our friends, and is indignant at their refusal. I cannot understand these monstrosities. The pope asserts that heretics cannot sit in a council; the emperor wishes us to consent to the council and its decrees. Perhaps God is turning them mad. . . . But their mad design, no doubt, is, that since pope, emperor, church, and diets have failed, they will try to cry us down by representing us as so lost and desperate, as to reject the council which we have so often

for. See Satan's cleverness against the poor a God, who, undoubtedly, will be put to it to such well-laid snares! . . . Now, it is the who will make a mock of them who mock If we agree to a council so disposed towards y did we not five-and-twenty years since : to the pope, the lord of councils and to all ls?" (July 9th, 1545.)

uncil might have concentrated the catholic shy, but could not have re-established the f the church. The question could be settled is only. The Protestants had already driven strians out of Wirtemberg, had despoiled of Brunswick, who was turning the execu- the decrees of the Imperial Chamber into a of profit for himself, and were encouraging bishop of Cologne to follow the example of of Brandenburg, and secularize his arch- ric, which would have given them a majority electoral council. However, some attempts till made at reconciliation, and conferences ly opened at Worms and Ratisbon (A.D. 1541), at which Luther did not even think it ary to be present. He writes that he hears Melanchthon that the numbers of learned per- s, from all quarters, in the synod at Worms, s all precedent; and, speaking of the strata- esorted to by the Catholic party, says, "One fancy one saw Satan himself, with the break running to and fro in a vain search for some rk enough to shut out the light which pur- im." (Jan. 9th, 1541.) Luther's opinion sired upon ten articles, which had been upon by the two parties, when the elector, g that they were about to be forwarded with- ng first submitted to him, drew up a reply f; an interference which would have aroused 's indignation some years before, but by this e seems to have felt wearied and disgusted he consciousness that his labours to re- sh evangelical purity, had only furnished the f the earth with the means of satisfying their rial ambition. "Our excellent prince has given conditions of peace to read, which he intends ose to the emperor and our adversaries. I t they consider the whole affair as a comedy layed amongst them, whilst it is a tragedy be- od and Satan, in which Satan triumphs, and humiliated. But the catastrophe will come, he Almighty, author of this tragedy, will the victory." (April 4th, 1541.)

noticed at an early period of this narrative, lancholy state of dependance in which the ation was placed on the princes that es- the cause. Luther had time to foresee the

These princes were men, with men's s and passions; and hence concessions, without being contrary to the principles of formation, seemed to redound little to the of the reformers. The most warlike of rinces, the hot-headed landgrave of Hesse, ted to Luther and the Protestant ministers, s health would not allow of his confining to one wife. His instructions to Bucer for otiation of this matter with the theologians temberg, are a curious mixture of sensuality, ious fears, and of daring simplicity. "Ever I have been married," he writes, "I have a adultery and fornication; and as I won't this way of living, I cannot present myself at the holy table; for St. Paul has said, that the adulterer shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." He proceeds to state the reasons which drive him into this course: "My wife is neither good-looking nor good-tempered; she is not sweet; she drinks, and my chamberlains can tell what she then does, &c. I am of a warm complexion, as the physicians can prove; and as I often attend the imperial diets, where the body is pampered with high living, how am I to manage there without a wife, especially as I can't be always taking a seraglio about with me? . . . How can I punish fornication and other crimes, when all may turn round and say, 'Master, begin with yourself?' . . . Were I to take up arms for the Gospel's sake, I could only do so with a troubled conscience, for I should say to myself, 'If you die in this war, you go to the devil.' . . . I have read both the Old and New Testament carefully, and find no other help indicated than to take a second wife; and I ask before God, why cannot I do what Abraham, Jacob, David, Lamech, and Solomon have done?" The question of polygamy had been agitated from the very beginning of Protestantism, which professed to restore the world to scriptural life; and, whatever his repugnance, Luther durst not condemn the Old Testament. Besides, the Protestants held marriage to be *res politica*, and subject to the regulations of the civil power. Luther, too, had already held, theoretically, and without advising it to be put in practice, the very doctrine advanced by the landgrave. He had written years before: . . . "I confess, I cannot say that polygamy is repugnant to Holy Scripture, yet would not have the practice introduced amongst Christians, who ought to abstain even from what is lawful, in order to avoid scandal, and in order to maintain that *honestas* (decorum) which St. Paul requireth under all circumstances." (Jan. 13th, 1524.) "Polygamy is not allowable amongst Christians, except in cases of absolute necessity, as when a man is forced to separate from a leprous wife, &c." . . . (March 21st, 1527.) Having one day put the case to doctor Basilius, whether a man, whose wife was afflicted with some incurable malady, might take a concubine, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, Luther observed, "It would be of dangerous precedent, since excuses might be daily invented for procuring divorces." (A.D. 1539.)

Luther was greatly embarrassed by the landgrave's message. All the theologians of Wittemberg assembled to draw up an answer, and the result was a compromise. He was allowed a double marriage, on condition that his second wife should not be publicly recognized. "Your highness must be aware of the difference between establishing a universal and granting an exceptional law. . . . We cannot publicly sanction a plurality of wives. . . . We pray your highness to consider the dangers in which a man would stand who should introduce a law that would disunite families, and plunge them into endless law-suits. . . . Your highness's constitution is weak, you sleep badly, and your health requires every care. . . . The great Scanderbeg often exhorted his soldiers to chastity, saying that nothing was so injurious in their calling as incontinence. . . . We pray your highness seriously to take into consideration the scandals, cares, labours, griefs, and infirmities herein brought under your notice. . . . If, never-

theless, your highness is fully resolved to take a second wife, we are of opinion that the marriage should be secret. . . . Given at Wittemberg, after the festival of St. Nicholas, 1539.—MARTIN LUTHER, PHILIP MELANCHTHON, MARTIN BUCER, ANTONY CORVIN, ADAM, JOHN LENING, JUSTIN WINTFERT, DYONISIUS MELANTHER."

It was hard for Luther, who, both as theologian and as a father of a family, was identified with the sanctity of the marriage tie, to declare that in virtue of the Old Testament two wives might seat themselves, with their jealousies and their hates, at the same domestic hearth; and he groaned under this cross. "As to the *Macedonian* business, grieve not overmuch, since things are come to that pass, that neither joy nor sadness availeth. Why kill ourselves? Why allow sorrow to banish the thoughts of him who has overcome all deaths and all sorrows? Did not he who conquered the devil and judged the prince of this world, at the self-same time judge and conquer this scandal? . . . Let Satan triumph, and let us be neither chagrined nor grieved, but let us rejoice in Christ, who will discomfit all our enemies." (June 18th, 1540.) He seems to have looked to the emperor's interfering. "If Cæsar and the empire will, as they perforce must, put a stop to this scandal, an edict will soon stay it, and prevent its being hereafter used as either a right or an example." From this time forward, Luther's letters, and those of Melanchthon, are full of disgust and sadness.

On Luther's being asked for a letter of recommendation to the court of Dresden, he replies, that he has lost all credit and influence there; in that "worldly court," as he sometimes calls it. To a friend (Lauterbach) he writes: "I will be present at your marriage in mind, not in body, being hindered, not only by pressure of business, but by the fear of offending the Mamelukes and queen of the kingdom (the duchess Catherine of Saxony?) for who is not offended with Luther's folly?" "You ask me, my dear Jonas, to write an occasional word of comfort to you. But I stand much more in need of your letters to revive me, who, like Lot, have so much to endure in the midst of this infamous and Satanic ingratitude, this horrible contempt for the Lord's word. . . . I must, then, see Satan take possession of the hearts of those who fancy that the chiefest seats in the kingdom of Heaven are reserved for them alone!" The Protestants were already beginning to relax from their severity of manners, and the bagnios were reopened. "Better," exclaims Luther, "not to have driven out Satan, than to bring him back in greater force." (Sept. 13th, 1540.)

"The pope, the emperor, the Frenchman, and Ferdinand, have despatched a magnificent embassy to the Turks to demand peace . . . . and, last of all, for fear of offending the eyes of the Turks, the ambassadors have put themselves into Turkish robes. I trust these are blessed signs of the approaching end of all things!" (July 17th, 1545.)

To Jonas. "Hark in thy ears! I shrewdly suspect that we Lutherans shall be packed off to fight the Turks single-handed. King Ferdinand has removed the war-chest from Bohemia, and forbade a single soldier to stir, and the emperor does nothing; as if it were settled that we should be exterminated by the Turks." (Dec. 29th, 1542.) "Nothing new here, except that the margrave of Brandenburg is getting evil spoken of by every one, with regard to the war in Hungary. They speak just the same of Ferdinand. I descry so many and such probable reasons for it, that I cannot help believing there is horrible and deadly treachery there." (Jan. 26th, 1542.) "I ask, what will be the end of this horrible treachery of the princes and kings?" (Dec. 16th, 1543.) "May God avenge us on the incendiaries (Luther speaks, almost every month, of fires occurring at Wittemberg). Satan has devised a new plan for getting rid of us. Our wine is poisoned, and lime mixed with our milk. Twelve persons have been killed by poisoned wine at Jena. Perhaps they died of excess of drink; but at all events, it is given out for certain that dealers have been detected selling poisoned milk at Magdeburg and Northuse." (April, 1541.) He writes to Amsdorf, on occasion of the plague at Magdeburg: "What you tell me of the alarm felt of the plague, reminds me of what I observed some years since; and I am surprised to see that the more life in Christ Jesus is preached, the stronger grows the fear of death; whether this fear were lessened, during the reign of the pope, by a false hope of life, and that now the true hope of life is placed before the people, they feel how weak nature is to believe in the conqueror of death, or that God tempts us by these weaknesses, and allows Satan to grow bolder and stronger on account of this alarm! Whilst we believed in the pope, we were as drunkards, men asleep, or fools, mistaking death for life, that is, ignorant of the nature of death and of God's wrath. Now that the light has shone upon us, and that God's wrath is better known, nature has shaken off sleep and folly, and hence greater fear than before. . . . Here I apply the passage of the seventy-first Psalm, '*Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me.*' For I think that these are the latter days of Christ, and the time of casting down; that is, the time of the last great assault of the devil, as David, in his latter days, weakened by years, would have fallen before the giant, had not Abishai come to his aid. . . . I have learnt almost all this year to sing with St. Paul, '*As dying, and behold, we live;*' and '*By your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily.*' When he says to the Corinthians, '*In deaths oft,*' this was not meditating or speculating on death, but the sensation of death itself, as if hope of life there were none." (Nov. 20th, 1538.) "I trust that with this rending of the world, Christ will hasten his coming and crush the globe to atoms, *ut fractus illabatur orbis.*" (Feb. 12th, 1538.)

BOOK THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1530—1546.

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER'S CONVERSATIONS ON DOMESTIC LIFE, ON WIVES AND CHILDREN, AND ON NATURE.

Let us pause in this sad history of the last years of his public life, and retire with Luther into his private life, seat ourselves at his table, by the side of his wife, and in the midst of his children and friends, and listen to the grave words of the pious and tender father of a family.

"The man who insults preachers and women, will never succeed well. From women proceed children, the future heads of families and of the state. To despise them, is to despise God and man." "The Saxon law is too hard in giving the widow a chair and her distaff only. The first we should interpret to mean, a house; the second, her maintenance. We pay our lacquey; what do I say, we give more to a beggar?" "There can be no doubt, that women who die in the faith in childbearing, are saved, because they die fulfilling the end for which God created them." "In the Low Countries, the priest, on his induction, chooses some little girl as his betrothed, in sign of honouring the marriage state."

Luther being asked whether a Christian preacher, who is bound to suffer imprisonment and persecution for the word's sake, ought not much more to do without marriage? replied: "It is easier to endure imprisonment than desire, as I know in my own person. The more I strove to macerate and subdue the flesh, the more I lusted. Even though gifted with chastity, one ought to marry to spite the pope. . . . Had I been seized with a fatal illness, I should have wished to summon some pious maid to my death-bed, and wed her, presenting her with two silver goblets as a wedding-gift and morrow's present (*morgengabe*), in order to show how I honoured marriage." To a friend he writes: "If you lust, marry. You want a wife at once beautiful, pious, and rich. Well, you can have one painted, with red cheeks and white limbs, and such are the most pious; but they are worth nothing for kitchen or couch. . . . No one will ever have to repent rising early and marrying young. . . . It is no more possible to do without a wife than without eating and drinking. Conceived, nourished, borne within the body of woman, our flesh is mainly hers, and it is impossible for us ever to separate wholly from her. . . . Had I wished to make love, I should have taken thirteen years ago to Ave Schonfeldin, who is now the wife of doctor Basilius, the Prussian physician. At that time I did not love my Catherine, whom I suspected of being proud and haughty; but it was God's will; it was his will that I should take pity on her, and I have cause, God be praised, to be satisfied."

"The greatest grace God can bestow is to have a good and pious husband, with whom you may live in peace, to whom you can trust every thing, even your body and your life, and by whom you have little children. Catherine, thou hast a pious husband, who loves thee; thou art an empress. Thanks be to God!"

Alluding to immorality in men, Luther observed: "Let them know that they are, after all, but despisers of the sex, who were not created for their brutal pleasures. . . 'Tis a great thing for a young girl to be always loved, and the devil but seldom allows it. . . My hostess of Eisenach said well, when I was a student there: '*There is no sweeter pleasure upon earth than to be loved by a woman.*'"

"On St. Martin's day (doctor Martin Luther's birth-day), master Ambrosius Brend came to ask him his niece in marriage. . . . One day, surprising them in close conversation, he burst out laughing, and said: 'I am not surprised at a lover having so much to say to his mistress; can they ever tire? We must not put them out of the way; they have a privilege above law and custom!' When he betrothed her to him, he addressed him as follows:—'Sir, and dear friend, I give you this young maid, such as God in his goodness gave her unto me. I confide her to your hands. May God bless you, sanctify your union, and make it happy!'" "Being present at the marriage of John Luffte's daughter, he led her to her bed after supper, and said to the husband, that, according to common custom, he was to be master of the house . . . . when the wife was not in it; and, in token of this, he took one of the husband's shoes, and put it on the top of the bed, showing that he so assumed dominion and government."

Being one day in very high spirits at table, "Be not scandalized," he said, "to see me so merry. I have heard a great deal of bad news to-day, and have just read a letter violently abusing me. Our affairs must be going on well, since the devil is storming so!"

"Were I to make love again, I would have an obedient wife carved for me in stone; I should despair of getting one any other way." "Strange thoughts come into one's head the first year of marriage. When at table, one says to oneself, 'Just now thou wert alone, now thou art two' (*selbander*). On awaking, one sees another head by the side of one's own. The first year my Catherine used to sit by me whilst I was studying, and, not knowing what to say, she asked me, 'Sir doctor, in Prussia, is not the *máitre d'hôtel* the margrave's brother?'" "There should be no delay between the betrothals and the marriage. . . Friends interpose obstacles. . . . . All my best friends kept crying, 'Don't take her, take another.'" "A sure sign that God is hostile to the papacy is, that he has refused it the blessing of corporeal fruit (children). . . . When Eve was brought before Adam, he was filled with the Holy Ghost, and gave her the most beautiful and glorious of names, calling her *Eva*, that is, mother of all living. He did not call her his wife, but mother, mother of all living. This is woman's glory, and

most precious ornament. She is *Fons omnium viventium*, the source of all human life; a brief phrase, but such as neither Demosthenes nor Cicero could have expressed. The Holy Ghost here speaks by our first father, and having passed so noble a eulogy on marriage, it is but right in us to extenuate the weaknesses of women. No more did Jesus Christ, the Son of God, despise marriage. He is himself born of woman, which is a high testimony to marriage."

"We find an image of marriage in all creatures, not only in birds, beasts, and fishes, but in trees and stones too. Every one knows that there are trees, like the apple and the pear tree, which are, as it were, husband and wife, which desiderate each other, and which thrive more when they are planted together. The same is observable of stones, especially precious stones, such as the coral, emerald, and others. The sky, also, is the husband of the earth, vivifying it by the warmth of the sun, by the rain and the wind, and so leading it to bear all sorts of plants and fruits."

The doctor's little children were standing before the table, anxiously watching the fishes that were being served up, when he remarked,—"If you wish to see the image of a soul in the fruition of hope, there it is. Ah! would we could look forward to the life to come with the same delight." His little girl, Madeleine, being brought in to sing to her cousin the song beginning, *The pope invokes the emperor and the kings*, &c., and refusing, notwithstanding coaxing and threats, the doctor said, "Nothing good comes of force: without grace, the works of the law are valueless." "I see nothing contradictory in the injunction, *Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling*. My little John does so with regard to me, but I cannot with regard to God. When writing, or otherwise busied, he will begin a little song, and if he sing too loud, and I check him, he will go on, but to himself, and with a touch of fear. So God wishes us to be always cheerful, yet with awe and reserve." One new-year's day, he and his wife were exceedingly put out at being unable to still the baby, who kept on screaming more than an hour; at last, he said, "These are the vexations of married life. . . . This is the reason none of the Fathers has written any thing remarkably good on the subject. Jerome has spoken degradingly, I should almost say in an anti-Christian spirit, of marriage. . . . St. Augustin on the contrary." . . . His wife placing his youngest child in his arms, he observed, "Would I had died at this age; willingly would I forego any honour I may obtain in this world to die an infant!" The child dirtying him, he said, "Oh! how much more must our Lord endure with us than a mother with her child." He addressed his baby with, "Thou art our Lord's innocent little fool, living under grace and not under the law. Thou art without fear or anxiety, and all that thou doest is well done." "Children are the happiest. We old fools are ever distressing ourselves with disputes about the word, constantly asking ourselves, 'Is it true? Is it possible? How can it be possible?' Children, in their pure and guileless faith, have no doubts on matters appertaining to salvation. . . . Like them, we ought to trust for salvation to the simple word; but the devil is ever throwing some stumbling-block in our way." Another time, as his wife was giving the breast to his little Martin, he said, "The pope and duke George hate this child, and all belonging to me, as do their partizans and the devil. However, they give no uneasiness to the dear child, and he does not concern himself what such powerful enemies may do. He sticks to the teat, or crows laughingly aloud, and leaves them to grumble their fill." One day, that Spalatin and Lenhart Beier, pastor of Zwickau, were with him, he pointed to his little Martin playing with a doll, and said, "Even such were man's thoughts in Paradise, simple, innocent, and free from malice or hypocrisy; he must have been like this child when he speaks of God and is so sure of him. What must have been Abraham's feelings when he consented to offer up his only son! He said nothing of it to Sarah; he could not! Of a verity, I should dispute God's commands were he to order me such a thing." On this, the doctor's wife broke in with, "I will not believe that God can ask any one to kill his own child."

"Ah! how my heart sighed after mine own, when I lay sick to death at Smalkalde. I thought that I should never more see my wife or little ones; and how agonizing was the thought! . . . . There is no one who can so overcome the flesh, as not to feel this bent of nature. Great is the force of the social tie which knits man and wife together."

It is touching to see how each thing that attracted his notice led Luther to pious reflections on the goodness of God, on the state of man before the fall, and on the life to come; as, on Dr. Jonas laying on his table a fine bough laden with cherries, his wife's delight on serving up a dish of fish from their own pond, the mere sight of a rose, &c. . . . On the 9th of April, 1539, as the doctor was in his garden, gazing attentively at the trees, resplendent with flowers and foliage, he exclaimed with admiration, "Glory be to God, who thus calls to life inanimate creation in the spring. Look at those graceful branches, already big with fruit. Fine image this of man's resurrection: winter is death; summer the resurrection!" After a violent storm on the evening of the 18th of April, 1539, followed by a kindly rain, which restored the verdure of the fields and trees, he exclaimed, looking up to heaven, "This is thy gift, O my God, and to us ingrates, full of wickedness and covetousness. Thou art a God of goodness! This was no work of Satan's; no, 'twas a beneficent thunder, shaking the earth, and opening it to make it bear its fruits and spread a perfume similar to that diffused by the prayer of the pious Christian." Another day, walking on the Leipsic road, and seeing the whole plain covered with the finest wheat, Luther exclaimed, with exceeding fervour, "O God of goodness, this fruitful year is thy gift! Not for our piety is this, but to glorify thy holy name. Grant, O my God, that we may amend our lives and increase in thy Word! With thee all is miracle. Thy voice brings out of the earth, and even out of the arid sand, those plants and those beauteous ears of wheat which gladden the sight. O, my Father, give all thy children their daily bread!" One evening, noticing a little bird perched on a tree as if to take up its roost for the night, he said, "This little thing has chosen its shelter, and is going peacefully to sleep; it does not disturb itself with thoughts of where it shall rest to-morrow, but composes itself tranquilly on its little branch,

and leaves God to think for it." Towards evening, two birds began to build their nest in the doctor's garden, but were frequently disturbed by the passers by: "Ah!" he exclaimed, "dear little birds, don't fly away; I wish you well with all my heart, if you would only believe me! Even so we refuse to trust in God, who, far from wishing our harm, has given his own Son for us."

CHAPTER II.

THE BIBLE.—THE FATHERS.—THE SCHOOLMEN.—THE POPE.—COUNCILS.

Doctor Martin Luther had written with chalk on the wall, behind his stove, the following words:—"He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much." (Luke xvi. 10.) "The little infant Jesus (he showed him painted on the wall) is sleeping in the arms of Mary, his mother. He will awake one day, and demand an account of what we have done." One day that Dr. Jonas was by, whilst Luther was being shaved, the latter said to him: "Original sin is within us, like the beard. We take it off to-day, and have a smooth face; to-morrow, it is grown again, and it will not cease growing whilst we live. Just so, original sin cannot be extirpated in us; but springs up our life long. Nevertheless, we ought to resist it with all our strength, and cut it off without delay." "Human nature is so corrupt as not even to feel a want of heavenly things. It is like a new-born child, to whom one would promise in vain all the treasures and pleasures the earth yields; the child is without a thought, and knows but its mother's breast. In like manner, when the Gospel speaks to us of eternal life through Christ Jesus, we turn a deaf ear, harden ourselves in the flesh, and indulge in frivolous and perishable thoughts. Human nature does not comprehend, does not even feel, the mortal ill which weighs it down." "In divine things, the Father is the *Grammar*, for he imparts words, and is the source whence flow good, pure, and harmonious sayings. The Son is *Logic*, and suggests arrangement, order, and sequence of ideas. The Holy Ghost is *Rhetoric*, states, presses home, enlarges, and gives life and strength, so as to impress and hold the hearers' hearts." "The Trinity occurs throughout creation. In the sun are substance, light, and heat; in rivers, substance, current, and force. So, in the arts: in astronomy are motion, light, and influence; in music, the three notes, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c. The schoolmen have neglected these important signs for silly trifles." "The decalogue is the *doctrine of doctrines*; the creed, the *history of histories*; the Lord's prayer, the *prayer of prayers*; the sacraments, the *ceremonies of ceremonies*."

On his being asked whether those who had lived in the darkness of popery, and had not known the blessing of the Gospel, could be saved? Luther replied: "I know not, save, perhaps, through baptism. I have seen the cross held out to many monks, on their death-bed, as was then the custom, and they may have been saved by their faith in Christ's merits and sufferings." "Cicero is far superior in his moral doctrine to Aristotle, and was a wise and laborious man, who did and who suffered much. I hope that our Lord will be merciful unto him and all like unto him; albeit it belongs not to us to speak with certainty. That God should not make exceptions and establish distinctions between pagans, is what one cannot say. There will be a new heaven and a new earth much larger and vaster than those of our day." Being asked whether the offended party ought to seek pardon of the offender, Luther replied, "No; Jesus Christ himself has set us no example, and has left us no command of the kind. It is enough to pardon offences in one's heart; and publicly, if convenient, and prayed so to do. I, indeed, once went to ask pardon of two persons who had offended me, but they happened to be from home; and I now thank God that I was not allowed to execute my purpose." Sighing one day at the thought of the sectaries who despised God's word, "Ah!" he exclaimed, "were I a great poet, I would write a magnificent poem on the utility and efficacy of the divine word. Without it. . . . For many years I have read the Bible twice a year; 'tis a great and mighty tree, each word of which is a branch. I have shaken them all, so curious was I to know what each branch bore, and each time I have shaken off a couple of pears or apples." "Formerly, under papal rules, men used to go on pilgrimages to the saints, to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. James of Compostella, to expiate their sins. Now we may make Christian pilgrimages in the faith. When we read attentively the prophets, the psalms, and the gospels, we peregrinate, not through the holy city, but through our thoughts and hearts, to God. That is visiting the true promised land, and the paradise of life eternal." "What are the saints compared with Christ? Nothing more than small drops of night-dew on the beard of the bridegroom and in the curls of his hair."

Luther did not like the miracles to be dwelt upon, considering this kind of proof as secondary. "The convincing proofs are in God's word. Our opponents read the translated Bible much more than we. I believe that duke George has read it more carefully than all the nobles on our side together. 'Provided,' I hear he has said, 'provided the monk have finished the translation of the Bible, he may be off when he likes.'" He used to say that Melanchthon had forced him to translate the New Testament.

"Let our adversaries fume and rage. God has not opposed a wall of stone or a mountain of brass to the waves of the sea; a bank of sand has been enough."

"In my early days, whilst a monk, I used to be fond of reading my Bible, but to no use; I merely made Christ a Moses. Now I have found my beloved Christ. May I be thankful, and stedfast, and suffer for his sake what I may be called upon to suffer." "Why do we teach and keep the ten commandments? The reason is, that nowhere is the natural law so well arranged and laid down as in Moses. I wish we had borrowed from him in temporal things as well; such as the laws with regard to *the bill of divorcement*, the jubilee, the year of release, tithes, &c.; the world would be all the better governed. . . . So, the Romans took their Twelve Tables from the Greeks. . . . As regards the Sabbath or Sunday, there is no necessity for keeping it; but if we do, it ought to be, not on account of Moses' commandment, but be-

cause nature teaches us from time to time to take a day of rest, in order that men and animals may recruit their strength, and that we may attend the preaching of God's word. Since there is now-a-days a general movement towards restoring all things, as if the day of the universal restoration were come, it has come into my head to try whether Moses also cannot be restored, and the rivers recalled to their source. I have taken care to treat every subject in the simplest fashion, and to avoid mystical interpretations as they are called. . . . I see no other reason for God's choosing to form the Jewish people by these ceremonies, than his knowledge of their aptness to be caught by externals. To prevent these being empty phantoms and mere images, he added his word to give them weight and substance, and render them grave and serious matters. I have subjoined to each chapter brief allegories; not that I set much store by them, but to anticipate the mania many have for allegorical writing; as we perceive in Jerome, Origen, and other ancient writers an unfortunate and sterile habit of devising allegories to recommend morality and works, whereas it is the word and faith that ought to be insisted on." (April, 1525.)

"My prayer is the *Pater Noster;* and I am in the habit of blending with it something from the Psalms, in order to confound false teachers, and cover them with shame. There is no prayer comparable to the *Pater;* I prefer it to any Psalm *." "I frankly own that I know not whether or no I am master of the full meaning of the Psalms; although I have no doubts about my giving their correct sense. One man will be mistaken in some passages; another, in others. I see things which Augustin overlooked; and others, I am aware, will see things which I miss. Who will dare to assert that he has completely understood a single Psalm? Our life is a beginning and a progress; not a consummation. He is the best, who comes nearest to the Spirit. There are stages in life and action, why not in understanding? The apostle says, that we proceed from knowledge to knowledge."

Of the New Testament. "The Gospel of St. John is the true and pure Gospel, the principal Gospel, because it contains more of Jesus Christ's own words than the rest. In like manner, the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, are far above (!) the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. In fine, St. John's Gospel and his First Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and St. Peter's First Epistle, are the books which show thee Jesus Christ, and which teach thee all that it is necessary and useful for thee to know, though thou wert never to see any other book." He did not consider either the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Epistle of St. James of apostolical authority. He says of that of St. Jude: "No one can deny that this Epistle is an extract from or copy of the Second of St. Peter; the words are almost identical. Jude speaks of the apostles as if he had been their disciple, and that they were dead; and he cites texts and events nowhere to be found in Scripture."

Luther's opinion on the Apocalypse is remarkable: "Every one," he says, "must form his own judgment on this work according to his lights and gifts. I do not wish to force my opinion on any one, but simply speak as I think. I look upon it as being neither apostolic nor prophetic." . . And, in another passage, "Many of the fathers have rejected this book; and it is free to all to think of it as they shall be moved. For my own part, I cannot take to this work. One reason alone would give me a distaste to it; which is, that Jesus Christ is neither adored nor preached in it such as we know him."

Of the Fathers. "You may read Jerome for the sake of the history; of faith, good true religion, and doctrine, there is not a word in his works. I have already proscribed Origen. Chrysostom is no authority with me. Basil is but a monk; I would not give a straw for him. Melanchthon's Apology is beyond the writings of all the doctors of the Church, not excepting Augustin; Hilary and Theophylact are good, Ambrose also; he walks steadily as to the most essential article, the pardon of sins. Bernard, as a preacher, eclipses all the doctors; in argument, he is quite another man, and grants too much to the law and to free-will. Bonaventura is the best of the scholastic theologians. Amongst the fathers, Augustin holds, incontestably, the first place; Ambrose, the second; Bernard, the third. Tertullian is a true Carlstadt. Cyril has the finest sentences. Cyprian the martyr, is a poor theologian. Theophylact is the best interpreter of St. Paul."—(Arguments to prove that antiquity does not add to authority): "We see how bitterly St. Paul complains of the Corinthians and Galatians; even amongst the apostles, Christ found a traitor in Judas." "There is never anything conclusive in the writings of the Fathers on the Bible; they leave the reader suspended betwixt heaven and earth. Read Chrysostom, the best rhetorician, and speaker of all." He observes, that the Fathers said nothing of justification by grace during their life, but believed in it at their death. "This was more prudent, in order not to encourage mysticism or discourage good works. The dear Fathers have lived better than they have written." He eulogises the history of St. Epiphanius, and the poems of Prudentius. "Of all, Augustin and Hilary have written with most clearness and truth; the rest must be read *cum judicio* (with allowance). Ambrose was mixed up with worldly matters, as I am now; being obliged to busy myself in the consistory with marriage matters, more than with God's word. . . . Bonaventura has been called the seraphic; Thomas, the angelic; Scot, the subtle; Martin Luther will be named the arch-heretic." Observing a portrait of St. Augustin in a book, representing him with a monk's cowl, Luther remarked, "They do the holy man wrong, for he lived just as the world about him, and used silver spoons and cups, not even secluding himself like the monks." "Macarius, Antony, and Benedict have done the Church great and signal injury with their monkery; and I think they will be placed much lower in heaven than a pious, God-fearing citizen, father of a family. St. Augustin pleases me more than all the rest. The doctrine he teaches is pure, and regulated with Christian humility, by Holy Scripture. Augustin is favourable to marriage. He speaks well of the bishops who were the pastors of his day; but years, and his disputes with the Pelagians, embittered and distressed him at the last. . . Had he witnessed the scandals of the papacy, he certainly would not have

* So says Montaigne in his *Essays.*

allowed them. He is the first Father of the Church who wrote on the subject of original sin." After having spoken of St. Augustin, Luther adds, "But since God has given me grace to understand Paul, I have not been able to relish any doctors; they have all become dwarfs in my eyes." "I know none of the Fathers whom I so much dislike as St. Jerome. He writes only on fasting, diet, virginity, &c., not a word on faith. Dr. Staupitz was wont to say, 'I should like to know how Jerome could be saved.'"

"The nominalists are a sect of the upper schools to which I used to belong; they are opposed to the Thomists, Scotists, and Albertists. The name they give themselves is Occanists. They are the newest sect of all, and, at present, the most powerful, especially at Paris." Luther thinks highly of Peter Lombard's *Master of Sentences;* but considers that the schoolmen in general laid too much stress on free-will and too little on grace. "Gerson alone, of all the doctors, has made mention of spiritual temptations. All the rest, Gregory of Nazianzen, Augustin, Scotus, Thomas, Richard, Occam, were conscious of corporal temptations only. Gerson alone has written of discouragement. The Church, in proportion to her advancing years, cannot but experience spiritual temptations of the kind; and we live in this age of the Church. William of Paris, too, felt such temptations in a degree; but the schoolmen never attained the knowledge of the catechism. Gerson is the only one who reassures and revives consciences. . . . He has saved many poor souls from despair by lessening and extenuating the law, yet, so as that the law shall remain. But Christ does not tap the cask, he breaks it in. He says, 'Thou must not trust in the law, nor rely upon it, but upon me, upon Christ. If thou art not good, I am.'" "Dr. Staupitz one day speaking to me of Andrew Zachary, who is said to have overcome John Huss in disputation, told me that Dr. Proles of Gotha seeing a portrait of Zachary, in which he was represented with a rose in his bonnet, exclaimed, 'God defend me from ever wearing such a rose, for he overcame John Huss by a trick, by means of a falsified Bible. You will find in the thirty-fourth of Ezekiel, *Behold, I myself will visit and punish my shepherds**; to which they had added, '*and not the people.*' The members of the council showed him the text in his own Bible, which had been falsified as well as the rest, and then drew the conclusion, it is not your business to punish the pope, as God takes it upon himself. And so the holy man was condemned and burnt.'" "Master John Agricola reading one of John Huss's works, full of spirit, of resignation, and of fervour, in which you saw how in his prison he suffered martyrdom from the stone, and was exposed to the rebukes of the emperor Sigismund, Dr. Luther admired such spirit and courage. . . . . It is most unjust," he exclaimed, "to call John Huss and me heretics. . . John Huss died, not as an anabaptist, but as a Christian. We discern Christian weakness in him; but, at the same time, strength from God arouses his soul and buoys him up. It is sweet and touching to see the struggle betwixt the flesh and the spirit in Christ and in Huss. . . . . Constance is at the present day a poor, wretched city. God, I opine, has chastised it. . . . John Huss was burnt; and I, too, with God's will, believe that I shall be put to death. He rooted out some thorns from Christ's vineyard by only attacking the scandals of the papacy. But I, Dr. Martin Luther, coming into a richly-soiled and well-tilled field, have attacked the pope's doctrine and overthrown it. . . . John Huss was the seed which had to be harrowed in the earth and die, to spring up afterwards and grow with renewed strength. . ."

* In our version, "Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hands . . . that they may not be meat for them."

One day Luther improvised at table the following verse:—

"Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua, Papa*."

"The head of antichrist is at once the pope and the Turk. The pope is antichrist's spirit, the Turk the flesh."

"It is my poor and humble state (not to speak of the justice of my cause) which has been the pope's misfortune. 'If,' he said to himself, 'I have defended my doctrine against so many kings and emperors, why should I fear a simple monk?' Had he looked upon me as a dangerous enemy, he might have crushed me at the outset. . . . I confess that I have often been too violent, but not with regard to the papacy. One ought to have a language on purpose to use against it, every word of which should be a thunderbolt. . . . The papists are confounded and conquered by the testimonies of Scripture. Thank God I know their error under its every aspect, from the *alpha* to the *omega*. Yet, even now, when they confess the Scriptures to be against them, the splendour and majesty of the pope sometimes dazzle me, and I attack him with trembling. . . . The pope said to himself, 'Shall I give way to a monk, who seeks to despoil me of my crown and my majesty? A fool if I do!' I would give both my hands to believe as firmly, as surely in Jesus Christ, as the pope believes Jesus Christ to be nothing. . . . Others, as Erasmus and John Huss, have attacked the morals of the popes. But I have pulled down the two pillars on which the popedom rested—vows and private masses."

Of Councils. "Councils are not for the ordering of faith, but of discipline."

Dr. Martin Luther raised his eyes one day to heaven, sighed, and exclaimed, "Ah! for a general, free, and truly Christian council! God can do it; 'tis his business; he knows and holds in his hand the inmost thoughts of men."

"When Peter Paul Vergerius, the pope's legate, came to Wittemberg in the year 1533, and that I called upon him, he cited and summoned me to appear at the council. 'I will,' I said, adding, 'As for you papists, you labour in vain. If you hold a council, you do not take into consideration the sacraments, justification by faith, good works, but only babbling and childish matters, such as the length of robes, the width of priests' girdles, &c.' He turned away from me, leant his head on his hand, and said to a person with him, 'Of a truth this man goes to the root of the matter.'" It being asked when the pope would convene a council? "There will be none," said Luther, "before the last day, and then our Lord God will himself hold a council." Luther's advice was, not to

* "Pope, I was thy plague living; dying, I shall be thy death."

refuse attending a council, but to require it to be free. "If this be denied, we cannot have a better excuse."

Of Ecclesiastical Property. Luther wished it to be applied to the support of schools, and poor theological students. He deplores the spoliation of the churches, and predicts that princes will soon quarrel for the spoil. "The pope is now lavishing ecclesiastical property on catholic princes, in order to buy friends and allies. . . . It is not so much our princes of the confession of Augsburg who pillage the church, as Ferdinand, the emperor, and the archbishop of Mentz. The Bavarians, who have rich abbeys, are the greatest robbers. My gracious lord and the landgrave have only poor monasteries of mendicant monks in their territories. At the diet, it was proposed to place the monasteries at the disposal of the emperor, who would have garrisoned them. I said, '*You must first bring all the monasteries together into one spot. Who would suffer the emperor's officers in his territories?*' The archbishop of Mentz was the instigator of the proposition." In answer to a letter of the king of Denmark's, asking for his advice, Luther disapproves of the annexation of church property to the crown. "Look," he says, "at our prince, John Frederick, how he applies the property of the church to the support of pastors and professors." "The proverb is in the right, 'Priests' goods do no good.' (*pfaffengut raffengut.*) Burchard Hund, councillor to John, elector of Saxony, was wont to say, 'We nobles have annexed church lands to our fiefs, and the church lands have devoured our fiefs, so that we now have neither the one nor the other.'" Luther adds the fable of the fox, who revenges the loss of his cubs by burning down the tree, with the eagle's nest and eaglets in it. An old tutor of Ferdinand's son (king of the Romans), named Severus, was telling Luther the story of the dog that fought for his piece of meat, yet took his share of it, when the other dogs snatched it from him. "Exactly what the emperor is now doing," exclaimed Luther, "with the estates of the church." (Alluding to Utrecht and Liege.)

Of Cardinals and Bishops. "In Italy, France, England, and Spain, the bishops are commonly the royal councillors, the reason being, that they are poor. But in Germany, where they are rich, powerful, and enjoy great consideration, the bishops govern in their own name. . . . I shall strive to the utmost to preserve the canonries and small bishoprics, so as to endow out of their revenues preachers and pastors for the towns. The large bishoprics shall be secularised." Dining with the elector of Saxony on Ascension-day, and it having been settled that the bishops were to preserve their authority, provided they abjured the pope, Luther said, "Our people shall examine them, and shall ordain them by imposition of hands. This is the way I am bishop." The origin of monks being started in the disputations at Heidelberg, the reply was, "God having made priests, the devil wished to imitate him, but made the tonsure too great, and thence monks." "Monkery will never be re-established so long as the doctrine of justification shall be understood in its purity." Monks were formerly so highly esteemed, that the pope feared them more than kings and bishops; for they had the common people in their hands. The monks were the pope's best fowlers. The king of England gains nothing by no longer recognizing the pope as the head of Christendom; he only torments the body, whilst strengthening the soul of the papacy." (Henry VIII. had not yet suppressed the monasteries.)

CHAPTER III.

OF SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES, AND THE LIBERAL ARTS.

"SCHOOLS ought to supply pastors, for edification and the support of the church. Schools and pastors are better than councils."

"I hope, if the world goes on, that the universities of Erfurth and Leipsic will revive and flourish, provided they adopt sound views of theology, as they seem disposed to do; but some will have to go to sleep first. I was at first surprised that a university should have been established here, at Wittemberg. Erfurth is excellently situated for the purpose. There must be a town on the spot, even though the present, which God forbid, should be burnt down. This university was formerly so renowned, that all others were considered only small schools in comparison. But now its glories have disappeared, and it is altogether dead." "Masters were formerly put forward and honoured; torches used to be borne before them. Never was joy in the world comparable to that. Taking a doctor's degree was also made a high festival of; one paraded round the town on horseback, and dressed oneself more carefully and ostentatiously than usual. All that is over; but I wish these good customs were revived." "Wo to Germany, who neglects schools, despises them, and allows them to go to decay! Wo to the archbishop of Mentz and Erfurth, who might with a word resuscitate the universities of those two cities, and who leaves them desolate and deserted! One nook of Germany, that in which we are, still, thanks to God, flourishes in purity of doctrine and culture of the liberal arts. The papists will be for rebuilding the fold, when the wolf shall have eaten the sheep. It is the bishop of Mentz's fault, who is a scourge to schools, and all Germany; and so is he justly punished for it. His face is the hue of death, like clay tempered with blood."

"The most celebrated and best school is at Paris, in France. It has twenty thousand students and upwards. The theologians there have the pleasantest spot in the whole city; being a street to themselves, with gates at each end: it is called the *Sorbonne*, a name derived, I fancy, from the fruit of the service tree (*Sorbus*), which grows by the Dead Sea, and which, beautiful without, are only ashes within. Even so the University of Paris shows a goodly multitude, but is the mother of many errors. In disputing, they bawl like drunken peasants, in Latin and in French; so that the auditors are obliged to stamp with their feet to silence them. Before one can take one's degree as doctor of theology, one is obliged to have been a student of their sophistical and futile logic for ten years. The respondent must sit a whole day, and dispute with every comer, from six in the morning to six in the evening." "At Bourges, in France, at the public creation of doctors in theology, which takes place in the metropolitan church there, each doctor has a net given him; as a sign,

, that their business is to catch men." aks to God, have universities which have the word of God, and many excellent pri- ls besides, which display good dispositions, t Zwickau, Torgau, Wittemberg, Gotha, Deventer, &c."

from Luther's Treatise on Education. "Do- ucation is insufficient. The magistracy uperintend the education of the young, stablishment of schools is one of their ns. Public offices, too, should only be to the most learned. So important is the tongues, that the devil fears it, and xtinguish it. Is it not through this study ave re-discovered the true doctrine ? The Christ gave to his apostles was the gift of

Luther complains that Latin is no wn in the monasteries, and hardly Ger- 'or my own part, if I ever have children, rtune permits it, I will make them mas- ngues, and of history, and have them sic and mathematics as well;" on this es forth into a eulogium on poets and

"Children should at least be sent, an wo daily to school; and the rest of their nployed in the house, or in learning some 'There ought to be schools for girls like- Public libraries ought to be established, shed at first with theological works, in eek, Hebrew, and German; next, with rm the style, as the orators and poets, it t whether they be Christian or pagan; s on the liberal and mechanical arts; medical works; then, annals, chronicles, ies, in the languages in which they were these are the works which should hold lace in a library."

wages. "The Greeks, compared with the have a number of good and pleasing t have no *entences.* The Hebrew lan- he richer; it does not beg, as Greek, Latin, an do; and is not forced to recur to words. The Hebrews drink at the e Greeks from the stream; the Latins bog." "I have little facility in Latin, p as I was in the barbarism of scholastic (Nov. 12th, 1544.) "I follow no par- alect of German; but use the common o as to be understood in Upper and rmany. I model myself on the usage of ry court of Saxony, which is followed by nany, in their public acts, whether kings, r imperial cities, so that it has become al tongue. Thus the emperor Maximilian lector Frederic of Saxony have reduced an dialects to one fixed tongue. The f the Marches is still sweeter than that ."

manners. "Grammar is one thing, the anguage another. The Jews have, for part, lost the Hebrew language and rammar, which have declined with their f and with their understanding, as Isaiah xxix.) The rabbis are no authority in atters; they torture and do violence to and construction, because they desire to matter by the words, to subject it to the ereas it is the matter which ought to them. You see similar disputes between mians and other Latinists. For my part, I am neither Latinist nor grammarian, still less Ciceronian; yet side with those who lay claim to the latter title. And so, in sacred literature, I would prefer being simply Mosaic, Davidic, or Isaiahic, to being a Hebrew Kimchi, or like any other rabbi." (A.D. 1537.) "I regret not having more time to devote to the study of poets and rhetoricians; I had bought a Homer in order to become Greek." (March 29th, 1523.) "If I were to write a treatise on logic, I would reject every foreign word, as *propositio, syllogismus, enthymema, exemplum,* &c., and give them German synonyms. . . . They who introduce new words ought also to introduce new things, as Scot with his *reality,* his *hiccity;* and as the Anabaptists and preachers of sedition with their *Besprengung, Einsenkung, Gelassenheit.* Let us beware, then, of all who study to devise new and unusual words." Luther cited the fable of the lion's court, and said, "That after the Bible, he knew no better books than Æsop's fables and Cato's works, and that Donatus seemed to him the best grammarian. These fables are not the work of any one man; many great minds have devoted themselves to their composition at each epoch of the world."

Of Men of Learning. "In a few years, they will not be to be found. You may dig to unearth them, but to no purpose; God is too much sinned against."

To a Friend. "Do not give in to the fear of Germany's becoming more barbarous than ever, by the discredit into which letters will be brought by our theology." (March 29th, 1523.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE DRAMA.—MUSIC.—ASTROLOGY.—PRINTING.—BANKING.

Of Theatrical Representations. Luther does not blame a schoolmaster for getting up Terence's plays. He recapitulates the various advantages derivable from the drama. If you keep away from plays because they treat of love, you must on the same principle fear reading the Bible. "Our dear Joachim has asked me for my opinion on those plays from sacred story, which many of our ministers blame. Briefly, then, here it is. The command is, that all men are to spread and propagate God's word, by all means; not by preaching only, but by writings, paintings, sculpture, psalms, songs, music; for, as the Psalm says, '*Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs.*' And Moses says, . . . '*and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. . . . and thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thine house, and upon thy gates.*' Moses wishes the word to be a frontlet between the eyes, and how can that be done better and more clearly than by representations of the kind, grave and modest ones, and not by farces, as formerly, under the papacy ? Spectacles of this nature take the eyes of the people, and work upon them frequently much more than public preachings. I know that in Lower Germany, where the public profession of the Gospel is prohibited, dramas, drawn from the Law and the Gospel, have converted numbers." (April 5th, 1543.)

Of Music. "Music is one of the finest and most magnificent of God's gifts. Satan hates it. It dispels temptations and evil thoughts; the devil cannot hold out against it. . . Some of the nobility and of the courtiers think that my gracious lord might spare three thousand florins a year for music; thirty thousand are expended on useless matters." "Duke George, the landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, used to keep singers and musicians: now it is the duke of Bavaria, the emperor Ferdinand, and the emperor Charles who do so." Luther being entertained (Dec. 17th, 1538) in the house of a musical family, who played to him to his great delight, he bursts out with, "If our Lord grants us such noble gifts in this life, which is but filth and misery, what will it be in the life everlasting! This is a foretaste." "Singing is the best exercise; it has no concern with the word. . . . Therefore do I rejoice that God has refused to the peasants (*alluding, no doubt, to the peasants in revolt*) so great a gift and comfort. They do not understand music, and listen not to the word." He one day said to a harp-player, "My friend, play me such an air as David used to play. Were he to return to earth, I think he would be surprised to find such skilful players." "How happens it that we have now-a-days so many fine things of a worldly kind, and nothing but what is cold and indifferent of a spiritual (and he repeated some German songs)? I cannot agree with those who despise music, as do all dreamers and mystics." ". . . I will ask the prince to devote this money to the establishment of a musical academy." (April, 1541.)

On the 4th of October, 1530, he writes to Ludovic Senfel, a musician of the court of Bavaria, to ask him to set the *In pace in id ipsum* to music: "The love of music overpowers my fear of being refused, when you shall see a name which, no doubt, you hate. This same love also gives me the hope that my letters will involve you in no disagreeables. Who could reproach you on their account, even were he a Turk? . . . After theology, no art can be compared with music." Luther, introducing a painter named Sebastian to his friend Amsdorf, says: "I know not whether you want his services. I should like, however, to see your dwelling more tasteful and ornamented, on account of the flesh, which is the better for some recreation, provided it be sinless and unobjectionable." (Feb. 6th, 1542.)

Of Painting.—Luther's pamphlets against the pope were seldom published without symbolic engravings. "As for these three furies," he says, in explanation of one of these satirical engravings, "I had nothing else in my mind, when I applied them to the pope, than to express the atrocity of the papal abomination by these, the most forcible and most revolting figures known to the Latin tongue; for the Latins know not what Satan or the devil is, any more than the Greeks and other nations." (May 8th, 1545.) Lucas Cranach was the designer of these figures. Luther says: "Master Lucas has little delicacy of feeling; he might have spared the other sex, in consideration of our mothers and of God's work; and he might have painted other forms, worthier of the pope, I mean more diabolical." (June 3rd, 1545.) "I will do my utmost, if I live, to make Lucas substitute a more decent painting for this obscene one." (June 15th.) Luther professed great admiration for Albert Dürer; and, on hearing of his death, wrote: "It is painful, no doubt, to have lost him. Let us rejoice, however, that Christ has released him by so happy an end from this world of misery and of trouble, which soon, perhaps, will be desolated by greater troubles still. God has been unwilling to suffer him, who was born for happiness, to see such calamities. May he rest in peace with his fathers!" (April, 1528.)

Of Astronomy and Astrology.—"It is true that astrologers may predict the future to the ungodly, and announce the death which awaits them, for the devil knows the thoughts of the ungodly, and has them in his power." Mention being made of a new astronomer, who was for proving that it is the earth that revolves, and not the firmament, the sun, and the moon; it being the same, he said, with us as with men in a carriage or a ship, who think they see the shore and the trees moving past them*, Luther observed: "So it is with the world now-a-days; men, to be thought clever, won't content themselves with what others do and know. The fool wishes to change the whole art of astronomy; but, as holy Scripture saith, Joshua commanded the sun, not the earth, to stand still." "Astrologers are in the wrong in attributing to stars the evil influences which proceed from comets." "Master Philip (Melanchthon) has often tried, but could never make me a believer in the art. He maintains it to be a real art; but that no professor of it is an adept." A nativity being shown him, Luther said: "It is a beautiful and pleasing fancy, and flattering to the understanding. You proceed regularly from one line to the other. . . . It is with astrology as with the art of the sophists, *de decem prædicamentis realiter distinctis*; all is false and artificial: but, in this vain and factitious science, there is an admirable unity, and, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, and the diversity of sects that have arisen—Thomists, Albertists, Scotists—its followers have remained faithful to the same rules." "Sciences which have matter for their object are uncertain; for matter is without form, and is without qualities and properties. Now, astrology has matter for its object, &c." "The astrologers had predicted that there would be a deluge in 1524, and it did not take place until the following year, the epoch of the revolt of the peasants. Burgomaster Hendorf, however, had a quart of beer taken up to the top of his house, to wait for the deluge there." Master Philip said that the emperor Charles would live to be eighty-four. Dr. Luther replied: "The world will not last so long. Ezekiel is against it. If we drive out the Turk the prophecy of Daniel is fulfilled; and, of a certainty, the day of judgment is then at hand." A large red star, which had appeared in the sky, and which subsequently took the shape of a cross in 1516, appeared again, "but this time," says Luther, "the cross seemed to be broken, for the Gospel was obscured by sects and revolts. I see nothing certain in such signs; they are commonly diabolical and deceitful. We have seen many in these fifteen latter years."

Of Printing. "Printing is the best and highest gift, the *summum et postremum donum*, by which God advanceth the Gospel. It is the last flame which shines before the extinction of the world. Thanks to God that it hath come at last. *Holy fathers, now at rest, have desired to see this day of the*

* Alluding, no doubt, to Copernicus.

revealed Gospel." Being shown a writing of the Fuggers, in letters of fantastical shape, so that no one could read it, he said, "This is invented by able men, and men of forethought; but such an invention is the sign of a most corrupt age. We read that Julius Cæsar employed similar letters. It is said that the emperor, instructing his secretaries, makes them write, on matters of importance, in two contradictory manners, and that they know not to which of the two he shall affix his seal."

Of Banking. "A cardinal, bishop of Brixen, reputed very wealthy, having died at Rome, no money was found upon him, but only a small note in his sleeve. Pope Julius II., suspecting it to be a letter of change, sent instantly for the agent of the Fuggers at Rome, and inquired whether he knew the hand? 'Yes,' he replied, 'it is the acknowledgment of Fugger and Co. for three hundred thousand florins.' The pope asked him whether he could pay all this money? 'Directly,' was the reply. The pope then sent for the French and English cardinals, and asked them whether their kings could raise three tons of gold in an hour? They answered, 'No.' 'Well,' he said, 'a burgess of Augsburg can.'" "Fugger having one day to give in a return of his property to the council of Augsburg, told them that he could not say what he was worth, for that his money was out all over the world, in Turkey, Greece, Alexandria, France, Portugal, England, Poland, &c.; but that he could tell them what he had in Augsburg if they liked."

CHAPTER V.

OF PREACHING.—LUTHER'S STYLE.—HE ACKNOWLEDGES THE VIOLENCE OF HIS CHARACTER.

"Oh! how I trembled when I had to ascend the pulpit for the first time! But I was forced to preach, and to the brothers first of all.... Under this very pear-tree where we are now standing, I adduced fifteen arguments to Dr. Staupitz against my vocation for the pulpit: at last I said, 'Dr. Staupitz, you wish to kill me; I shall not live three months.' He answered me, 'Well, our Lord has great business on hand above, and wants able men.'" "I set about collecting my works into volumes, with but little zeal and ardour; I feel Saturn's hunger, and wish to devour all, for there are none of my books which please me, if I except the *Treatise on the Bondage of the Will*, and the *Catechism*." (July 9th, 1537.) "I do not like Philip to be present at my lectures or sermons; but I place the men before me and say, 'Philip, Jonas, Pomer, and the rest, have nothing to do with the matter;' and then I endeavour to fancy that no one has sat in the pulpit abler than myself." Dr. Jonas said to him, "Sir doctor, I cannot at all follow you in your preaching." Luther replied, "I cannot myself; for my subject is often suggested either by something personal, or some private matter, according to times, circumstances, and hearers. Were I young, I should like to retrench many things in my sermons, for I have been too wordy." "I wish the people to be taught the Catechism well. I found myself upon it in all my sermons, and I preach as simply as possible. I want the common people, and children, and servants, to understand me. I do not enter the pulpit for the sake of the learned; they have my books."

Dr. Erasmus Alberus, being about to leave for the March, asked Luther how he should preach before the prince. "Your sermons," said he, "ought to be addressed, not to princes, but to the rude and simple people. If, in mine, I was thinking of Melanchthon and the other doctors, I should do no good; but I preach solely for the ignorant, and that pleases all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin I spare until we learned ones come together; and, then, 'we make it so curled and finical that God himself wondereth at us.'" "Albert Dürer, the famous painter of Nuremberg, used to say that he took no pleasure in paintings charged with colours, but in those of a less ambitious kind. I say the same of sermons." "Oh! how happy should I have been when I was in the monastery of Erfurth, if I could once, but once, have heard but one poor little word preached on the Gospel, or on the least of the Psalms." "Nothing is more acceptable or more useful to the general run of hearers, than to preach the law and examples. Sermons on grace and on justification are cold to their ears." Amongst the qualities which Luther desiderates in a preacher, is a fine person, and that he be such as to make himself loved by good women and maidens. In his *Treatise on Monastic Vows*, Luther asks pardon of the reader for saying many things, which are usually passed over in silence. "Why not dare to say what the Holy Ghost, for the instruction of men, has dictated to Moses? But we wish our ears to be purer than the mouth of the Holy Ghost."

To J. Brentius. "I seek not to flatter or to deceive thee, and I do not deceive myself when I say, that I prefer thy writings to my own. It is not Brentius whom I praise, but the Holy Ghost, who is gentler and easier in thee. Thy words flow pure and limpid. My style, rude and unskilful, vomits forth a deluge, a chaos of words, boisterous and impetuous as a wrestler contending with a thousand successive monsters; and, if I may presume to compare small things with great, methinks there has been vouchsafed me a portion of the four-fold spirit of Elijah, rapid as the wind and devouring as fire, which roots up mountains and dashes rocks to pieces; and to thee, on the contrary, the mild murmur of the light and refreshing breeze. I feel, however, comfort from the consideration that our common Father hath need, in this his immense family, of each servant; of the hard against the hard, the rough against the rough, to be used as a sharp wedge against hard knots. To clear the air and fertilize the soil, the rain which falls and sinks as the dew is not enough,—the thunder-storm is still required." (August 20th, 1530.) "I am far from believing myself without fault; but I can, at the least, glorify myself with St. Paul, that I cannot be accused of hypocrisy, and that I have always spoken the truth, perhaps, it is true, a little too harshly. But I would rather sin in disseminating the truth with hard words, than shamefully retain it captive. If great lords are hurt by them, they can go about their own business, without thinking of mine or of my doctrines. Have I done them any wrong or injustice? If I sin, it will be for God to pardon me." (Feb. 5th, 1522.)

To Spalatin. "I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been; but they knew it, and should not have provoked the dog. You can judge by yourself how difficult it is to moderate one's fire, and restrain one's pen. And hence I

have always hated appearing in public; but the more I hate, the more I am forced to it in my own despite." (Feb. 1520.) He often said, "I keep three savage dogs, *Ingratitude, Pride, and Envy;* he whom they bite is well-bitten." "When I die, the papists will discover the kind of adversary they have had in me. Other preachers will not observe the same measure, the same moderation. They have found this out with Münzer, Carlstadt, Zwingle, and the Anabaptists." "When roused to anger, I become firmer, and keener witted. All my temptations and enemies are put to flight. I never write or speak better than when in anger."

To Michael Marx. "Thou canst not think how I love to see my adversaries daily rising up against me. I am never haughtier or bolder when I hear I have offended them. Doctors, b princes, what are they to me? It is written: *do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain The kings of the earth set themselves, and the take counsel together against the Lord, and his anointed!*' I have such a contempt for Satans, that if I were not retained here, I straight to Rome in my hate of the devil: these furies. But I must have patience wi pope, with my disciples, with my servant Catherine von Bora, with every one; and is nothing else than patience."

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

DEATHS OF LUTHER'S FATHER, OF HIS DAUGHTER, &c.

"THERE is no union or society so sweet and happy as a well-assorted marriage. It is delightful to see a husband and wife living in unity and peace. But then nothing can be more bitter or more painful than the dissolution of the tie. Next in bitterness is the death of children; and this last sorrow, alas! I have experienced." "I am writing in a melancholy mood, for I have just heard of my father's death; that old Luther, so good and so beloved. And though, through me, he has had so peaceable and pious a death in Christ, and though delivered from the terrors of this world, he rests in everlasting peace, nevertheless, my bowels yearn, and I am moved to the soul—for was it not to him that, by God's will, I owed my being." In a letter the same day, to Melanchthon: "I succeed to his name, and now I am to my family the old Luther. It is now my turn and my right to follow him through death to that kingdom promised us by Christ, as we, with him, are miserable and despised among men. . . . . How I rejoice that he lived in these times, and that he was enabled to see the light of the truth. To God be blessing and praise, and thanks for all his acts, and all his designs!" (5th June, 1530.)

"When the news came from Freyberg, that Master Hausmann was dead, we kept it from doctor Luther, and told him first that he was ill, then that he was confined to his bed, and then that he was sweetly asleep in Jesus. The doctor began to weep loudly, and said, 'These are perilous times; God is purging his floor and his garner; I pray him that my wife and children may not live long after me.' He remained sitting all the day, weeping and bemoaning himself. There were with him, doctor Jonas, Master Philip (Melanchthon), Master Joachim Camerarius, and Gaspard von Keckeritz, and he sat amongst them, weeping piteously." (A.D. 1538.)

When he lost his daughter Madeleine, aged fourteen, his wife cried and lamented, but he said to her, "My dear Catherine, think where gone; to a certainty she has made a hap change. The flesh bleeds, indeed; that nature; but the spirit exults and finds al should be. Young people think not of ing; as we tell them, so they believe; with all is natural. They pass away without re anguish, without the trials and temptations death itself, almost without bodily pain; jus they fell asleep.". . . As his daughter lay he exclaimed, "I love her much! but, O m if it be thy will to take her hence, I would g up to thee without one selfish murmur." when she was on her death-bed, he said to he dearest child, my own Madeleine, I know yo gladly stay with your father here, and y equally be ready to go to your Father whi heaven! will you not?" And she replied yes, my dear father, as God wills." "Dea girl," he continued, "the spirit is willing, t flesh is weak." He walked to and fro pertu and said, "Ah yes! I have loved this dea too much. If the flesh is so strong, what b of the spirit?"

He said, amongst other things, "God h given such good gifts these thousand years bishop as he has to me. We may glorify ou in the gifts of God. Alas! I hate myself cannot rejoice now as I ought to do, nor sufficient thanks to God. I try to lift up m from time to time to our Lord in som hymn, and to feel as I ought to do." whether we live or die, *domini sumus*, in th tive or the nominative*. Come, sir doc firm!"

"The night before Madeleine's death, her had a dream. She dreamed that she s fair youths beautifully attired, who came as wished to take Madeleine away with the conduct her to be married. When Philip M thon came the next morning and asked t

* A play upon the word *Dominus*. "Domini sum signify (Domini being construed in the genitive), the Lord's," or else (construed nominatively), " lords" (i. e. masters, teachers).—TRANSLATOR.

how it was with her daughter? she related her dream, at which he seemed frightened, and remarked to others, 'that the young men were two holy angels, sent to carry the maiden to the true nuptials of a heavenly kingdom.' She died that same day. When she was in the agony of death, her father threw himself on his knees by her bedside, and weeping bitterly, prayed to God that he would spare her. She breathed her last in her father's arms. Her mother was in the room, but not by the bed, on account of the violence of her grief. The doctor continued to repeat, 'God's will be done! My child has another Father in heaven!' Then master Philip observed, that the love of parents for their children was an image of the Divine love impressed on the hearts of men. God loves mankind no less than parents do their children. When they placed her on the bier, the father exclaimed, 'My poor, dear little Madeleine, you are at rest now.' Then, looking long and fixedly at her, he said, 'Yes! dear child, thou shalt rise again, shalt shine like a star! Yes! like the sun! . . . . I am joyful in spirit; but oh! how sad in the flesh! It is a strange feeling this, to know she is so certainly at rest, that she is happy, and yet to be so sad.'"

"And when the people came who were to help to carry the body, and said to him, as usual, how much they sympathized in his grief, he said to them, 'Ah! grieve no more for her, she is now a saint in heaven. Oh! that we may each experience such a death: such a death I would willingly die this moment.' While they were singing—'Lord, remember not our sins of old,' he added, 'not only our old sins, but those of to-day, this day; for we are greedy, covetous, &c. The scandal of the mass still exists.' On returning from the burial, he said, amongst other things,—'The fate of our children, and above all of girls, is ever a cause of uneasiness. I do not fear so much for boys; they can find a living anywhere, provided they know how to work. But it is different with girls; they, poor things, must search for employment staff in hand. A boy can enter the schools, and become a shining character (*ein feiner man*), but a girl cannot do much to advance herself, and she is easily led away by bad example, and is lost. . . . Therefore, I give up without regret this dear one to our Lord.'"

To Jonas. "Report has, no doubt, informed you of the transplanting of my daughter Madeleine to the kingdom of Christ; and although my wife and I ought only to think of offering up joyful thanks to the Almighty for her happy deliverance and end, by which she has escaped from all the snares of the world, the flesh, the Turks, and the devil; nevertheless the force of instinct (τῆς στοργῆς) is so great, that I cannot forbear from tears, sighs, and groans,—say rather, my very heart dies within me. I feel engraven on my inmost soul her features, her words, and actions; all that she was to me in life and health, and on her sick bed, my dear, my dutiful child. The death of Christ himself (and oh! what are all deaths in comparison!) cannot tear her from my thoughts, as it should. . . . She was, as you know, so sweet, so amiable, so full of tenderness." (September 23rd, 1542.)

CHAPTER II.

OF EQUITY; OF LAW.—OPPOSITION OF THE THEOLOGIANS TO THE JURISTS.

"It is better to direct one's conduct by *natural reason than by the written law*, for reason is the soul and queen of law. But where are they who are endowed with such an understanding? You can scarcely meet with one in a century. Our gracious lord, the elector Frederick, was such a man. There was his councillor, too, Fabian von Feilitsch, a layman, who had not studied and who yet argued better on the points and the marrow of the law (*super apices et medullam juris*), than the jurists from their books. Master Philip Melanchthon so teaches the liberal arts, as to lend them more light than he derives from them. I myself, too, take my art into books, and do not draw it from them. He who should seek to imitate the four men of whom I have just spoken, would do well to abandon the idea, and content himself with learning and listening. Such prodigies are rare. The written law is for the people and the common herd of men. Natural reason and all-piercing thought for such men as those I have mentioned." "An eternal combat goes on between the jurists and the theologians; there is the same opposition betwixt the law and grace." "The law is a lovely bride, as long as she remains in her nuptial bed. If she goes to another bed, and wishes to domineer over theology, she is a great —. Law should doff her cap to theology."

To Melanchthon. "I am of the same opinion that I always was with regard to the right of the sword. I think with you, that the Gospel has taught and counselled nothing with regard to this right, and that it could not possibly do so, because the Gospel is the law of will and liberties, which have nothing to do with the sword or the right of the sword. But this right is not abolished by the Gospel, but is even confirmed and recommended; which is not the case with respect to things that are simply permitted." "Before me, there has been no jurist who has known what the law is, in relation to God; what they know, they have from me. We do not find in the Gospel that we are to adore jurists. If our Lord God will be our judge, what are jurists to him? As to the concerns of this world, I leave them masters. But in the things which concern God, they must be under me. My psalm, my own psalm is, *Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings;* if one of the two must perish, perish the law, reign Christ!

"'*The kings of the earth set themselves together.*' David himself says, 'Against his Son there will array themselves the power, the wisdom, the multitude of the world, and he will be alone against many, foolish against the wise, powerless against the powerful;' of a verity, a marvellous ordering of things. Our Lord God has all and every thing except the wise; but beyond this, there peals the terrible, 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth.'" "If the jurists will not pray for pardon for their sins, and receive the Gospel, I will so confound them that they shall not be able to extricate themselves. I understand nothing of law, but I am lord of the law in things touching the conscience. We are indebted to the jurists for having taught and for teaching to the world such countless equivocations, tricks, and calumnies, that their language has become more

confused than in Babel; here, no one can comprehend the other; there, no one will understand the other. O sycophants, O sophists, pests of mankind, I write to you, boiling over with passion, and I doubt whether I could teach you better were I cool and collected." (Feb. 6th, 1546.)

Alluding to a student's being admitted the following day as Doctor of Law, Luther said, "To-morrow a fresh viper will be created to sting the theologians."

"The saying is right, *A good jurist is a bad Christian.* In fact, the jurist esteems and vaunts the justice of works, as if we were justified by them before God. If he turn Christian, he is looked upon by his brother jurists as a monster, and has to beg his bread, being repudiated as seditious." "Strike at the conscience of the jurists, and they know not what to do. Münzer attacked them with the sword; he was a madman." "Were I to study law for two years, I should become more learned than Dr. C., for I should speak of things just as they are, as being just or unjust, whilst he quibbles on words." "The doctrine of the jurists is nothing but a *nisi*, an *except*. Theology does not proceed on this wise, but has a firm foundation."

"The authority of theologians consists in their power of obscuring universals, and all connected with them. They can raise and lower. As soon as the word makes itself heard, Moses and the emperor must yield." "The law and laws of the Greeks and Persians are fallen into desuetude. The Roman or imperial law only holds by a thread. For if an empire or a kingdom fall, its laws and ordinances must likewise fall." "I leave cobbler, tailor, and jurist to their several callings. But let them not attack my pulpit!" . . . "Many believe that the theology which has been declared of our time, is naught. If this be the case whilst I live, what will it be after my death? As a set off, many amongst us are big with this thought of which they will by and by be brought to bed, namely, that the law is naught."

Sermon against the Jurists, preached on Twelfth Day. "Look at our haughty jurists and knights at law of Wittemberg. . . . They do not read our books, call them catonic (for canonic), take no heed of our Lord, and do not attend church. Well! since they do not recognize Dr. Pomer to be bishop of Wittemberg, or me to be preacher to this church, I no longer reckon them amongst my flock. But, say they, you go against the imperial law. I—this law which wrongs the poor." There follows a dialogue between a jurist and a litigant, in which the former promises for ten thalers to protract a law-suit for ten years. . . . . "Good and pious folk like Reinicke Fuchs, in the poem of the Fox." . . . "Good people, these are the reasons that make me pursue the jurists so relentlessly. . . . They vaunt the canon law, the — of the pope, and represent it to be a magnificent thing, after our having with such trouble expelled it from our churches. . . . I warn you, jurist, to let the old dog to sleep. Once awakened, you will not easily get him back to his kennel! The jurists are full of complaints and bitterness against me. What can I do? Had I not to render an account of their souls, I would not chastise them." He subsequently stat s, that he excepts pious jurists.

CHAPTER III.

FAITH: THE LAW.

To Gerbellius. "In this tumult of scands not off from yourself. To sustain you, I back the spouse (faith) that you formerl me; I return her to you a spotless virgin what is most strange and admirable in that she desires and attracts an infinity of and that she is all the more chaste for bei spouse of many. . . . Our rival, Philip Mthon, salutes you. Adieu, be happy with th anced bride of your youth." (January 23rd,

To Melanchthon. "Be a sinner, and be t never so great, let thy faith be still greate rejoice thee in Christ, who is the conqueror of death, and of the world. We must sin, as we are here. This life is not the abode of rigl ness; no, 'we look,' as says St. Peter, 'for heaven, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth teousness.' . . . . Pray earnestly, for thou great sinner." "I am just now deep in th trine of the remission of sins. I set at nou law and all the devils. Whosoever can from his heart in the remission of sins, he s saved." "Just as it is impossible to meet ture with the *mathematical, indivisible* po the righteousness demanded by the law is n to be found. No man can entirely satisfy th even lawyers themselves, spite of all their e are very frequently obliged to have recourse remission of sins, for they cannot always mark, and when they have given a wrong ment, and the devil troubles their conse neither Bartolus nor Baldus, nor all their doctors, are of any use to them. To bear u are forced to protect themselves with the sh that is, with the remission of sins. They d best to judge aright, and after that, all that r for them, is to say: 'If I have given a judgment, O my God, pardon me.' It i logy alone which possesses the mathematica She does not grope in the dark. She has th even God's word. She says, 'Jesus Christ is r teousness; whosoever lives in him, he is right

"The law is, without doubt, necessary, for salvation; for no man can fulfil it: t pardon of sins consummates and fulfils it." law is a true labyrinth which does but perp conscience, and the righteousness of the l minotaur, that is to say, a pure fiction, wh stead of conducting us to heaven, leads us to

Addition by Luther to a letter of Melancthon grace and the law. . . . "To set myself entir of sight of the law and works, I do not c myself with seeing in Jesus Christ my r my lord, my benefactor, I would see in h doctrine, my gift, so that in him I pos things. He says, 'I am the way, the trut the life;' not 'I show you, or give you th the truth, and the life;' as if he only wrou within me, and was himself nevertheless aga me." . . . "Theology is summed up in o point: true faith and trust in Jesus Christ. article embraces all the rest. Our faith groan which cannot be uttered;' and else 'that we are in bondage under the law' means, that we imprison ourselves in ou works, instead of mounting on the wings of

"The devil desires *active* righteousness only, a righteousness which we work out for ourselves, and in ourselves, whereas we have really only a *passive* and extrinsic one, which he takes from us. If we were limited to *active* righteousness, we should be lost, for it is defective in all men." An English doctor, Antony Barns, asked Doctor Luther, if Christians, justified by faith in Christ, had any merit in the good works which followed, for that this question was often debated in England. *Answer.* "1st. We are still sinners after justification. 2nd. God promises rewards to those who do well. Works do not merit heaven, but they adorn the faith which justifies us. It is his own gift to us, which God crowns."

"*Fidelis anima vox ad Christum. Ego sum tuum peccatum, tu mea justitia; triumpho igitur securus**, &c. To bear up against despair, it is not sufficient to have vain words upon the lips, or barren and languishing faith; but we must stand erect, confirm our soul, and rely on Christ against sin, death, hell, the law, and an evil conscience. When the law accuses thee and reproaches thee with thy faults, thy conscience says to thee, 'Yea, God has given the law, and commanded it to be kept, under pain of eternal damnation: thou must therefore be damned.' To which thou shalt reply, 'I well know that God has given the law; but he has also given us the Gospel, by his Son, which says, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." This Gospel is above the whole law; for the law is of the earth, and has been transmitted to us by man; the Gospel is from Heaven, and has been brought to us by the Son of God.' 'It matters not,' says conscience, 'thou hast sinned and transgressed the commandment of God; therefore, thou shalt be damned.' *Answer.* 'I know very well that I have sinned, but the Gospel frees me from my sins, because I believe in Jesus; and this Gospel is as high above the law as the heavens are high above the earth. This is the reason that the body must remain upon earth, to bear the burden of the law; but the soul ascends to the mountain with Isaac, and clings to the Gospel, which promises life eternal to all who believe in Christ Jesus.' 'It matters not,' again says conscience, 'thou shalt go to hell; thou hast not kept the law.' *Answer.* 'Yes, if Heaven had not come to my succour; but it has come to my succour, has been opened to me; our Saviour has said, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved."' God said to Moses, 'Thou shalt see my back, but thou shalt not see my face.' The back was the law, the face is the Gospel.

"The law does not endure grace, and, in its turn, grace does not endure the law. The law is only given for the haughty, the arrogant, nobles or peasants, for hypocrites, and those who delight in a multitude of laws. But grace is promised to poor suffering hearts, to the humble, to the afflicted, and for the pardon of sins. Master Nicholas Hausmann, Cordatus, Philip Melanchthon, and I look for grace." "There is no writer, save St. Paul, who has written fully and unanswerably on the law, because reason is inadequate to judge of the law: it can only be judged by the Spirit." (August 15th, 1530.)

* "The cry of a faithful soul to Christ. I am thy sin, thou my righteousness; I rejoice, then, in safety," &c.

"Good and true divinity (theology) consists in practice, use, and exercise. Its foundation is Christ, whose passion, death, and resurrection are to be comprehended through faith. Some, in the present day, have devised a *speculative theology*, in accordance with reason. This belongs to the devil in hell. Thus, Zwingle and the sacramentarians *speculate* that the body of Christ is in the bread, but only in a spiritual sense. This is also the theology of Origen. David did not think thus; but he acknowledged his sins, and said, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord.'"

"I saw lately two signs in the heavens. I looked from my window in the middle of the night, and I saw the stars and all the majestic vault of God, sustaining itself without my being able to perceive the pillars upon which the Creator had propped it. Nevertheless, it crumbled not away. There are those, however, who search for these pillars, and who would fain touch them with their hands; but, not being able to find them, they tremble, lament, and fear the heavens will fall. They might touch them, the heavens would never be moved. Again, I saw great and heavy clouds, floating over my head like an ocean. I perceived no prop which could sustain them, and still they fell not, but saluted us sadly, and passed on. And as they passed, I distinguished the arch which had upheld them—a splendid rainbow. Slight it was, without doubt, and delicate; one could not but tremble for it, under such a mass of clouds. Nevertheless, this aery line sufficed to support the load, and to protect us. There are those, however, who are alarmed at the weight of the clouds, and have no confidence in their frail prop. They would prove its strength, and not being able, they dread the clouds will dissolve and drown us with their floods. . . . Our rainbow is weak, their clouds are heavy; but the end will tell the strength of our bow." (August, 1530.)

CHAPTER IV.

OF INNOVATORS: THE MYSTICS, &c.

"CURIOSITY is our bane; it was the cause of Adam's fall. I fear two things—epicurism and enthusiasm, two sects which have still to reign. Take away the decalogue and heresy vanishes. The Holy Scriptures are the manual of all heretics."

Luther called seditious and presumptuous-minded men, "precocious saints, who, attacked by the worm before arriving at maturity, were blown by the slightest gust from the tree. Dreamers (*Schwermer*) are like butterflies. At first, a grub which attaches itself to a wall, or builds itself a little house, is hatched by the warmth of the sun, and flies off a butterfly. The butterfly dies on a tree, and leaves a long train of eggs." Dr. Martin Luther said of false brothers and heretics, who fall away from us, that we ought to let them alone, and not be vexed about them. If they will not listen to us, we can send them, with all their fine bravado, to hell.

"When I began to write against indulgences, I lived for three years alone, without any holding forth their hand to me. Now they are all for claiming a share in the triumph. I suffer enough from my enemies, without the pain my good little

brothers give me. But who can bear up against all? Here am I attacked by young men, all fresh and unworked, whilst I am old and worn with great sufferings and great labours. Osiander may well hector, he has an easy time of it; he has only two sermons to deliver a week, and has four hundred florins a-year." "In 1521, I had a visit from one Marcus, one of the religionists of Zwickau, an agreeable-mannered man enough, but of empty opinions and life, in the view of conferring with me on the doctrine they profess. As he kept talking to me of things quite foreign from Scripture, I told him that I recognized the word of God alone, and that if he sought to establish anything else, he must at least prove his mission by miracles. His reply was, 'Miracles! Ah! you will see miracles, indeed, in seven years. God himself cannot take my faith from me.' He also said, 'I can see at once whether any one is of the elect or not.' After talking a long time about the *talent* which must not be hid, and about *purification*, *weariness*, *expectation*, I asked him who understood his language? He answered that he preached only before believing and able disciples. 'How do you know that they are able?' I asked. 'I have only to look at them,' he replied, 'to see their *talent*.' 'What *talent*, now, my friend, do you see in me?' 'You are still,' he answered, 'in the first stage of mobility, but a time will come when you will be in the first of immobility like myself.' On this, I adduced to him several texts of Scripture, and we parted. Shortly after, he wrote me a very friendly letter, full of exhortations; to which my sole answer was, 'Adieu, dear Marcus.'"

"Some time afterwards a turner came to me, who also called himself a prophet. He met me just as I was going out of my house, and said to me in a confident tone, 'Sir doctor, I bring you a message from my Father.' 'Who is thy Father?' I said. 'Jesus Christ,' he replied. 'He is our common Father; what hath he ordered thee to announce to me?' 'That God's anger is kindled against the world.' 'Who told thee this?' 'Yesterday, just as I had passed through the gate of Koswick, I saw a small cloud of fire in the air; which is a clear sign of God's wrath.' He then mentioned another sign; 'In the midst of a deep sleep,' he said, 'I saw drunkards seated at table, who said, Drink, drink, and God's hand was over them. Suddenly one of them poured some beer on my head, and I awoke.' 'Listen, my friend,' I then said to him, 'do not make free in this manner with God's name and orders,' and I gave him a severe reprimand. When he found what I thought of him, he went off in a passion, muttering, 'Of course, all who don't think with Luther are fools.'"

"Another time, again, I had to do with a man from the Low Countries, who wished to argue with me, to use his own terms, *up to hell fire inclusively*. When I saw his ignorance, I said, 'Would it not be better to dispute over some cans of beer?' He was nettled at this, and took himself off. The devil is a proud spirit, and can't bear contempt."

Master Stiefel came to Wittemberg to confer privily with Dr. Luther, and showed him his opinion on the Day of Judgment, in twenty articles. He believed that it would take place on St. Luke's day. He was bade to remain quiet, and to keep his opinions to himself, which annoyed him exceedingly. "Dear sir doctor," he said, "I surprised at your forbidding me to preach t and at your not believing me. Still, I must sp albeit unwillingly." Luther replied, "Dear m ter, you have managed to hold your tongue for years on this matter, during the reign of papacy; keep quiet the little time that remai "But this very morning, as I was setting early, I saw a beautiful rainbow, and though the coming of Christ." "There will be no r bow when that day cometh; the thunder-bolt destroy every living creature instantaneously. strong and powerful blast of the trumpet arouse us all. They who are in the grave are to be awakened by the piping of the shephe reed." (A.D. 1533.) "Michael Stiefel believes h self to be the seventh angel announcing the day, and is giving away his books and his chat as he will soon have no more use for the "Bileas is certainly damned, although he has astounding revelations, no less than those of Da for they embrace four empires too. 'Tis a fea warning for the proud. Oh! let us humble o selves!"

Duke Henry of Saxony having come to Witt berg, Dr. Martin Luther spoke twice to him aga Dr. Jeckel, exhorting the prince to think of the days upon which the church had fallen. Jeckel preached the following doctrine:—"Do what t wilt, believe only, thou shalt be saved." He ot to have said: "When thou shalt be *born again*, have become a new man, do then as thou art mo to do." . . A pastor of Torgau having complai to Luther of Dr. Jeckel's insolence and hypoc and of his having won over the nobility, the coun and even the prince himself, by his wiles, the do shuddered, sighed, spoke not, but he took him to prayer. That very day he ordered that Eisl (Agricola) should be required to make a public traction, or that he should be publicly put d "Dr. Luther, reproaching Jeckel for daring, his limited experience and scanty skill in logic rhetoric, to oppose his former masters and teach the latter replied: 'I ought to fear God more t my teachers. I have a God as well as you. . Dr. Jeckel afterwards sat down at table to sup but with a gloomy air. Dr. Luther eat heartil did the guests who had come from Freyb Then Luther broke out with, 'If I had made court as pious as you the world, I should h laboured to some purpose,' &c. Jeckel still his eyes cast gloomily down, showing by his k what was passing in his mind. At last Luther up to take his leave, when Jeckel tried to de him, and engage him in discussion; but the do would have nothing more to say to him." " Jeckel is one of the Eisleben kind. He was co ing my niece Anna; but I said to him, 'Neve all eternity.' And to the little girl: 'If thou have him, take thyself from my sight for ever; never will I see or listen to thee more.'"

Of the Antinomians, and, in particular, of Eisl

"Ah! how painful it is to lose a good and dea loved friend! This man used to be my guest, companion, and would laugh and make merry w me. . . . And now, he turns against me! . Such doctrine, however, must not be endured. ject the law, without which there can be Church, nor government! This is not tapping

cask, but breaking it in. . . . Now is the time to resist. . . . Can I bear to hear him puffing himself up whilst I live, and seeking to be the master? . . . . It is no excuse for him to say that he has only spoken of Dr. Creuziger and of master Roerer. The Catechism, the Explanation of the Decalogue, and the Confession of Augsburg are mine, and not Creuziger's or Roerer's. . . . He would base repentance on the love of justice, and so preaches the revelation of the divine wrath to the just and pious only. He does not preach for the wicked. Yet St. Paul says the *law is for the ungodly*. In short, by taking away the law, he takes away the Gospel, and he withdraws our belief from the firm support of conscience to subject it to the caprices of the flesh. Who could have dreamt of this sect of the Antinomians! . . . I have got over three cruel storms—Münzer, the Sacramentarians, and the Anabaptists. There is to be no end of writing, then. I do not wish to live long, for there is no peace to be hoped for." (A.D. 1538.)

Dr. Luther ordered master Ambrose Bernd to instruct the professors at the university to abstain from faction, and from paving the way for schism, and at the same time prohibited their electing master Eisleben dean. . . . "Tell that to your professors of faculties, and if they disregard it, I will denounce them from the pulpit." (A.D. 1539.) On the last day of November (A.D. 1538), as Luther was enjoying himself with his cousins, his brother, and sister, and some friends from Mansfeld, mention was made of master Grickel, and they interceded for him. The doctor replied, "I held that man to be my most faithful friend, but he has grossly deceived me. Let him beware; I shall soon write against him: there is no repentance in him." "Such was my confidence in that man (Eisleben), that, when I went to Smalkalde in 1537, I entrusted my pulpit to him, my church, my wife, my children, my house, and all that was dearest to me." Dr. Luther was reading over, in the evening of the last day of January, 1539, the propositions which Eisleben was going to maintain against him, and in which there were some absurdities about Saul and Jonathan, and there occured the expression, "I have eat a little honey, and therefore I die." "Jonathan," said Luther, "is master Eisleben, who eats honey and preaches the Gospel; Saul is Luther. . . . Ah! Eisleben, art thou such a . . . Oh! God forgive thee thy rancour." "If the law be thus transferred from the church to the council, to the civil power, the latter will say in its turn, 'We, too, are faithful Christians; the law concerns not us;' and the executioners, at last, will say the same. All will be grace and sweetness, and then unbridled passions and crimes will follow. Münzer began on this wise."

In 1540, towards the close of an entertainment which Luther gave to some of the principal members of the university, and when all were in good humour, a goblet was produced, stained in rings of various colours. Luther filled it with wine, and emptied it to the health of his guests; and, in their turn, they all severally drained it to his health, until it came round to master Eisleben, when Luther said, as he held the glass out to him, "My friend, all in this glass, above the first ring, is the ten commandments; the *credo* (belief) comes next; then the *pater noster;* the catechism is at the bottom;" and then he quaffed it off, filled it again, and presented it to master Eisleben, who would not go beyond the first ring, but put the glass back on the table, and could not look at it without a kind of horror. Luther noticed this, and remarked to his guests, "I knew that master Eisleben would only drink off the commandments, and would leave the *credo*, the *pater noster*, and the catechism." Master Jobst, dining one day with Luther, showed him some propositions, according to which the law ought not to be preached, since we are not justified by it. Luther got angry, and exclaimed, "What, will my brethren propose such innovations even while I live! Ah! how ought not master Philip to be honoured, who teaches with clearness and truth the use and utility of the law. Count Albert von Mansfeld's prophecy is being realised. He wrote to me: '*There is a Münzer lurking behind that doctrine;*' and, indeed, he who pulls down the law, pulls down at the same time the whole framework of human polity and society (*politiam et œconomiam*). If the law be thrust out of the church, there will no longer be anything recognized as a sin in the world, since the Gospel defines and punishes sin only by recurring to the law." (A.D. 1541.)

"If, at the outset, I inveighed against the law, both from the pulpit and in my writings, the reason was, that the Christian Church was at the time overladen with superstitions, under which Christ was altogether buried and hidden, and that I yearned to save and liberate pious God-fearing souls from this tyranny over the conscience. But I have never rejected the law."

CHAPTER V.

TEMPTATIONS.—REGRETS AND DOUBTS OF HIS FRIENDS AND HIS WIFE.—LUTHER'S OWN DOUBTS.

Master Philip Melanchthon one day told the following fable at Dr. Martin Luther's table:—"A man had caught a little bird, and the bird desiring its liberty, said to him, 'O my good friend, let me go, and I will show you a beautiful pearl, worth thousands of florins.' 'Thou art fooling me,' said the man.' 'Oh no, place confidence in me, come with me, and I will show it thee.' The man lets the bird go, and it perches itself on a tree, and begins to sing, 'Trust little, keep what thou hast, trouble not thyself about what is irrecoverably lost.' (*Crede parvum, tua serva, et quæ periere, relinque.*) Now, was not that a beautiful pearl?" "Philip once asked me to glean a motto for him out of the Bible, which he would never be tired of. There is nothing you can give to man, which he will not grow tired of." "Had not Philip been so afflicted by temptations, he would have had strange ideas and opinions."

Luther's idea of Paradise is gross and material. He believes that in the new heaven, and in the new earth, there will be the useful animals as well as men. "I often ponder upon the life everlasting and its delights, but I cannot comprehend how we shall pass our time, for there will be no changes, no work, no drinking, no eating, nor business; but I conclude we shall have objects enough to contemplate. On this, Philip Melanchthon said, very well, 'Master, show us the Father; that is enough.'" "The peasants do not deserve the fruits which the earth so lavishly brings forth. I return more thanks to our Lord for a tree, than all

the peasants for all the produce of their fields. 'Ah! *Domine Doctor*,' said Melanchthon, 'except a few, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac.'"

"Dr. Jonas said at supper, 'Ah! how magnificently St. Paul speaks of his death. I cannot, however, believe him!' 'It strikes me too,' said Dr. Luther, 'that St. Paul could not think on this subject as firmly as he spoke. I myself, unhappily, cannot make my faith equal to what I preach, speak, and write of the matter, or to what others suppose of me. And, perhaps, it were not good that we should be able to perform to the height of God's commands, or there would be an end of his divinity; he would be found a liar and his words would no more be believed.'"

"A wicked and horrible book against the holy Trinity was published in 1532, speaking of which, Dr. Luther said, 'Men of this chimerical turn of mind, do not think that others may have had temptations on this matter as well. But how oppose my own poor thoughts to the word of God and to the Holy Ghost! (*opponere meam cogitationem verbo Dei et Spiritui Sancto?*) Such an opposition will not bear examination."

The doctor's wife said to him, "Sir doctor, how happens it that under the papacy, we prayed so often and so fervently, whilst now we pray so coldly and so seldom?" The doctor replied, "The devil is ever at his servants to make them diligent in their worship of him." Once, exhorting his wife to read and to learn carefully God's word, and particularly the Psalter, she answered, that she heard and read quite enough of it every day, and could even repeat many things out of it. The doctor sighed, and said, "Even so begins a dislike of God's word; 'tis the sign of an evil future. New books will appear, and Holy Scripture will be despised, cast into a corner, and be, as the phrase runs, thrown under the table." Luther asking his wife if she believed herself to be holy, she was all surprised, and said, "How can I be holy? I am a great sinner!" On which, he remarked, "You see, then, the horrid consequences of the papal doctrine; how it has injured men's hearts, and preoccupied the whole inward man, so that they can no longer see anything except the piety, and the personal and outward sanctity of the works one does, even for one's own sake."

"The *Pater Noster* and faith give me confidence against the devil. My little Madeleine, and my little John too, pray for me, as well as many other Christians. . . . I love my Catherine, I love her more than myself, for I would die sooner than see any harm happen to her or her children. I love my lord Jesus Christ, too, who, through pure pity, has shed his blood for me. But my faith ought to be much greater and livelier than it is. O, my God! judge not thy servant!" "What contributes not a little to afflict and tempt me, is that God seems to be capricious and changeable. He gave Adam promises and ceremonies; and that came to an end with the rainbow and Noah's ark. To Abraham he gave circumcision, to Moses miraculous signs, to his people, the law; but to Christ, and through Christ, the Gospel, which we look upon as annulling all this. And here come the Turks to efface the Divine promise, and to say, 'Your law shall last yet a little, but shall be changed at last.'" (Luther subjoins no reflection).

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVIL.—TEMPTATIONS.

"ONCE, in our monastery at Wittemberg, I distinctly heard the devil making a noise. As I was beginning to read the Psalter, after singing matins, and had sat down, and was about to study and write for my lecture, the devil came, and thrice made a noise behind my stove, as if he would have dragged it away. At last, as he would not give over, I put my little books by, and went to bed.... I heard him another night, in the room above my head, but, perceiving it was the devil, I paid no attention and went to sleep again." "A young girl, who was the mistress of the old miser at Wittemberg, falling ill, saw a vision—a fine and magnificent figure, that she took to be the Christ, and to which she accordingly addressed her prayers. They sent in all haste to the monastery for Dr. Luther. When he saw the figure, and that it was only a trick of the devil's, he exhorted the girl not to allow herself to be so cozened; and, indeed, as soon as she had spat in the phantom's face, the devil disappeared, and the figure changed into a great serpent, which suddenly bit the girl's ear, so that the blood flowed, and then disappeared. Dr. Luther saw this with his own eyes, together with many other persons." (The editor of Luther's conversations does not say that he had this anecdote from Luther himself.) A minister of Torgau complained to Luther that the devil made an extraordinary tumult and clatter in his house of a night, breaking his pots and pans, and then throwing them at his head, and laughing. This racket had gone on for a year, so that his wife and children insisted on leaving the house. Luther said to him: "Dear brother, be strong in the Lord; be not overcome by this murderous devil. If you have not invited this guest by your sins, you can say to him, 'I am here by divine authority, father of a family, and, by a heavenly call, pastor of the church; but thou, thou devil, glidest into this house as a thief and murderer. Why dost thou not stay in heaven? Who has asked thee here?'"

On a young girl possessed by an evil spirit. "Since this devil is a merry spirit, and makes a mock of us, we must first pray seriously for this young girl, who is a sufferer on account of our sins, and then flout the spirit, and treat it contemptuously, but not try it by exorcisms and other grave forms, because the devil's pride laughs at all that. Let us persevere in prayer for the maiden, and in scorn for the devil, until, with the grace of Christ, it withdraws. It would be well for the princes, too, to reform their vices, through which this evil spirit plainly triumphs. I pray thee, since the thing is worthy to be made public, to make diligent inquiry into all the circumstances; and, to guard against imposition, ascertain whether the coins which this girl swallows be really gold, and sterling money. For I have been made the prey of so many cheats, tricks, plots, lies, and artifices, as to incline me to withhold my belief from anything I have not seen or heard." (August 5th, 1536.) "Let the pastor not be troubled in conscience at having buried the woman who killed herself, if, indeed, she did kill herself. I know many similar instances, but have commonly supposed the sufferers to have been killed simply and immediately by the devil, as a

traveller is slain by a robber. For when it is evident that the suicide could not have taken place naturally; when we hear of a string, or a girdle, or (as in the case under consideration) of a loose veil, without any knot to be seen in it, and which would not be strong enough to kill a fly, we ought, in my opinion, to conclude it to be some fascination of the devil's, binding the sufferers to suppose they are doing something else, for instance, praying,—and then he kills them. Nevertheless, the civil power acts rightly in visiting such things severely, or Satan would grow bolder. The world deserves warnings of the kind, for it is growing epicurean, and thinks the devil nothing." (Dec. 1st, 1544.) "Satan has attempted our prior's life, by throwing down a large slip of wall upon him; but God miraculously preserved him." (July 4th, 1524.)

"The crazed, the halt, the blind, and the dumb, are all possessed with demons. Physicians who treat these infirmities as arising from natural causes, are fools, who know not the mighty power of the devil." (July 14th, 1528.) "There are places in many countries where devils have taken up their abode. Evil spirits abound in Prussia. In Switzerland, on a lofty mountain not far from Lucerne, is a lake, called Pilate's pool, where the devil has made a fearful settlement. There is a like pool in my country, into which if you cast a stone, a sudden tempest arises, and the whole surrounding country shakes. 'Tis the dwelling of imprisoned devils." "On Good Friday, at Sussen, the devil bore off three squires, who had sold themselves to him." (A.D. 1538.) On the occasion of a tempest, Luther said, "This is the devil's work; winds are nothing else than good and bad spirits. The devil puffs and blows." "Two noblemen had sworn to kill one another. The devil having killed one of them in his bed, with the other's sword, the survivor was brought forth into the market-place, where they dug up and carried off the ground covered by his shadow, and then banished him. This is called *civil death*. Dr. Gregory Bruck, chancellor of Saxony, told Luther this." Then come two stories of persons who were warned beforehand that they would be borne off by the devil, and who, *notwithstanding they had received the holy sacrament, and that their friends watched by them with wax tapers,* and in prayer, were borne off on the day and hour indicated. "The devil tormented our Lord himself. But, provided he bear not off the soul, all is well."

"The devil leads people about in their sleep, in such sort that they act exactly as if they were awake. The papists, formerly, in their superstition, said that such persons could not have been baptized, or that they must have been so by a drunken priest." "In the Low Countries, and in Saxony, there is a monstrous dog which smells out the dying, and prowls around the house. . . ." "Some monks were taking to their monastery one possessed. The devil that was in him said to the monks, '*O my brothers, what have I done to you?*'" They were talking at Luther's table one day how one of a party of gentlemen, who were riding out, exclaimed, clapping spurs to his horse, "The devil take the hindmost!" He was left the last, and the devil snatched up horse and all, and bore them off. Luther observed, "We should not ask Satan to our table. He comes without invitation. Devils swarm around us; and we ourselves, who are daily watching and praying, have enough to do with him."

"An aged priest, at his prayers one day, heard the devil behind him, trying to hinder him, and grunting as loud as a whole drove of pigs. He turned round without manifesting the least alarm, and said, 'Master devil, you have caught what you deserved; you were a fine angel, and now you are a filthy hog.' The grunting stopped at once, for the devil cannot bear to be mocked. . . . Faith makes him weak as a child." "The devil dreads God's word. He cannot bite it; it breaks his teeth."

"A young, ill-conditioned scapegrace was carousing in a tavern one day with some friends. Having drunk out his money, he said that he would sell his soul to any who would pay a good round score for him. Shortly after, a man entered the tavern, and sitting down to drink with him, asked if he really meant that he would sell his soul? He answered boldly, 'Yes;' and the man paid for his drink the whole day. In the evening, when his victim was drunk, the unknown said to the others present, 'Gentlemen, what think you now; if I buy a horse, have I not a right to the saddle and bridle as well?' They were exceedingly alarmed at these words; but, as the stranger pressed them, at last stammered out in the affirmative; upon which the devil (for it was he) seized the unfortunate wretch, and bore him off with him through the ceiling." "Another time, Luther told of a soldier who had entrusted his money to his landlord in the Brandenburg; but when he asked for it back, the latter denied ever having had it. The soldier in his rage assaulted him violently, and the knave had him taken up on a charge of having violated the *domestic peace* (Hausfriede). Whilst the soldier was in prison, the devil appeared to him, and said, 'To-morrow, thou wilt be condemned to death, and executed. If thou wilt sell me thy soul and body, I will set thee free.' The soldier refusing, the devil said to him, 'If thou wilt not, at any rate take the advice I give thee. To-morrow, when thou shalt be brought up for trial, I will be near you in a blue cap with a white feather. Ask the judge to allow me to plead for thee, and I will get thee out of the scrape.' The soldier did so; and, on the morrow, as his landlord persisted in denying all knowledge of the deposit, blue cap said to him, 'Friend, how canst thou perjure thyself so? The soldier's money is in thy bed under the bolster. Send some one to search, my lord judge, and the truth of what I say will be made manifest.' Accordingly the money was found there, and brought into court. On this, blue cap said with a grin, 'I knew that I should have either the one or the other,' and straightway twisted the landlord's neck, and bore him off." After telling this story, Luther added, that he disapproved of all swearing by the devil, as many were in the habit of doing: "For," he said, "the varlet is never far off; there is no need of painting him when he is always present."

"There were two students at Erfurth; one of whom was so passionately fond of a girl as to be like to lose his wits. The other, who was a sorcerer, though his companion knew nothing of it, said, 'If you will promise not to kiss her or take her in your arms, I will get her to come to you,' and the interview took place. The lover, who was a fine young man, received her with so much passion, and spoke to her so tenderly, that the sorcerer was kept in a fever of fear lest he should embrace her, which, at last, unable to contain himself, he did:

on the moment, she fell down dead. They were greatly alarmed; but the sorcerer said, 'Let us try our last resource,' and then the devil, through his agency, reconveyed her home, where she continued to go about her usual occupations, but was deadly pale, and never uttered a word. After three days had passed thus, her parents sent for some godly ministers, who had no sooner interrogated the maid than the devil came out of her, and she fell down a stiff and offensive corpse." "Doctor Luke Gauric, the sorcerer you sent for from Italy, has often acknowledged to me that his master used to hold conversations with the devil." "The devil can take the form of either man or woman; so as to make a man think that he is lying with a woman of flesh and blood, when it is a vain form; for, as St. Paul says, the devil is on good terms with the sons of perdition. As children or devils are frequently the issue of such unions, commerce of the kind is revolting and horrible. Thus what we call the *nix*, lures women and virgins into the waters to procreate little devils. The devil, likewise, steals away children, during the first six weeks after their birth, and substitutes others in their place, called *suppositiii*, and, by the Saxons, *kilkropff*."

"Eight years ago, I myself saw and touched a child at Dessau, that had no parents and had come of the devil. He was twelve years old, and altogether like any other child. He did nothing but eat; and would eat as much as any four working men. If any one touched him, he cried out as one possessed. If any thing went wrong in the house, he would laugh and be merry; but, when all went on well, he was always moping and in tears. I observed to the princes of Anhalt, 'Were I in authority here, I would have that child thrown into the Moldau, and run the risk of committing murder.' But the elector of Saxony and the princes thought differently. I then recommended them to have prayers offered up in the church, imploring the Lord to take away the demon; and prayers were daily put for a year, at the end of which time the child died." After the doctor had told this story, some one asked him, why he wished to have the child thrown into the river. "Because," he replied, "I believe children of this kind to be nothing else than a soulless lump of flesh. The devil is able to produce such things, just as he can deprive men of their senses by taking possession of their bodies: in the same manner that he enters men and makes them deaf and dumb for a time, so does he enter and animate these lumps of flesh. The devil must be very powerful to keep our spirits prisoners on this wise. Origen, as I conceive, has not thoroughly comprehended this power; otherwise, he would not have thought that the devil might obtain pardon on the last day. What a deadly sin to have rebelled, knowingly, as he did, against his God, his Creator!" "There was a man in Saxony, near Halberstadt, who had a *kilkropff*. This child could drain its mother and five other women of their milk, and would devour whatever was given it besides. The man was advised to make a pilgrimage to Holckelstadt to vow his *kilkropff* to the Virgin Mary, and to have it nursed there. So he bore off his child in a basket; but, as he crossed a bridge, another devil that was in the river began crying out, '*Kilkropff! kilkropff!*' The child in the basket, who had never been known to utter a single word, answered, 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' The devil in the river then asked, 'Where are you going?' The child in the basket, who had never yet spoken a single word, answered, 'I am going to Holckelstadt, to our dearest mother, to nurse.' The man, in his alarm, tossed child and basket into the river; on which the two devils made off together, crying out, 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' and tumbling one over the other."

One Sunday as Luther was going out of church he was accosted by a landsknecht, who complained of being constantly tempted of the devil, and told how he often came to him, and threatened to bear him away. Whilst he was telling his tale, Dr. Pomer, who was passing by, joined Luther in giving him words of comfort. "Despair not," they said; "for despite the temptations of the devil, you are not his. Our Lord Jesus Christ was tempted of him as well, but by God's grace overcame him. Defend yourself, in like manner, by God's word and by prayer." Luther added, "When the devil torments you, and threatens to bear you off, answer, 'I am Jesus Christ's, my Lord's; in him I believe, and I shall one day be near him. He has himself said that no power can take Christians from his care.' Think more on God, who is in heaven, than on the devil; and be no longer alarmed by his wiles. I know that he would be glad to bear you off, but he cannot. He is like a thief who longs to lay his hand on a rich man's strong box; the will is not lacking, but the power. And even so, God will not allow the devil to do you any harm. Attend faithfully on the preaching of the divine word, pray fervently, work, avoid too much solitude, and you will see that God will deliver you from Satan, and preserve you of his fold." A farrier, a young man, asserted that a spectre constantly pursued him through the streets. Luther sent for him, and questioned him before many learned persons. The young man said that the spectre had reproached him with committing sacrilege, in having partaken the communion in both kinds, and had told him, "If you go back to your master's house, I will break your neck," and that he had therefore kept away for several days. The doctor, after much questioning, said, "Beware of lying, my friend; fear God, attend the preaching of his word; return to your master's; apply yourself to your work; and if Satan troubles you again, say to him, 'I will not obey you, I will only obey God, who has called me to this way of life; I will stick close to my work, and were an angel to come, he should not tempt me from it.'"

Dr. Luther, as he advanced in life, experienced few temptations from men; but, as he himself states, the devil would walk with him in the dormitory of the cloister, vex and tempt him. There were one or two devils who used to watch him, and when they could not reach his heart, they would clutch his head and torment it. . . "These things happened to me often. If I happened to have a knife in my hand, evil thoughts would enter my mind. Frequently I could not pray: the devil would drive me out of the room. For we have to do with great devils, who are doctors of divinity. The Turks and the papists have devilkins, who are no doctors, but only lawyers." . . . "I know, thanks to God, that my cause is good and holy. If Christ is not in heaven, and is not Lord of the

world, I am in a bad predicament. The devil often presses me so hard in dispute, that I break out into a sweat. I am kept conscious of his constant animosity. He lies closer to me than my Catherine, and troubles me more than she joys me. . . . At times, he urges, 'The Law is also God's word;' why always oppose the Gospel to it?' 'Yes,' say I in my turn, 'but it is as far from the Gospel as earth from heaven.'" "The devil, in truth, has not graduated full doctor, still he is very learned and deeply experienced; for he has been practising his trade these six thousand years. If the devil have sometimes come out of those possessed when conjured by monks and popish priests, leaving some sign after him, as a broken pane of glass, or a strip of wall thrown down, it was only to make people suppose that he had quitted the body, but, in reality, to take possession of the mind, and to confirm men in their superstitions."

In January, 1532, Luther fell dangerously ill; and the physician feared it would end in apoplectic seizure. Melanchthon and Rozer, who were near his bed, happening to allude to the joy which the news of his death would occasion the papists, he said to them with an assured tone, "I know for a surety I shall not die yet. God will not at present confirm the abomination of papistry by my death. He will not, after those of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, grant the papists fresh cause for triumph. Satan's whole thought, it is true, is to make away with me; he never quits me. But it is not his will which will be fulfilled, but the Lord's!" "My illness—vertigoes and other attacks of the kind—is not natural. Whatever I take does me no good, although I am careful to observe my physician's advice." In 1536, he officiated at the marriage of duke Philip of Pomerania with the elector's sister, at Torgau. In the middle of the ceremony, the wedding-ring slipped from his hand and rolled on the ground. He was terror-struck for a moment, but recovered, saying, "Hearken, devil, this is no business of thine, 'tis trouble lost," and he went on with the service. "Whilst Dr. Luther was talking at table with some friends, his wife, who had gone out, fell into a swoon. When she came to herself, the doctor enquired what her thoughts had been like; and she related how she had experienced those peculiar temptations which are the certain signs of death, and which strike at the heart more surely than ball or arrow. . . . 'I advise,' he said, 'all who feel such temptations, to encourage lively thoughts, to take a cheerful draught, to take recreation, or else apply themselves to some honourable study; but the best remedy, is to believe in Jesus Christ.'" "When the devil finds me idle and inattentive to God's word, he then vexes me by suggesting scruples as to the lawfulness of my doctrine, as to my having humbled and reduced authority, and been the cause of so many scandals and disturbances. But when I lay hold on God's word again, then I win the match. I battle with the devil, and say, 'What is all the world to God, however great it may be! He has made his Son its lord and king. If the world seek to depose him, God will reduce it to ashes. *Kiss the Son, lest he be angry. . . Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings,* TAKE YOURSELVES TO TASK, *ye judges of the earth,*" (the *erudimini, be instructed*, of the Vulgate, is less forcible)...." Above all, the devil strives to deprive me of my doctrine on the remission of sins. '*What!*' he suggests, '*preach what no one has taught for all these centuries! Should it be offensive to God!*'" . . . "Of a night, when I awake, the devil soon comes and begins arguing with me, and putting strange thoughts into my head, until I fly into a passion, and say, 'Kiss my ——; God is not as vexed with me as thou sayest!'" This morning when I awoke, the devil said to me, 'Thou art a sinner.' I answered, 'Tell me something new, demon, I knew that before. . . I have enow real sins to answer for without thy inventing others for me.' . . . He went on with, 'What hast thou done with the monasteries?' To which I replied, "What's that to thee? Thou seest that thy accursed worship goes on as ever?'"

The conversation turning one evening at supper on the sorcerer Faustus, Luther said, in a serious manner, "The devil does not use enchanters against me. If he could injure me by their means, he would long since. He has often laid hold of me by the head, but has been forced to let me go. I have had ample experience what kind of companion the devil is. He has often squeezed me so hard, that I have not known whether I was dead or alive. At times, he has cast me into such despair, that I have not known whether there was a God, and have utterly doubted our dear Lord. But, with the aid of God's word," &c. "The devil sets the law, sin, and death, before my eyes, compels me to ponder on this trinity, and makes use of it to torment me." "The devil has sworn my death; but he will crack a hollow nut." "The temptation of the flesh is little; the remedy at hand. Eustochia would have cured St. Jerome. But God shield us from the great temptations which involve eternity! Tried by them, one knows not whether God be the devil, or the devil God. Such trials are not passing ones." "When I incline to think on worldly or family matters, I recur to a psalm, or some comfortable saying of St. Paul's, and sleep thereon. But the thoughts suggested by the devil are harder to be overcome; and I can only escape from them by some buffoonery or other." "The barleycorn suffers much from man. It is first cast into the earth to rot; then, when it is ripe, it is cut, threshed, dried, and steeped, in order to turn it into beer, for drunkards to swill. Flax is, also, a martyr in its way. When ripe, it is plucked up, steeped, dried, beaten, heckled, carded, spun, woven, and made up into cloth for shirts and shifts, &c. When these are worn out, the rags are used for lint, or for spreading plasters for sores, or for tinder, or are sold to the paper-maker, who bruises, dissolves, and then converts them into paper, which is devoted to writing, or to printing, or to making playing cards, and lastly, is torn up and applied to the vilest uses. These plants, as well as other creatures, which are very useful to us, have much to suffer. Even so, good and pious Christians have much to endure from the wicked and impious."

"When the devil comes to me of a night, I give him these and the like answers, and say, 'Devil! I must now sleep, for the same is God's command and ordinance, to labour by day, and to rest and sleep by night.' Then, if he charge me with being a sinner, I say to spite him, '*Holy Satan, pray for me;*' or else, '*Physician, cure thyself!*'" "If you

would comfort one who is tempted, you must kill Moses and stone him; if, on the contrary, he becomes himself again, and forgets his temptation, you must preach the law to him; for '*affliction is not to be added to the afflicted.*'" "The best way to expel the devil, if he will not depart for texts from Holy Scripture, is to jeer and flout him." "Those tried by temptations may be comforted by generous living; but this will not do for all, especially not for the young. As for myself, who am now in years, a cheerful cup will drive away my temptations, and give me a sound sleep." "The best cure for temptations is to begin talking about other matters, as of Marcolphus, the Eulenspiegel, and other drolleries of the kind, &c. The devil is a melancholy spirit, and cheerful music soon puts him to flight."

The following important document is in a manner the history of the obstinate war which Satan waged upon Luther the whole of his life:

Preface written by Doctor Martin Luther before his death. "Whoever reads with attention ecclesiastical history, the books of the holy fathers, and particularly the Bible, will see clearly, that ever since the commencement of the Church events have always taken the same turn. Wherever the word of God has made itself heard, and God has brought together a band of the faithful, the devil has quickly perceived the divine ray, and has begun to chafe, and blow, and raise tempests from every quarter, trying, with all his might, to extinguish the same. In vain we stop up one or two rents; he will find another and another; still noise and ever mischief. There never yet has been an end to this, and there never will, till the day of judgment. I hold that I myself (let alone the ancients) have undergone more than twenty hurricanes, twenty different assaults of the devil. First, I had the papists against me. Every one knows, I suppose (pretty nearly), how many tempests of books and of bulls the devil has, through them, hurled against me, and in what a terrible manner they have devoured and torn me to pieces. It is true that I also sometimes blew, gently though, against them; but it was no good; they were the more irritated, and blew again more violently, vomiting forth flames and fire. It has been so, without interruption, to this present hour. I had begun to hope for a calm from these outbreaks of the devil, when he made a fresh attack through Münzer and his revolt, which failed though to extinguish the light. Christ himself healed that breach; when, lo! in the person of Carlstadt, he came and broke my window-panes. There he was, bellowing and storming, so that I thought he was come to put out light, wax, and tinder at once. But God was at hand to aid his poor little light, nor would he permit it to be extinguished. Then came the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists, who broke open doors and windows to put out this light. Again it was in great danger, but, thanks be to God, their spite was again disappointed. Others, again, have raged against the old masters, against the pope, and Luther, all at once, as Servetus, Campanus. . . . As to those who have not assailed me publicly in printed books, but from whom I have borne in private letters and discourses filled with indignities, I shall not attempt to enumerate them here. It is enough to say that I have now learned, by experience (I would not believe the accounts from history), that the Church, for the love of the word and of the blessed light, must never expect repose, but be ever on the look-out for fresh outrages from the devil; for so it has been from the beginning.

"And though I should live a hundred years longer, and should quiet all these storms, past, present, and to come, I see clearly that this would not secure rest for those who come after me, so long as the devil lives and reigns. Therefore it is that I pray God to grant me to live one short hour in a state of grace; I ask no longer life. You who come after us pray to God with fervour, and diligently walk in his commandments. Guard well the poor candle of the Lord, for the devil neither sleeps, rests, and will not die until the final judgment. You and I shall die; and, after we are gone, he will be the same that he has always been, ever raging against the Gospel. . . . I see him from afar, blowing, puffing, and swelling out his cheeks, till he becomes red in the face; but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, at the beginning, smote him on his audacious visage, still maintains the combat with him, and will for ever. He who cannot lie has said: 'I will be with you to the end of the world; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee.' And in St. John he says: 'My sheep shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand.' And again, in St. Matthew, x.: 'All the hairs of your head are counted.' . . . 'Fear not, then, for those who can kill the body.' Nevertheless, it is commanded us to watch and keep this light as long as it is in us. It is said: '*Vigilate*; the devil is as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' Such was he when St. Peter pronounced this of him, and such he is and will be to the end of the world. . . ."

(Luther then reverts to the subject of succour from God, without which, all our efforts are vain, and he continues thus:) "You and I were nothing a thousand years ago, and yet the Church has been saved without us, It has been so through the power of him of whom it is said: *Heri ut hodiè.* It is the same now; it is not we who preserve the Church, for we could not reach the devil who is in the pope, and in seditious and all wicked people. The Church would perish before our eyes, and we with her, was it not for some higher power that protects it. We must leave Him to act, of whom it is said, *Qui erit heri, ut hodiè.* (The same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.) It is a lamentable thing to see our pride and our audacity, after the terrible and shameful examples of those, who, in their vanity, have believed that the Church was built upon themselves. . . . To speak only of these times, how did Münzer end? he who thought the Church would fall if he were not here to support and govern it? And more recently still, have not the Anabaptists been a terrible and sufficient warning to us, to remind us how subtle a devil is at our elbow, how dangerous are our high thoughts, and how needful it is (as Isaiah says), that we look well into our hands when we pick up anything, to see if it be God or an idol, gold or clay? But all these warnings are lost upon us; we go on in full security. Yes, without doubt, the devil is far from us; we have none of the same flesh which was even in St. Paul, and from which he could not separate himself, spite of all his efforts. (Rom. vii.) But we, we are heroes; we need not trouble ourselves about

the flesh, and carnal thoughts; we are pure spirits, we hold captives at once the flesh and the devil, and whatever comes into our heads, is the immaculate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. And this all ends so well, that horse and rider both break their necks.

"The Papists, I know, will here tell me, 'Well! thou seest; it is thou that complainest of troubles and seditions! Who has caused them, if not thou and thy doctrine?' Behold the cunning artifice by which they think to overthrow Luther's doctrine from top to bottom. It matters not! let them calumniate; let them lie as much as they will; they must, at last, hold their peace. According to this grand argument, all the prophets also were heretical and seditious, for they were held as such by their own people; as such, they were persecuted, and mostly put to death. Jesus Christ, our Lord, was himself obliged to hear it said by the Jews, and in particular by the high priests, the pharisees, and scribes, &c., by those highest in power, that he had a devil, that he cast out devils by other devils, that he was a Samaritan, the companion of publicans and sinners. He was also, in the end, condemned to die upon the cross for blasphemy and sedition. 'Which of the prophets,' said St. Stephen to the Jews, who were about to stone him, 'which have not your fathers persecuted and slain? and you, their children, ye have sold and killed that Just One, whose coming those prophets foretold.' The apostles and the disciples have not fared better than their Master; and his predictions were fulfilled in them. . . If thus it must be, and Scripture assures us it must, why be astonished if we also, who in these terrible times preach Jesus, and declare ourselves his followers, are, like him, persecuted and condemned as heretics, and disturbers of the public peace! What are we compared with these sublime spirits, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, endowed with so many admirable gifts, and with so fervent a faith?. . . Let us, then, not be ashamed of the calumnies and injuries with which our enemies pursue us. Let all this be without terror for us. But let us regard it as our highest glory to receive from the world the same reward which the saints have had from the beginning, for their faithful services. Let us rejoice in God that we also, poor sinners, and despised of men, have been thought worthy to suffer ignominy for Christ's name's sake! . . .

"The papists, with their grand argument, are like a man who should say that if God had not created good angels, there would have been no devils; because, it was from among the good angels that they came. In like manner, Adam accused God of having given him the woman; as if, had God not created Adam and Eve, they would not have sinned. It would follow, from this fine reasoning, that God alone was the sinner, and that Adam and his children were all pure, and pious, and holy. From Luther's doctrine there have arisen many troublesome and rebellious spirits; therefore, they say Luther's doctrine is of the devil. But St. John says also (1 Ep. ii.): 'They went out from us, but are not of us.' Judas was one of Christ's disciples; then, according to their argument, Jesus Christ is a devil. No heretic has ever gone out from the pagans; they have gone out from the holy Christian Church; the Church, therefore, must be the work of the devil! It was the same with the Bible under the pope; it was publicly denounced as an heretical book, and accused of giving countenance to the most damnable errors. And now the cry is 'The Church! the Church! against and above the Bible!' Emser, the wise Emser, did not know well what to say about the Bible being translated into German: perhaps he had not made up his mind whether it were right it should ever have been written in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. The Bible and the Church do not agree too well together. If, then, the Bible, the book and the word of the Holy Ghost, has so much to endure from them, what have we to complain of their imputing to us the heresies and seditions which break out? The spider draws its poison from the sweet and lovely rose, where the bee finds only honey. Is it the fault of the flower, if its honey turns to poison in the spider?

"It is, as the proverb says, 'The dog we want to punish has stolen some meat;' or, as Æsop finely says, 'The sheep that the wolf would eat has troubled the waters, although standing at the bottom of the stream.' They who have filled the Church with errors, bloodshed, lies, and murder, are not the troublers of the waters; but we—we who have withstood sedition and heresy. Wolf, eat; eat, my friend, and may a bone stick in thy throat. . . . They cannot act differently; such is the world and its god. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, will they treat his servants better? And if the Holy Scriptures have been called heretical, how can we expect our books to be honoured? The living God is the judge of all; he will one day make it clear whether we are to believe the witness of this heretical book called the Holy Scriptures.

"May Jesus Christ, our beloved Saviour and keeper of our souls, bought by his precious blood, keep his little flock faithful to his holy word; to the end that it may increase, and grow in grace, in knowledge, and in faith. May he vouchsafe to support it against the temptations of Satan and this world, and to take pity on the profound lamentations and the agonizing longings with which it sighs for the happy day of the glorious coming of our Saviour, when the fury and murderous bites of the serpents shall cease at last; and for the children of God shall begin that revelation of liberty and heavenly bliss for which we hope, and for which we wait with longsuffering and patience. Amen. Amen."

CHAPTER VII.

HIS AILMENTS.—LONGINGS FOR DEATH AND JUDGMENT.—DEATH, A.D. 1546.

"Both tooth-ache and ear-ache are cruel ailments; I would rather have the plague or the ——. When I was at Coburg, in 1530, I suffered much from a noise and whizzing in my ears, as if wind was escaping from my head. . . . The devil had a hand in it." "When ill, one should eat well, and drink wine." He treated himself on this plan at Smalkalde, in 1537. A man complaining to him one day of the itch, Luther said, "I would give ten florins to change with you; you know not how distressing vertigo is. At this very moment, I am unable to read a letter through at once,

indeed, I cannot read more than two or three lines of my Psalter; for when I make the attempt, such a buzzing comes on in my ears, that I am often on the point of falling from my seat. The itch, on the contrary, is a useful thing," &c.

At dinner, after preaching at Smalkalde, he was attacked by a violent fit of the stone, and prayed fervently: "O my God, my Lord Jesus, thou knowest how zealously I have taught thy word. *If it be for the glory of thy name*, come to my aid; if not, deign to close my eyes. *I shall die the enemy of thy enemies*, and hating the accursed one, the pope, who has set himself above Christ." He then improvised four Latin verses on the subject. "My head swims so, and is so weak, that I can no longer read or write, especially fasting." (Feb. 9th, 1543.) "I am weak, and weary of life, and think of bidding farewell to the world, which is now wholly the devil's. May the Lord grant me favourable weather and a happy passage. Amen!" (March 14th.)

To Amsdorff. "I am writing to thee after supper; for, fasting, I cannot even look at a book without danger. I am much surprised at this illness of mine, and know not whether it be a buffet of Satan's, or a natural weakness." (August 18th.) "I believe my true malady to be old age; and, next to this, my overpowering labours and thoughts, but, mainly, the buffets of Satan; and all the physic in the world cannot cure me of these." (Nov. 7th, 1543.)

To Spalatin. "I must say, that in all my life, and all my cares about the Gospel, I have never gone through so troubled a year as that which has just ended. I have a tremendous quarrel on hand with the lawyers on the subject of private marriages; in those whom I had believed to be stedfast friends of the Gospel, I find cruel enemies. Dost thou think that this is no pain to me, dear Spalatin!" (Jan. 30th, 1544.) "I am idle, worn out, cold; that is to say, old and useless. I have finished my journey; it only remains for the Lord to gather me to my fathers, and to render unto corruption and the worms their share in me. I am satiated with life, if this be life. Pray for me, that my last moments may be salutary to myself and acceptable unto God. My only thoughts about the emperor and the empire are commending them to God in my prayers. The world seems to me to have arrived at its last hour, and, to use the psalmist's expression, to have grown old like a garment; and now is the time come that we must change it." (Dec. 5th, 1544.) "Had I known at the beginning what enemies men are to God's word, I should indisputably have been silent, and held my peace. I imagined they only sinned through ignorance."

He once said, "Nobles, citizens, peasants, I might add almost all men, think they know the Gospel better than Dr. Luther or St. Paul himself; and look down on pastors, rather on the Lord and Master of pastors. . . . The nobles seek to govern, and yet know not how. The pope knows how to govern, and does govern. The least papist is more capable of governing than—I cry them mercy—ten of our court nobles." Luther was one day told that there were six hundred rich cures vacant in the bishopric of Wurtzburg. "No good will come of this," he said. "It will be the same with us if we go on despising God's word and his servants. If I desired to become rich, all I should have to do would be not to preach. . . The ecclesiastical visitors asked the peasants wherefore they would not support their pastors, when they kept cowherds and swineherds? 'Oh!' they said, 'we want these; we cannot do without them.' They thought they could do without pastors."

For six months Luther preached in his house to his own family every Sunday, but not in the church. "I do this," he said to Dr. Jonas, "to clear my conscience, and discharge my duty as the father of a family. But I know and see that God's word will not be more minded here than in church." "You will have to succeed me as preacher, Dr. Jonas; think on it, and acquit yourself well." He walked out of church one day, in anger at the people's talking (A.D. 1545). On the 16th of February, 1546, Luther remarked that Aristotle had written no better book than the fifth of his *Ethica*, where he gives this beautiful definition, "The virtue of justice consists in moderation, as regulated by wisdom." (This eulogium on moderation in the last year of Luther's life is very remarkable.)

The count von Mansfeld's chancellor, on his return from the diet of Frankfort, said at Luther's table, at Eisleben, that the emperor and the pope were sudden in their proceedings against the bishop of Cologne, Herman, and were thinking of expelling him from his electorate. On this, Luther said, "They have lost the game. Unable to do aught against us with God's word and Holy Scripture, they are attacking us with wisdom, violence, craft, practisings, deceit, force and arms (*ergo volunt sapientiâ, violentiâ, astutiâ, practicâ, dolo, vi et armis pugnare*). What says our Lord to this? He sees that he is only a poor scholar, and he says, 'What will become of my son and I?' . . . For me, when they shall kill me, they must first eat . . . I enjoy a great advantage; my lord is called *Schleffemini*; it is he who said, I will call ye up on the last day (*ego suscitabo vos in novissimo die*); and he will then say, Dr. Martin, Dr. Jonas, Sir Michael Coelius come to me, and he will call each of you by your own name, as the Lord Christ says in St. John, *And he calls them by their names.* Be ye, then, without fear—....God holds a fine hand of cards, which is composed only of kings, princes, &c. He shuffles these cards, for instance, the pope with Luther; and then he does as children, who, after having held the cards for a time in vain, tire of the game and throw them under the table." "The world is like a drunken peasant: put him up on his saddle on one side, he tumbles over on the other. No matter what way you set about it, you can't help him. The world will be the devil's."

Luther often said that it would be a great disgrace to the pope were he to die in his bed. "All of you, thou pope, thou devil, ye kings, princes, and lords, are Luther's enemies, and yet you can do him no harm. It was not so with John Huss. I take it that there has not been a man so hated as I for these hundred years. I, too, hate the world. In the whole round of life, there is nothing which gives me pleasure; I am sick of living. May our Lord then come quickly, and take me with him. May he, above all, come with his day of judgment. I would stretch forth my neck . . . so that he hurled his thunderbolt and I were at rest. . . ." He proceeds to console himself for the ingratitude

f the world, by reflecting on the fates of Moses, amuel, St. Paul, and of Christ. A guest of his aid, that if the world were to last fifty years, many hings might yet turn up. "God forbid," exclaimed uther, "it would be worse than all the past. here would arise many other sects, which are now idden within the hearts of men. May the Lord ome, and cut all this short, for there is no hope of nprovement!" "Life will be such a burthen, hat there will be one universal cry from all the orners of the earth, 'Good God! come with the ay of judgment!' And, happening to have in his and a chaplet of white agates, he added, 'God rant that day may soon come. I would eat this haplet to have it to be to-morrow."

Speaking at his table of eclipses, and the little nfluence they appeared to have on the death of ings and other great people, the doctor replied, 'You are right; eclipses no longer produce any ensible effects; and I think myself that our aviour will come soon to veritable effects; and hat ere long the judgment will put an end to all ur cogitations, and all things else. I dreamt it was o the other day while I lay asleep in the afternoon, nd I said then *in pace in id ipsum requiescam seu ormiam*. The day of judgment must soon come; or that the papal Church should reform is an im-ossibility, neither will the Turks and Jews. . . . In act, there is no real improvement in the state of he empire; and see, for thirty years now have hey assembled diets without deciding on any hing. . . . I often think when ruminating in my alks of what I ought to ask in my prayers for the iet. The bishop of Mentz is naught; the pope is lost for ever. I see nothing else to be done but to say, 'Lord, thy kingdom come!'"

"Poor, helpless creatures that we are, we eat our bread but in sin. Our first seven years of life we do nothing but eat, drink, sleep, and play. Thence to one-and-twenty, we go to school three or four hours a day; then follow as our passions lead—love or drink. After this, only, we begin seriously to work. Towards fifty, we have done, and turn children again! Add to all this that we sleep away half of our lives! Oh! out upon us! Out of our lives we do not give even a tithe to God; and do we think to merit Heaven by our good works? What have I been doing now? I have been prating for two hours, have been eating for three, and have been idle for four! *Ah! Domine, ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo.*" (Oh! Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant.) After detailing all his sufferings to Melanchthon, he exclaims, "Please God to take my soul in the peace of Christ, by the grace of God I am ready to go; yea, desirous. I have lived and have finished the course marked out for me by God. . . . Oh may my soul, which is weary of its long pilgrimage, now be suffered to mount to heaven." (April 18th, 1541.)

"I have not much time, my dear Probst, to write, for I am overcome by fatigue and old age: *alt, kalt, ungestalt* (old, cold, mouldy), as they say. Nevertheless, rest I cannot have, beset as I am by so many reasons and obligations to write. I know more than you can of the fatalities that await this age. The world is threatened with ruin; it is inevitable; the more the devil is allowed to roam, the more brutish the world becomes. There is but one consolation left us; it is that this day is nigh. The world has been sated with God's word, and taken a strange antipathy to it. Fewer false prophets arise. Why raise up new heresies when there is an epicurean disdain of the world? Germany is dead; she will never again be what she has been. The nobles only think of extorting; the towns think but of themselves (and with reason): so that the kingdom is divided against itself, just when it ought to be confronting the legion of unchained devils which compose the Turkish army. We seem to care little if God be for or against us, and think we shall triumph by our own strength over Turks, the devils, God, and every thing: such are the overweening confidence and stupid security of expiring Germany! And we, what can we do in the matter? Complaints and tears are equally fruitless. All that is left for us to do is to reiterate the prayer, 'Thy will be done *!'" (March 26th, 1542.) "I see, in every one, an indomitable cupidity, which to me seems one sign of the approach of the last day. It is as if the world in its old age and at its last gasp, became delirious; as so often happens with the dying." (March 8th, 1544.) "I do believe that I am that great trumpet which prefaces and announces the coming of our Lord. Therefore, weak and failing as I may be, and small as may be the sound that I can make this world hear, my voice rings in the ears of the angels in heaven, who will take up the strain after us and complete the solemn call! Amen, and Amen." (August 6th, 1545.)

During the last years of Luther's life, his enemies often spread reports of his death; with the addition of the most singular and tragic circumstances. To refute these, Luther had printed in 1545, in German and Italian, a pamphlet entitled *Lies of the Goths, touching the death of Dr. Martin Luther.* "I tell Dr. Bucer beforehand, that whoever, after my death, shall despise the authority of this school and this church, will be a heretic and unbeliever; for it was here first that God purified his word and again made it known. . . . Who could do any thing twenty-five years since? Who was on my side twenty-one years ago?" "I often count, and find that I approach nearer and nearer to the forty years, at the end of which I believe all this will end. St. Paul only preached for forty years; and so the prophet Jeremiah, and St. Augustin. And when each of these forty years had come to an end, in which they had preached the word of God, it was no longer listened to, and great calamities followed."

The aged electress, when he was last at her table, wished him forty years more of life. "I would not have Heaven," said he, "on condition that I must live forty years longer. . . . . I have nothing to do with doctors now. It seems they have settled that I am to live one year longer; so that I won't make my life a torment, but, in God's name, eat and drink what I please."—"I would my adversaries would put an end to me; for my death now would be of more service to the Church than my life." (February 16th, 1546.) The conversation running much on death and sickness,

* These sad and desponding reflections may almost be traced in the beautiful portrait of Luther, in the collection of Zimmer, the publisher of Heidelberg. This painting also expresses the strain produced by the continuation of long and anxious exertions.

during his last visit to Eisleben, he said, "If I return to Wittemberg, I shall soon be in my coffin, and then I shall give the worms a good meal on a fat doctor." Two days after this he died, at Eisleben.

Luther's impromptu on the frailty of life:—

"Dat vitrum vitro Jonæ (vitrum ipse) Lutherus,
Se similem ut fragili noscat uterque vitro."

We leave these verses in Latin, as they would lose all their merit in translation.

A Note written at Eisleben two days before his death:—

"No one can comprehend Virgil's Bucolics, who has not been five years a shepherd."

"No one can understand Virgil's Georgics, who has not been five years a husbandman."

"No one can comprehend Cicero's letters, if he has not lived twenty years a politician and statesman."

"Let no one imagine that he has mastered Holy Scripture, who has not, for a hundred years, governed the affairs of the Church, with Elias and Elisha, with John the Baptist, with Christ and his apostles."

"Hanc tu ne divinam Æneida tenta,
Sed vestigia pronus adora."

"We are all poor mendicants. . . . . Hoc est verum. 16 Februarii, anno 1546."

Prediction of the reverend father, Doctor Martin Luther, written in his own hand, and found after his death, in his library, by those whom the most illustrious elector of Saxony, John Frederic I., had entrusted to search it.

"The time is arrived, at which, according to ancient predictions, there must arise after the appearing of Antichrist, men who will live without God in the world, every one after his own devices. The pope has long considered himself a god above God; and now all wish to do without God, and especially the Papists. Even we, now that we are free from the law of the pope, seek to deliver ourselves from the law of God, and follow only fickle politicians, and this only so far as our own caprice dictates. We imagine the times far off of which such things are predicted; but I say they are now at hand; these godless men are ourselves. There are amongst us some, who so impatiently desire the day of Man, as to have begun to exclude from the church the decalogue and the law; of these are Master Eisleben (Agricola), &c. I am not uneasy about the papists; they flatter the pope, out of hatred to us, and thereby to gain power until they will become a terror to the poor pope. . . . I feel great satisfaction when I see these flatterers laying snares for the pope, more to be dreaded by him than I myself, who am his declared enemy. It is the same with us; my own people give me far more care and trouble than all the whole papacy together, which henceforth is powerless against us. So true it is, that when an empire is about to fall to ruin, it is chiefly through its own preponderating weight. Rome, for instance,

"Mole ruit suâ . . . .
. . . . Corpus magnum populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra."

Towards the latter end of his life, Luther took a dislike to Wittemberg. He wrote to his wife, in July, 1545, from Leipzig, where he was staying: "Grace and peace to you, my dear Catherine! our John will tell you of our journey hither; Ernest von Schonfeldt received us very kindly at Lobnitz, and our friend Scherle still more warmly here. I would fain so manage as never to return to Wittemberg. I have no longer any affection for that town, and I do not like to live there any longer. I wish you to sell the cottage with the court and garden; I will give back to my gracious lord the large house he was so good as to give me, and we will settle ourselves at Zeilsdorf. We can put our land in good order by laying out my stipend upon it, as I think my lord will not fail to continue it at least for one year; the which, I firmly believe, will be the last I shall live. Wittemberg is become an actual Sodom, and I will not return thither. The day after to-morrow I am going to Merseburg, on count George's pressing invitation. I would rather pass my life on the high roads, or in begging my bread, than have my last moments tormented by the sight of the depravity of Wittemberg, where all my pains and labour are thrown away. You can communicate this to Philip and to Pomer, whom I beg to bless the town in my name. For my part, I can no longer live there." It required the most earnest entreaties of his friends, of the whole university, and of the elector, to make him renounce this resolution; he returned to Wittemberg on the 18th of August.

Luther was not allowed to die in peace; his last days were painfully employed in the endeavour to reconcile the two Counts von Mansfeld, whose subject he was born. He writes to count Albert, promising him to be at Eisleben: "Eight days more or less will not stop me, although I am much occupied elsewhere. I should rest in peace in my grave if I could first see my dear masters reconciled and made friends." (December 6th, 1545.)

(From Eisleben.) "*To the very learned, and very profound lady Catherine Luther, my gracious wife.* Dear Catherine, we are much tormented here, and should not be sorry to get home; however, we must, I think, remain another eight days. You can say to Master Philip, that he will not do amiss to correct his commentary on the Gospel, for in writing it, he did not know why our Lord, in the Gospel, calls riches, thorns. This is the school where such things are learnt. The Holy Scripture threatens everywhere the thorns of eternal fire; this terrifies me, and teaches me patience, for I must, with the help of God, make every effort to end well. . . ." (February 6th, 1546.)

"*To the gracious lady Catherine Luther, my beloved wife, who torments herself by far too much.* Grace and peace in the Lord. Dear Catherine! You must read St. John, and what is said in the catechism of the trust we ought to put in God. You alarm yourself as if God was not all powerful, and as if he could not make doctors Martin by dozens, if the first should be drowned in the Saal, or perish in any other manner. I have One that takes care of me better than thou, or any of the angels could do, One who is seated at the right hand of God Almighty. Be comforted then. Amen. . . . I intended setting out yesterday, *in irâ meâ*: but the misery in which I find my native country detains me. Would you believe it? I am become a lawyer. However, it will not answer any great end; it would have been better had they left me

a theologian. They stand in singular need of having their pride humbled; they talk and act as if they were gods; but if they go on so, I fear they they will become devils. Lucifer was lost by his pride, &c. . . . . Show this letter to Philip; I have not time to write to him separately." (February 7th, 1546.)

"*To my gentle and dear wife, Catherine Luther von Bora.* Grace and peace in our Lord. Dear Catherine, God willing, we hope to return to you this week. He has shown the power of his grace in this affair. The lords are agreed upon all points, with the exception of one or two; among others, upon the reconciliation of the two brothers, counts Gebhard and Albert. I am to dine with them to-day, and I shall endeavour to make them truly brothers again. They have written against each other with great bitterness, and have not exchanged a word during the conferences. However, our young lords are very gay, going about in sledges with the ladies, with bells tinkling at their horses' heads. God has heard our prayers! I send you some trout, a present from the countess Albert. This lady is well pleased to see peace restored in her family. . . . The rumour runs here that the emperor is advancing towards Westphalia, and that the French are enlisting landsknechts, as well as the landgrave, &c. Let them talk, and invent news, we will wait God's will. I recommend you to his protection.—MARTIN LUTHER." (February 14th, 1546.)

Luther had arrived, the 28th January, at Eisleben, and though already ill, he joined in all the conferences until the 17th February. He preached also four times, and revised the ecclesiastical statutes for the earldom of Mansfeld. The 17th, he was so ill that the counts prayed him not to go out. At supper he spoke much of his approaching end, and some one asking him if he thought we should recognize each other in the other world, he replied that he thought so. On returning to his chamber with master Cælius and his two sons, he drew near the window, and remained there a long time in prayer. After that, he said to Aurifaber, who had just arrived, "I feel very weak, and my pains seem to increase:" on which they administered some medicine to him, and endeavoured to warm him by friction. He spoke a few words to count Albert, who had come to see him, and then laid himself down on the bed, saying, "If I could only sleep for half an hour, I think it would refresh me." He did sleep without waking for an hour and a half. This was about eleven o'clock. When he awoke, he said to those in attendance, "What, still sitting up by me: why do you not go to rest yourselves?" He then commenced praying, and said with fervor, "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis.* (Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou art my redeemer, O God of truth.)" He also said to those about him, "All of you pray, my friends, for the Gospel of our Lord, that his reign may be extended, for the council of Trent and the pope threaten it greatly." He then slept again for about an hour, and when he awoke, doctor Jonas asking him how he felt, "O my God," he replied, "I feel myself very bad. I think, my dear Jonas, that I shall remain here at Eisleben, where I was born." He then took a few steps about the room, and laid himself down again on the bed, where they covered him with soft cushions. Two doctors, and the count with his wife then arrived. Luther said to them, "I am dying; I shall remain at Eisleben." And doctor Jonas expressing a hope that the perspiration would perhaps relieve him: "No, dear Jonas," replied he, "it is a cold and dry sweat, and the pain is worse." He then applied himself to prayer, and said, "O my God! Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou the God of all consolation, I thank thee for having revealed to me thy well-beloved Son, in whom I believe; whom I have preached and acknowledged; whom I have loved and honoured; and whom the pope and the ungodly persecute. I commend my soul to thee, O my Saviour Jesus Christ! I shall leave this terrestrial body; I shall be taken from this life; but I know that I shall rest eternally with thee." He repeated three times following, "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine veritatis.*" Suddenly his eyes closed and he fainted. Count Albert and his wife, as well as the doctors, used their utmost efforts to restore him to life, in which they with difficulty succeeded. Dr. Jonas then said to him, "Reverend father, do you die in constant reliance on the faith you have taught?" He replied distinctly, "*Yes,*" and fell asleep again. Soon after he became alarmingly pale, then cold, and drawing one deep breath, he expired.

His body was borne to Wittemberg in a leaden coffin, where he was buried the 22nd of February, 1546, with the highest honours. His mortal remains lie in the church of the castle, at the foot of the pulpit. (Ukert, i. p. 327, sqq. *Extract from the account drawn up by Jonas and Cælius.*)

Will of Luther, dated January 6th, 1542. "I the undersigned, Martin Luther, doctor, acknowledge by these presents, to have given as jointure to my dear and faithful wife Catherine, to enjoy for the whole of her life as seems good to her, the estate of Zeilsdorf, such as I bought it, and have since made it; the house *Brun,* which I bought under the name of Wolf; my goblets, and other valuable things, such as rings, chains, medals in gold and silver, to the value of about a thousand florins. I have made this disposition, first, because she has ever been to me a pious and faithful wife, who has tenderly loved me, and, by the blessing of God, has given me and reared up five children happily, still living. Secondly, that she may take upon herself my debts, amounting to about four hundred and fifty florins, supposing that I do not discharge them before I die. Thirdly, and above all, because I would not that she should be dependent on her children, but rather that her children should depend upon her, honour her, and be subjected unto her, as God has commanded; for I have often seen children, even pious children, excited by the devil to disobey this commandment, especially when the mothers were widows, and the sons had wives, the daughters husbands. Besides, I think that the mother will be the best manager of her children, and that she will not make use of this settlement to the detriment of her own flesh and blood, those whom she has carried at her breast. Whatever may become of her after my death (for I cannot limit the will of God), I have this confidence in her, that she will always conduct herself as a good mother to her children, and will share with them conscientiously whatever she possesses. At the same time, I pray all my friends

to be witnesses of the truth, and to defend my dear Catherine, if it should happen, as is possible, that she should be accused by evil persons of keeping money back for herself, and not sharing it with her children. I certify that we have neither ready money nor treasure of any kind. This need surprise no one, when it is considered that we have had no other income than my stipend and a few presents, and that we have, nevertheless, gone to the charge of building, and have borne the expenses of a large household. I look on it also as a particular mercy from God, which I thank him for without ceasing, that we have had sufficient for our wants, and that our debts are not greater. . . .

"I also pray my gracious master, duke John Frederick, elector, to confirm and ratify this present deed, although it may not be in the form required by the lawyers. MARTIN LUTHER.

"Witnesses—MELANCHTHON, CRUCIGER, and BUGENHAGEN."

ADDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS*.

PAGE 3, column 1. "*and there I was born.*"—Cochlæus asserts that Luther was engendered by an incubus. When he was a monk, adds this writer, he was suspected of having dealings with the devil. One day while the Gospel was being read, at the part where it is said that Jesus forced a demon to come out of the body of one deaf and dumb, Luther fell on the ground, exclaiming, *Non sum, non sum* (It is not I, it is not I). Some Spaniards who were at the diet of Augsburg (A.D. 1530), seriously believed that Luther and his wife were to give birth to Antichrist. (Luth. Werke, t. i. p. 415.)

Julius-César Vanini, Cerdan, and Francis Junctinus, discovered in the constellations that had accompanied the birth of Luther, that he was to be an arch-heretic and an arch-villain; Tycho-Brahe and Nicholas Prücker, on the contrary, declared he was born under a happy sign.

Page 3, col. 2. "*Martin Luther.*"—Lotharius, *lut-her, leute-herr?* Chief of Men, Head of the People?

Page 4, col. 2. "*Luther describes how these temptations,*" &c.—"When I was young, it happened that at Eisleben, on Corpus-Christi day, I was walking with the procession, in my priest's robes, when suddenly the sight of the holy sacrament, which was carried by doctor Staupitz, so terrified me, (thinking in my blindness that it was Jesus Christ himself the vicar-general was carrying, that Jesus Christ in person was there before me,) that a cold sweat covered my body, and I believed myself dying of terror. The procession finished, I confessed to doctor Staupitz, and related to him what had happened to me. He replied: 'Your thoughts are not of Christ; Christ never alarms; He comforts.' These words filled me with joy, and were a great consolation to me." (Tischreden, p. 133, verso.)

Doctor Martin Luther used to tell, that when he was in the monastery at Erfurth, he said once to doctor Staupitz: "Ah! dear sir doctor, our Lord God deals with us in a manner so terrible: who can serve him, if he humbles us thus to the dust? To which he answered me, 'Young man, learn better how to judge God; if he did not act thus, how could proud hearts be humbled? Lofty trees must be watched, least they reach the skies.'" (Tischreden, p. 150, verso.)

Luther had great difficulty in bearing the obligations imposed on him by monastic life; he tells how, in the commencement of the Reformation, he tried in vain to read his prayer-book regularly: "Though I shall have done no more than deliver men from this tyranny, they will owe me some gratitude." (Tischreden, p. 150.) This constant repetition, at fixed times, of the same meditations, this materialism of prayer, which weighed so much on the impatient spirit of Luther, Ignatius Loyola, the contemporary of the German reformer, laid the greatest stress upon, in his singular *Religious Exercises*.

At Erfurth, Luther read the greatest part of the works left us by the ancient Romans, Cicero, Virgil, Livy.... At the age of twenty he was honoured with the title of Master of Arts; and at the desire of his parents, he began the study of jurisprudence. . . . At the convent of Erfurth he excited admiration by his public exercises, and by the ease with which he extricated himself from the meshes of logic. . . He read with avidity the prophets and the apostles, the books of Saint Augustin, his *Explanation of the Psalms*, and his book *On the Spirit and the Letter*, and learnt almost by heart the treatises of Gabriel Biel and of Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, and was a diligent student of the writings of Occam, whose logic he preferred to that of Thomas or Scot. He was likewise a great reader of Gerson's writings, and above all, of those of Saint Augustin." (Life of Luther, by Melanchthon.)

Page 7, col. 1. "*The Dominican, Tetzel, an impudent mountebank.*"—He preached, that if any one had violated the holy virgin, his sin would be pardoned by virtue of the indulgences; that the red cross which he had set up in churches had as much efficacy as that of Jesus Christ; that he had saved more souls by his indulgences than St. Peter by his discourses; and that the Saxons had only to give money, and their mountains would become mines of silver, &c. (*Luther adv. Brunsvic.*, Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheranismi, l. i. § 16, &c.)

By way of indirect concession, the Catholics gave up Tetzel; and Miltitz relates, in a letter to Pfeffinger (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 62), that he can prove,

* The "Life of Luther" has been given entire; but with regard to the somewhat heterogeneous "Additions," the translator has exercised his discretion in condensing and retrenching; scrupulously, however, retaining every passage illustrative of the great Reformer's life and doctrines.

through an agent of the Fuggers, the great bankers of Augsburg, that he (Tetzel) made free with the money he received from the sale of indulgences. "I will write the pope a full account," he says, "and await his sentence."

Page 7, col. 1. "*he was seized with indignation.*"—"When I undertook to write against the gross error of indulgences, doctor Jerome Schurff stopped me and said: 'Would you then write against the pope? What are you about? It will not be allowed.' 'What,' replied I; 'what, if they must allow it?'" (Tischreden, 384, verso.)

Page 8, col. 1. "*the sermon in the vulgar tongue, which Luther delivered.*" He states in a clear, forcible manner, the doctrine of St. Thomas in the five first paragraphs, and especially in the sixth, which is very mystical. He then proceeds to show, from Scripture, in opposition to this doctrine, that the sinner's repentance and conversion can alone secure him pardon for his sins.—(§ ix.) "Though the church were to declare that indulgences efface sins better than works of atonement, it would be a thousand times better for a Christian not to buy them, but rather to do the works and suffer the penalties; for indulgences are, and only can be, dispensations from good works and salutary pains."—(§ xv.) "It is better and safer to give towards the building of St. Peter's, than to buy the indulgences sold for this end. You ought, above all, to give to your poor neighbour; and if there should be none in your town who need your assistance, you ought to give towards your own churches. . . . My counsel to all is, Buy not these indulgences; leave them to be purchased by bad Christians. Let each follow his own path. . , ."—(§ xviii.) "I know nothing about souls being drawn out of purgatory by the efficacy of indulgences; I don't believe they can. The safer way is to have recourse to prayer. . . . Leave the schoolmen to be schoolmen. All put together, they cannot stamp a doctrine with authority."

These would seem to be rather notes, to serve as heads of a discourse, than the sermon itself. (Luther, Werke, vii. p. 1.)

Page 8, col. 2. "*It is said that Leo X. believed the whole to be a matter of professional jealousy.*"—"The pope was formerly extremely proud, and despised every one. The cardinal-legate Caietano said to me at Augsburg, 'What? do you think that the pope cares about Germany? The pope's little finger is more powerful than all your princes.' When my first propositions upon indulgences were presented to the pope, 'This is a drunken German's doing,' he said, 'leave him to get sober, and he will talk differently.' It was in this jeering tone that he spoke of every one."

Luther did not leave all the contempt to the Italians, but returned it to them with interest. "If this Sylvester continues to provoke me by these fooleries, I will put an end to the game, and, giving the reins to my mind and my pen, I will show him that there are men in Germany who can see through his tricks, and those of Rome; and God grant the time was come. The juggling Italians, with their evasions and their subterfuges, have too long amused themselves at our expense, as if we were fools and buffoons." (September 1st, 1518.)

"I am delighted that Philip (Melanchthon) has proved for himself the Italian character. These philosophers will believe nothing without experience. For my part, there is not one Italian I would trust any longer, not even the emperor's confessor. My dear Caietano loved me with so true a friendship, that he would have shed for me every drop of blood in . . . my own veins. They are queer fellows. The Italian, if good, is really good; but is a prodigy, a black swan." (July 21st, 1530.)

"I want Sadolet to believe that God is the Father of all men, even out of Italy; but this is beyond an Italian's mind." (October 14th, 1539.) "The Italians," says Hutten, "who accused us of being unable to produce any work of genius, are now forced to admire our Albert Durer; and so strong is this admiration, that they even put his name on their own works in order to sell them." (Hutten, iii. 76.)

Page 9, col. 1. "*Either out of regard for his new university.*"—The university of Wittemberg wrote to the elector, praying that he would extend his protection to the most illustrious of her members (p. 55, Seckendorf). Luther's increasing celebrity attracted an immense concourse of students to Wittemberg. Luther himself says, "Studium nostrum more formicarum fervet" (Our study is as busy as an ant's nest). A writer, almost contemporary with him, says, "I have heard my tutors say that students flocked to Wittemberg from all countries to hear Luther and Melanchthon; and that, as soon as they descried the city from a distance, they used to return thanks to God with uplifted hands, for that from Wittemberg, as formerly from Jerusalem, there came out the light of Gospel truth, to be spread unto the furthest corners of the earth." (Scultetus in Annalibus, anno 1517, p. 16, 17; quoted by Seckendorf, p. 59.)

From a letter of Luther's, bearing date Nov. 1st, 1524, the elector would appear to have been but parsimonious towards his favourite university. "I beg you," he writes, "dear Spalatin, to ask the prince whether he means to allow this academy to crumble away and perish?"

Page 9, col. 1. "*this prince had always taken him under his special protection.*" The elector himself writes to Spalatin: "Our Martin's affair goes on well; Pfeffinger is full of hope." (Seckendorf, p. 53.)

Page 9, col. 1. "*that Holy Scripture speaks with such majesty.*"—Schenk had been charged to buy relics for the church of Wittemberg; but, in 1520, the commission was recalled, and the relics were sent back to Italy, to be sold at any price they could fetch. "For here," writes Spalatin, "the lowest orders despise them, in the firm and true persuasion, that it suffices to learn from Holy Scripture to have faith and confidence in God, and to love one's neighbour." (Maccrée, p. 37, from Schlegel's Life of Spalatin, p. 59. Seckendorf, i. p. 223.)

Page 10, col. 1. "*Caietano de Vio, the legate, was certainly a judge not much to be feared.*"—Extract from an account of the conferences between cardinal Caietano and Luther:—Luther having declared that the pope had no power but *salvâ Scripturâ*, the cardinal laughed at his words, and said to him, "Dost thou not know that the pope is above councils? has he not recently condemned and punished the council of Bâle?" *Luther.* "But the Paris university has appealed from him." *The Cardinal.* "And Paris shall be equally punished." Again, Luther having quoted Gerson, the cardinal answered him, "What are the Gersonites

to me?" Upon which Luther asked him, in return, "And who then are the Gersonites?" "Oh, let us quit this subject," said the cardinal, and began to talk of other things. The cardinal sent Luther's answers to the pope, by an extraordinary express. He also sent word to Luther, by doctor Wenceslaus, that, provided he was willing to revoke what he had advanced on the subject of indulgences, all might be arranged. "For," added he "the article on the faith necessary for the Holy Sacrament may very well bear a twist into a different sense."

Luther said, on his return from Augsburg, "that if he had four hundred heads, he would rather lose them all, than revoke his article on faith." "No man in Germany," says Hutten, "despises death more than Luther."

He offered Caietano to submit his opinions to the judgment of the three universities of Bâle, of Friburg (in Brisgau), and of Louvain, and, if required, to that of the university of Paris, "esteemed of all time the most Christian and most learned."

In a letter of Luther's to the elector of Saxony (Nov. 19th, 1518), he expressly rebuts Caietano's charge, that his attack on indulgences had been instigated by the elector, and states that none among his dearest friends were privy to his design, "save my lords the archbishop of Magdeburg, and the bishop of Brandenburg.

Page 11, col. 2. "*required an inquiry into the matter by disinterested judges.*"—The legates, nevertheless, confined their demands to requiring that Luther's works should be burnt. "The pope," they said, "will not soil his hands with the blood of Luther." (Luther, Opera, ii.)

Page 11. col. 2. last line. "*Miltitz changed his tone.*"—In 1520, Luther's opponents were divided into two parties, represented by Eck and Miltitz. Eck, having held a public disputation against Luther, conceived that his repute as a theologian would be compromised unless he could either reduce him to retract, or procure his formal condemnation from the pope, and therefore he resorted to violent measures; whilst Miltitz, on the contrary, as the direct agent of the Holy See, sought only to hush up matters, admitting everything that Luther advanced, spoke as freely as himself of the popedom, and only required him to promise silence.

On the 20th of October, 1520, he writes to the elector to suggest the feasibility of the latter's sending two or three golden pieces, bearing his effigy, and as many silver ones, to the young cardinals, the pope's relatives, in order to propitiate them, and begs for himself as well. He had written on the 14th, to say, that Luther had promised to be silent, on condition that his adversaries would be silent too; and assures the elector that he will baulk Eck and his faction.

Miltitz seems to have been a boon companion. He writes to the elector, that spending his evening joyously at Stolpa, with the bishop of Misnia, a pamphlet of Luther's was brought in, in which the official of Stolpa was attacked; and that while the bishop fumed, and the official swore, he and duke George did nothing but laugh. (A.D. 1520. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 98.) He and Luther passed some time together, making good cheer at Lichtenberg. (Ibid. p. 99.)

Miltitz met with a fitting end; having tumbled into the Rhine, near Mentz, after copious libations, and being drowned. He had five hundred gold pieces about him. (Id. ibid. p. 117.)

Page 12, col. 1. "*owned that he had got the whole world with him away from the pope.*"—Luther's works were already highly popular. John Froben, the celebrated printer of Bâle, wrote to him, on the 14th of February, 1519, that his books were read and approved, even at Paris, and even in the Sorbonne; that he had not a single copy left of all those he had reprinted, and that they were dispersed over Italy, Spain, and elsewhere, and every where approved by the doctors. (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 68.)

Page 12, col. 1. "*not content with repairing to Leipsic, to plead in his own defence.*"—Luther's journey to Leipsic: "First there was Carlstadt, alone in a chariot, preceding all the others; but a wheel coming off near to the church of Saint Paul, he fell, and this fall was considered a bad omen for him. Next came the chariot of Barnim, prince of Pomerania, who was then studying at Wittemberg, and bore the title of honorary rector. By his side were Luther and Melanchthon. A great number of armed scholars from Wittemberg accompanied the carriage." (June 19th, 1519.) (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 92.)

Page 12, col. 1. "*with the authority of the prince, his protector.*"—Luther needed not any longer doubt the protection of the elector, when Spalatin, that prince's confidential adviser, translated and published in Germany his book, entitled *Consolation to all Christians.*" (February, 1520.)

Page 12, col. 1. "*to issue a solemn summons . . . to a disputation.*" At this period Luther, still somewhat unsettled in his ideas of reform, sought to clear up his doubts by argument, and demanded and prayed for public conferences. On the 15th January, 1520, he writes to the emperor: "It will now soon be three years since I have had to endure anger without end and outrageous wrongs, since I have been exposed to a thousand perils, and a prey to all the calumnies my enemies could devise against me. In vain have I asked pardon for what I have said; in vain have I offered to keep silence; in vain have I proposed conditions of peace; in vain have I entreated to be enlightened, if in error. Not a word has been listened to: one only object has been kept in view—my ruin and that of the Gospel. Since I have, up to this present moment, tried everything in vain, I will, after the example of Saint Athanasius, invoke the imperial majesty. I humbly, then, implore your majesty, Charles, prince of the kings of the earth, to take pity, not on me, but on the cause of truth, for which alone it has been given you to bear the sword. Let me be allowed to prove my doctrine. Either I shall conquer or I shall be conquered; and if I am found impious or heretical, I ask neither protection nor mercy." (Opera Latina Lutheri, Wittem. ii. 42.)

Page 12, col. 2, near the end. "*When the bull of condemnation reached Germany.*"—The universities of Louvain and Cologne approved the pope's bull, and, consequently, drew down the attacks of Luther. He accused them of having unjustly condemned Occam, Pico de la Mirandola, Laurentius Valla, John Reuchlin. And to weaken (says

Cochlæus) the authority of these universities, he attacked them unceasingly in his books, putting in the margin, whenever he met with a barbarism, or anything badly written, as *they say at Louvain*, as *they say at Cologne*, '*Lovanialiter, Colonialiter*,' &c. (Cochlæus, p. 22.) At Cologne and Mentz, and in all the hereditary states of Charles V., Luther's works were burnt from the year 1520. (Cochlæus, p. 25.)

Page 13, col. 1. "*not one of them has said it more eloquently than he himself.*"—He wrote on the 29th November, 1521, to the Austin friars of Wittemberg: "I daily feel how difficult it is to divest oneself of scruples long entertained. Oh! the pain it has cost me, though with the Scriptures before me, to justify myself to myself, for daring singly to set myself up against the pope and hold him as Antichrist! What tribulations have I not suffered! How often have I not addressed to myself in bitterness of spirit the argument of the papists, 'Art thou alone wise? are all others in error? can they have been so many years deceived? What if thou deceivest thyself, and draggest along with thee in thy error so many souls to everlasting damnation?' Thus I used to argue within myself until Jesus Christ with his own, his infallible word, fortified me, and strengthened my soul against such arguments, as a rock raised above the waves, laughs their fury to scorn.". . .(Luth. Briefe, t. ii. p. 107.)

P. 14, col. 1. "*He took his stand at this time on St. John.*"—"It is necessary to take the Gospel of St. John in a very different point of view from the other evangelists. The idea of this evangelist is, that man can do nothing, has nothing of himself; that he owes every thing to the Divine mercy. . . . I repeat, and I will repeat, whoever would raise his thoughts to a salutary consideration of the Almighty, ought to make every thing subordinate to the humanity of Christ; ought to keep it ever before him, both in his life and in his Passion, till his heart is softened. Then, let him not rest there, but let him develope and extend the thought still further. It is not of his own will, but of the will of God the Father, that Jesus did and suffered this or that. It is then that he will begin to taste the infinite sweetness of the will of the Father revealed in the humanity of Christ."

Page 14, col. 2. "*his smallest pamphlets were zealously caught up.*"—The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, made designs for Luther's smaller works.—(Seckendorf, p. 148.)

Page 14, col. 2. "*if any printer more conscientious than the rest.*"—The same at Augsburg. The confession of Augsburg was printed and spread all over Germany before even the end of the diet; the refutation of the catholics, which the emperor had ordered to be printed, was sent to the printers, but never appeared. Luther, ridiculing the catholics for not daring to publish this refutation, calls it a nightbird, *an owl*, a bat (*noctua et vespertilio.*)—(Cochlæus, p. 202.)

Page 14, col. 2. "*it was to the nobles that Luther had chiefly appealed.*"—"To his imperial majesty and to the Christian nobles of the German nation —Dr. Martin Luther (A.D. 1520).

"To the grace and glory of our Lord Jesus. . . . TheRomanists have cleverly surrounded themselves with three walls, by means of which they have up to this time shut out the Reformation, to the great prejudice of Christianity. First, they pretend that spiritual power is above temporal power; next, that it belongs to the pope alone to interpret the Bible; and thirdly, that the pope only has the right to call a council.

"May it please God to come to our aid here, and to give us those trumpets which formerly overthrew the walls of Jericho, that we may blow down these walls of paper and rubbish, bring to light the artifices and lies of the devil, and win back, by repentance and amendment, the grace of God. Let us begin with the first wall.

"*First Wall.* . . . All Christians are spiritually of the same condition, and there is no difference between them, but that which results from their different functions, according to the words of the Apostle (1 Cor. xii.), who says that we 'be many members, yet but one body;' but that each member has an office peculiar to itself, by which it is useful to others. We have all the same baptism, the same Gospel, the same faith, and as Christians we are all equal. . . . It is with the priest as with the bailli, whilst in office he is above the rest; but when he has laid it down, he becomes that which he was—a mere citizen. *Indelible characters* are but a chimera. . . . The secular power being instituted of God, in order that the wicked may be punished, the good protected, its ministry ought to extend to all Christians, without consideration of person, pope, bishop, monk, nun, or others, it matters not. . . . Has a priest been killed, all the country is laid under interdict. Why is it not so when a peasant has been murdered? Whence this difference between Christians whom Jesus Christ calls equal! Simply from the laws and inventions of men. . . .

"*Second Wall.* . . We are priests—does not the apostle say it (1 Cor. ii.): 'He that is *spiritual* judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man!' We have all, by faith, the same Spirit, says also the apostle; wherefore should we not be sensible as well as popes, who are often infidels, of what is conformable to the faith, what contrary to it?

"*Third Wall.* . . . The first councils were not convened by the popes; the council of Nice, itself, was convoked by the emperor Constantine. . . . If enemies surprised a town, the honour would be to him who should first cry 'to arms,' let him be burgomaster or not. Why should it not be the same for him who stands sentinel against our enemies, the powers of darkness, and who, seeing them advance, should be first to assemble the band of Christians against them? Must he be pope to do this? . . . "

The following is the summary of the reformations proposed by Luther:—That the pope shall retrench the luxury of his court, and approximate more to the poverty of Christ. His court absorbs immense sums; it is calculated that more than three hundred thousand florins leave Germany every year for Rome. Twelve cardinals would be sufficient, and they should be maintained by the pope. Why do the Germans allow themselves to be despoiled by the cardinals, who seize all their rich foundations, and spend the revenues at Rome? The French do not suffer this. That no more contributions be levied to be employed against the Turks; which is but a lure, a miserable pretext for getting our money. That the pope's right of investiture be no longer acknowledged. Rome

draws all to itself by the most impudent practices. There is in this city a simple courtier, who is possessed of twenty-two curacies, seven priories, forty-four prebends, &c. That the secular authorities send no more *annats* to Rome—as has been the custom for a century past. That it suffice for the installation of bishops, that they be confirmed by the two nearest bishops, or by their archbishop, conformably to the council of Nice. "In proposing these changes, my object is to induce reflection in such as are disposed to aid Germany in becoming Christian, and to free herself from the deplorable government of the pope, a government which is Antichristian."

That there be fewer pilgrimages to Italy. The orders of mendicants to be allowed to die away; they are degenerated, and do not fulfil the intention of their founders. The marriage of priests to be permitted. Many of the holidays to be suppressed, or made to fall on Sundays. Fêtes of patrons, so prejudicial to morals, to be abolished. Fasts to be suppressed. "Many things, formerly useful, are not so now." Begging to be put down. Each community to be held responsible for the care of its poor. The founding of private masses to be forbidden. Further inquiry to be made into the doctrine of the Bohemians, and to join them in resisting the court of Rome. The Decretals to be abolished. Houses of ill-fame to be suppressed.

"I know yet another song to sing to the court of Rome and the Romanists; and if their ears itch for it, they shall have it, and to the last stave (highest octave!). You understand, Rome! (Luther, Werke, vi. 544—568.)

Page 15, col. 1. "*I would not have violence and murder employed in the cause of the Gospel.*"—He wished Germany to separate itself peaceably from the holy see: it was with this view that he wrote in 1520 to Charles V. and to the German nobles, to induce them to renounce obedience to Rome. "The emperor," said he, "has equal power over the clergy and over the laity; the difference between these two classes is but fictitious, since by baptism we all become priests." (Lutheri Opera, ii. p. 20.)

Nevertheless, if one can believe the authority, suspicious enough we must allow, of Cochlæus, he was at this very time preaching war against Rome. Cochlæus makes him say, "If we have gibbets for thieves, axes for brigands, fires for heretics, wherefore not arms against these masters of sedition, these cardinals, these popes, against all this slime of the Roman Sodom, which is corrupting the Church of Christ! Why not wash our hands in their blood!" I am not aware from what work of Luther's Cochlæus takes these words. (Cochlæus, p. 22.)

Page 15, col. 1. "*Hütten . . . in order to strike a league between them and the nobles of the Rhine.*"—From the opening of the diet inquiries were made of Spalatin, as to the course the elector would pursue in case of war; there was reason to believe that he would support his theologian, the glory of his university. "Who does not know," writes Luther to him, "that prince Frederick has become an example to princes for his patronage of literature!" your Wittemberg *Hebraizes and Hellenizes* successfully; there Minerva governs the arts; there the true theology of Christ triumphs." He writes to Spalatin (October 3rd, 1520): "Many think that I ought to ask our good prince to obtain for me an edict from the emperor forbidding any sentence against me, unless I am convicted of error out of Scripture: consider whether this be advisable." It appears by what follows that Luther thought he could count on the sympathy of the Italians. "Instead of books, I would rather living books could be multiplied, that is to say, preachers. I send you what has been written to me from Italy on this subject." "If our prince were so inclined, I do not believe that he could undertake any work worthier of him; were the commonalty of Italy to join us our cause would be mightily strengthened: who knows! God perhaps will raise them up. He preserves our prince to us in order to make him the medium of spreading the divine word. Consider then what you can do in this quarter, for the cause of Christ." Luther had not neglected to win the affection of the towns. We find him at the close of the year 1520, soliciting the elector to lower the taxes imposed on the town of Kemberg. "The people," he writes, "are drained even to misery by this detestable usury. . . . Fat livings are made fatter, religious ceremonies kept up, and even some fraternities enriched by this usury, rather by this sacrilegious taxation, this impious theft."

Page 15, col. 1. *Buntschuh* (shoe of alliance).—The sabot already served as a distinctive sign in the twelfth century. *Sabatati* was a name of the Vaudois. (See Dufresne, Glossar. at the word *Sabatati*.)

Page 16, col. 1. "*All this greatly added to my consideration.*"—Spalatin relates in his annals (p. 50) that the second day Luther appeared, the elector of Saxony on returning from the town-hall, sent for Spalatin to his chamber, and expressed to him the surprise he felt; "Doctor Martin has spoken nobly before the emperor, and to the princes and states of the empire, only he was a little too bold." (Marheinecke, History of the Reformation, i. 264.)

Page 18, col. 1. "*In the last conference the Archbishop of Trèves, &c.*—Luther ended this conference by saying, "In all that concerns the word of God and faith, every Christian can judge as well for himself as the pope; each must live and die according to his faith. The word of God is the peculiar property of each individual of the community; and each member must interpret it for himself. I cited in confirmation of this," continues Luther, "the passage of St. Paul, 1st Corinthians xiv., where he says, '*If anything be revealed to another that is sitting by, let the first hold his peace.*' This text clearly proves that the master should follow his disciple, if the latter understand God's word better. They could not refute this testimony, and we broke up." (Luth. Werke, ix. p. 117.)

Page 19, col. 2, near the end. "*Luther found few books at Wartburg.—He set ardently about the study of Greek and Hebrew.*" It was here he began his translation of the Bible. Several versions in German had been already published at Nuremberg, in 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg, in 1518; but none of them were made for the people, being forbidden to be read, and also infamously printed." (Nec legi permittebantur, nec ob styli typorum horriditatem satisfacere poterant.) Seckendorf, lib. i. 204.

Before the end of the fifteenth century, Germany possessed at least twelve editions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, while Italy had but two, and France only one. (*Jung, Hist. de la Réforme, à Strasbury.*)

The adversaries of the Reformation themselves contributed to increase the number of Bibles in the vulgar tongue. Thus, Jerome Emser published a translation of the Scriptures to oppose that of Luther. (Cochlæus, 50.) Luther's did not appear complete until 1534.

Canstein's printing-office at Halle alone printed, in the space of a century, two millions of Bibles, one million of New Testaments, and as many Psalters. (Ukert, t. ii. p. 339.)

"I was twenty years of age," says Luther himself, "before I had ever seen the Bible. I believed that no other Gospels or Epistles existed than those in the sermon books. At last, I found a Bible in the library of Erfurth, and I often read out of it to Staupitz with great wonder." (Tischreden, p. 255.)

Under the papacy, the Bible was all but unknown. Carlstadt began to read it after he had taken his doctor's degree eight years. (Tischreden, p. 6, verso.)

At the diet of Augsburg (A.D. 1530), as the bishop of Mentz was looking over the Bible one day, one of his counsellors happened to come in, who said to him, "Gracious lord, what does your electoral grace make of this book?" To which he replied, 'I know not what to make of it, save that all I find in it is against us." "Doctor Usingen, an Augustin monk, who was my preceptor at the convent of Erfurth, used to say to me when he saw me reading the Bible with such devotion, 'Ah! brother Martin, what is there in the Bible? It is better to read the ancient doctors, who have sucked the honey of the truth. The Bible is the cause of all troubles.'" (Tisch., p. 7.)

Selnecear, a contemporary of Luther's, relates that the monks would murmur at seeing Luther read the Holy Scriptures so assiduously, and tell him it was not in study of that kind, but by begging and collecting bread, meat, fish, eggs, and money, that he could be of any service to the community. .... His noviciate was extremely hard; inside the monastery, the lowest and most laborious offices were given to him; and outside, the begging with the sack. (Almanach des Protestants pour Nov. 1810, p. 43.)

Luther states that, when he was first a student, "the pagan Aristotle was held in such honour, that whoever had disputed his authority, would have been condemned at Cologne as a rank heretic;" but that he was so little understood, that a monk, preaching on the Passion, favoured his hearers with a two hours' discussion of the question, '*Whether quality were really distinct from substance,*' stating, as an instance, '*I could pass my head through that hole, but not the size of my head.*'" (Tischred., p. 15, verso.)

"My brothers of the convent would say to me when I was studying, '*Sic tibi, sic mihi, sacoum per nackum,*' (Come, we are all alike here, put the bag round your neck.) (Tischred. p. 272.)

Page 19, col. 2, last line. "*He translated into German Melanchthon's Apology.*"—He says, "Tuam in asinos Parisienses apologiam cum illorum insaniâ statui vernaculè dare adjectis annotationibus." (I am going to translate into German, with notes of my own, your Apology to the Paris asses, and to prove their insanity.)

Page 22, col. 2. "*This reason was, the alarming character assumed by the Reformation.*"—Before quitting his retreat, he often tried by letters to prevent his followers from going too far. To the inhabitants of Wittemberg. . . . "You attack masses, images, and other trifles, while you overlook faith and charity, of which you have so much need. You have, by your scandals, afflicted many pious souls, perhaps better than yourselves. You have forgotten what was due to the weak. If the strong run as fast as they are able, must not the weak, left behind, faint by the way?

"God has granted you great grace, has given you the word in all its purity. Nevertheless, I see not a grain of charity in you; you do not even bear with those who have never heard the word. You have no care for our brothers and sisters of Leipsic, and of Meissen, and of so many other countries, whom we ought to save with ourselves. . . . You have thrown yourselves headlong into this business, neither looking to the right nor to the left. Do not count therefore upon me; I shall deny you. You have begun without me, you must end the same. . . " (December, 1521.)

Page 24, col. 1. "*the confusion that had arisen in his flock.*"—On his return to Wittemberg, he preached eight days running. These sermons effectually restored order in the town.

Page 24, col. 1. "*I myself no longer know Luther.*"—"A charitable exhortation of doctor Martin Luther to all Christians, to keep them from the spirit of revolt and disturbance." (A.D. 1524.)

"In the first place, I pray you to leave my name alone, and not to call yourselves Lutherans, but Christians. Who is Luther? My doctrine is not mine! I have not been crucified for any one. St. Paul (1 Corinthians iii.) would not that any one should call themselves of Paul, nor of Peter, but of Christ. How then does it befit me, a miserable bag of dust and ashes, to give my name to the children of Christ? Cease, my dear friends, to cling to these party names and distinctions; away with them all; and let us call ourselves only Christians, after him from whom our doctrine comes.

"It is quite just that the papists should bear the name of their party; because they are not content with the name and doctrine of Jesus Christ, they will be papists besides. Well, let them own the pope, as he is their master. For me, I neither am nor wish to be master of any one. I and mine will contend for the sole and whole doctrine of Christ, who is our sole Master." (Luth. Werke, ii. p. 4.)

Page 24, col. 2. "*Never had any private man, before him, addressed a monarch. . .*"—At this very time he was exceeding all bounds in his attacks on the holy see. In his reply to pope Adrian's briefs, he says, "I grieve to be obliged to write such good German in reply to this pitiful kitchen Latin. But God wills to confound Antichrist in all things. . . . It is a disgrace to offer reasonable beings so stupid and absurd an interpretation of Scripture."

"I would make one bundle of pope and cardinals, and fling the whole into our little ditch of the

Tuscan Sea. Such a bath, I pledge my word, and back it with Jesus Christ as security, would cure them."

"My little Paul, my little pope, my little donkey, trot gently; it is slippery, you will break a leg, you will injure yourself, and folk will cry out, 'What the devil's this? How our little popeling is injured!'" (A.D.1542? Bossuet's translation in his Variations, i. 45, 46.)

Interpretation of the Monachoritulus (monk-calf) *and of two horrible popeling monsters found in the Tiber, at Rome, in the year* 1496; *published at Friburg, in Misnia, in* 1523, *by Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther.*—"In all times God has manifested by evident signs his wrath or his mercy. Even so his prophet Daniel foretold the coming of Antichrist, in order that the faithful, being warned, might be on their guard against his blasphemies and idolatry.

"During this reign of tyranny, God has given many signs, and, lately, the horrible popeling monster, found dead in the Tiber in the year 1496.... First, the ass's head signifieth the pope; for the Church is a spiritual body, which neither ought, nor can have any visible head. Christ alone is lord and head of the Church. The pope has sought, in opposition to God, to make himself the visible head of the Church; therefore this ass's head, attached to a human body, can signify none but he. Indeed, an ass's head fits the human body better than the pope the Church! As great as is the difference between an ass's brain and human intellect and reason, so great is the difference between the papal doctrine and the doctrine of Christ.....

"He has not only an ass's head as regards Scripture, but as regards natural law and human judgment. The jurists of the empire say that a true canonist is a true ass.

"The monster's right hand, like to an elephant's foot, signifieth that he crushes the timid and fearful. And so he crushes and bruises souls by his decrees, which, without cause or reason, terrify consciences with a thousand sins of his invention, and the names of which even are not understood.

"The left hand signifieth the pope's temporal power; who, in opposition to Christ's word, has become the lord of kings and princes. Not one of them has excited or entered into so many wars; not one has shed so much blood. Busied with worldly matters, he neglects the preaching of the word, and deserts the Church.

"The right foot, like to an ox's hoof, signifieth the ministers of spiritual authority, who support and defend this tyrannical power to the oppression of souls; to wit, pontifical doctors, confessors, the swarms of monks and nuns, and, above all, the school divines,—all of whom go on extending the pope's intolerable laws, and so holding consciences prisoners under the elephant's foot.

"The left foot, which ends in a griffin's claws, signifieth the ministers of the civil power. Just as the griffin's claws do not readily let go what they have once seized, so the pope's satellites have seized by the books of the canons the goods of all Europe, and retain them so stubbornly that one cannot force them back.

"The belly and the woman's breast signify the pope's body, that is, the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, all the sacro-saint martyrs, all the pampered hogs of Epicurus's sty, who think only of eating, drinking, and voluptuous pleasures of every kind, and all this, not only freely, but with a reserve of peculiar privileges....

"Their eyes full of adultery, their hearts of avarice, these sons of perdition have abandoned the right road to follow Balaam, seeking the reward of his iniquity."

Page 25, col. 1. "*they have not had the courage to face Luther alone.*"—According to Luther's own confession, this violent answer scandalized numbers of his own party. King Christiern got him to write a letter of apology to Henry VIII., assuring him that that monarch was about to introduce the Reformation into England, in which he states, by way of excuse, that he had been informed that the work was not his, and offers "to sing a palinode" (*palinodiam cantare*). Sept. 1st, 1525. His letter had no effect on the irritated Henry; so, some months after, he breaks out with, "These womanly-hearted tyrants have but an impotent and sordid mind..... But, by God's grace, I am sufficiently avenged by the contempt I feel for them, and for Satan, their God." (Dec. 1525.)

Page 26, col. 1. "*Attempts at organisation.*"—When Luther felt the necessity of introducing some order and regularity into the new Church, finding himself called upon every day to judge matrimonial causes, and to decide on all the relations between the church and the laity, he set himself to study the canon laws.

"In this matter of marriage which has been submitted to me, I have decided according to the decrees of the popes. I have begun to read the regulations of the papists, and I find that they do not by any means follow them." (March 30th, 1529.)

"I would give my left hand for the papists to be obliged to observe their own canons. They would cry out more loudly against them than against Luther."

"The Decretals are like the monster; the head, a woman's; the body, that of a devouring lion; the tail, a serpent's; nothing but falsehoods and deceit. Behold the image of the popedom."—(Tischreden, p. 277, folio et verso.)

Page 26, col. i. "*The answers he returns to the multitude that come to consult him.*"—(October 11th, 1533.) *To the community of Eszlingen:*—"It is true, that I have said confession is good; in the same way that I forbid no one to fast, to keep holy days, to go on pilgrimages, &c. But I wish all these things to be done freely, and at every person's choice; not as if it was a mortal sin to omit them.... But, as there are many consciences captive to the laws of the pope, you will do well not to eat meat in the presence of those men still weak in the faith. This abstinence on your part becomes a work of charity; in that it spares the conscience of your neighbour...."

(October 16th, 1523.) *To Michael Vander Strassen*, tax-gatherer, at Borna (concerning a preacher of Oelsnitz, who exaggerated Luther's principles):—"You have seen what my opinion is by my book *On Confession and on Mass*, where I show that confession is good when a matter of choice, and that the mass, though neither a sacrifice nor a good work, is yet a testimony of religion, &c. Your preacher's

fault is that he flies too high, and throws away his old shoes before he has new ones. He should begin by instructing the people in faith and charity. In a year or so, when they shall thoroughly understand Jesus Christ, it will be time to approach the points that he is now mooting. . . . I preached three years at Wittemberg before coming to these questions, and men of this stamp wish to do all in an hour. These hasty spirits work much harm. .. Let him refrain from prohibiting and punishing confession. . . ."

Page 27, col. 1. "*As to mass.*"—"Please God, I will try to do away with these masses. I can no longer bear the tricks and plots of these three demi-canons against the unity of our Church." (November 27th, 1524.)

"I have at last stirred up our canons to consent to the abrogation of masses." (December 2nd, 1544.)

"These two words, 'mass and sacrament,' are as far from each other as light and darkness, as heaven and hell, as God and devil. . . ."

"Questions were frequently put to him with regard to the baptism of children *before delivery*:—"I have often hindered our midwives from baptizing children before they were brought into the world. They used to baptize the fœtus as soon as the head appeared. Why not baptize over the mother's belly, or, better still, baptize the belly itself!" (March 13th, 1531.)

Page 27, col. 2. "*De Ministris Ecclesiæ Instituendis*" (Instructions to the Ministers of Wittemberg):—"To dismiss unworthy ministers; to abrogate all masses and purchased vigils; in the morning, instead of mass, *Te Deum*, lecture and exhortation; in the evening, lecture and exposition; complines after supper. One mass only to be said on Sundays and holydays."—(Briefe, August 19th, 1523.)

In 1520, he published a catechism; and ten years afterwards, another; in which he only kept baptism and the communion, and did away entirely with confession; at the same time exhorting to a frequent recurrence to the pastor's advice.

He wished to preserve tithes in order to render ministers independent of the civil power. "Tithes seem to me the justest thing in the world. Would to God that all taxes were abolished, save tithes, or ninths, or eighths; what do I say? The Egyptians gave the fifth, and yet could live!" (June 15th, 1524.)

Page 27, col. 2. "*that the priest is invested with an indestructible character.*"—"Pastors and preachers who give cause for scandal, ought to be suspended and imprisoned; and the elector has resolved to erect a prison for this purpose.". . . . "The doctor then alluded to John Sturm, whom he had often visited in the castle of Wittemberg, and who, persisting in holding the opinion that Christ had only died for the example's sake, was imprisoned in the tower of Schwrinitz, where he died."—(Tischred. p. 196.)

"Luther said that the Anabaptists were to be punished only inasmuch as they were seditious."—(Tischred. p. 298.)

Page 28, col. 1. "*he yet exercised a sort of supremacy and controul.*"—He decides that canons are obliged to share the public charges with the citizens. (*Letter to the Council of Stettin, January 12th*, 1523). Applications were often made to him for church livings:

"Put your mind at rest about having a parish. There is everywhere a great dearth of faithful pastors; so much so, that we are forced to institute and ordain ministers with a rite of our own, without tonsure, without unction, without mitre, or staff, without gloves or censer, in fine, without bishops." (December 16th, 1530.)

(A.D. 1531.) The inhabitants of Riga, and the prince Albert of Prussia, ask Luther to send them ministers.

The king of Sweden, Gustavus the First, asks him also for a preceptor for his son. (April 1539.)

Page 28, col. 2. "*the abolition of the monastic vows.*"—In his treatise *De Vitandâ Hominum Doctrinâ*, he says of the bishops and dignitaries of the church, "Let these hardened and impure ones, who have incessantly in their mouths 'Christianity, Christianity,' learn that it is not for them that I have written on the necessity of eating meat, of abstaining from confession, and breaking images; not for them, who are like the unclean that polluted the camp of Israel. If I have taught these things, it is to deliver the captive consciences of those unhappy monks, who doubt if they can break such vows without sin." (Seckendorf, lib. i. sect. 50, p. 202.)

Page 29, col. 1. "*Nine nuns came to me yesterday.*"—Nine nuns had been carried off from their convent, and brought to Wittemberg. "They call me a ravisher," says Luther; "yes, and a thrice happy one like Christ, who also was a ravisher on earth, when, by his death, he took from the prince of this world his weapons and his power, and carried him away captive." (Cochlæus, p. 73.)

Page 30, col. 1. "*His old friend Carlstadt.*"—Carlstadt was canon and archdeacon of the collegiate church of All Saints, and was its dean when Luther entered as doctor in 1512. (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 72.)

Page 30, col. 1, last line but one. "*Beyond Carlstadt, glimpses might be seen of Münzer.*"—Letter of doctor Martin to the Christians of Antwerp. "We believed, during the reign of the pope, that the spirits which make a noise and disturbance in the night, were those of the souls of men, who after death, return and wander about in expiation of their sins. This error, thank God, has been discovered by the Gospel, and it is known at present, that they are not the souls of men, but nothing else than those malicious devils who used to deceive men by false answers. It is they that have brought so much idolatry into the world.

"The devil seeing that this sort of disturbance could not last, has devised a new one; and begins to rage in his members, I mean in the ungodly, through whom he makes his way in all sorts of chimerical follies and extravagant doctrines. This won't have baptism, that denies the efficacy of the Lord's supper; a third, puts a world between this and the last judgment; others teach that Jesus Christ is not God; some say this, others that; and there are almost as many sects and beliefs as there are heads.

"I must cite one instance, by way of exemplification, for I have plenty to do with these sort of

spirits. There is not one of them that does think himself more learned than Luther ; they all try to win their spurs against me ; and would to heaven that they were all such as they think themselves, and that I were nothing ! The one of whom I speak assured me, amongst other things, that he was sent to me by the God of heaven and earth, and talked most magnificently, but the clown peeped through all. At last, he ordered me to read the books of Moses. I asked for a sign in confirmation of this order, 'It is,' said he, 'written in the gospel of St. John.' By this time I had heard enough, and I told him, to come again, for that we should not have time, just now, to read the books of Moses. . . .

" I have plenty to do in the course of the year with these poor people: the devil could not have found a better pretext for tormenting me. As yet the world had been full of those clamorous spirits without bodies, who oppressed the souls of men ; now they have bodies, and give themselves out for living angels . . .

" When the pope reigned we heard nothing of these troubles. The strong one (the devil) was in peace in his fortress; but now that a stronger one than he is come, and prevails against him and drives him out, as the Gospel says, he storms and comes forth with noise and fury.

" Dear friends, one of these spirits of disorder has come amongst you in flesh and blood; he would lead you astray with the inventions of his pride: beware of him.

" First, he tells you that all men have the Holy Ghost. Secondly, that the Holy Ghost is nothing more than our reason and our understanding. Thirdly, that all men have faith. Fourthly, that there is no hell, that at least the flesh only will be damned. Fifthly, that all souls will enjoy eternal life. Sixthly, that nature itself teaches us to do to our neighbour what we would he should do to us ; this he calls faith. Seventhly, that the law is not violated by concupiscence, so long as we are not consenting to the pleasure. Eighthly, that he that has not the Holy Ghost, is also without sin, for he is destitute of reason.

" All these are audacious propositions, vain imaginations; if we except the seventh, the others are not worthy of reply. . . .

" It is sufficient for us to know that God wills no sin. As to his sufferance of sin, we ought not to approach the question. The servant is not to know his master's secrets, simply his master's orders: how much less should a poor creature attempt to scrutinize or sound the mysteries and the majesty of the Creator ! . . .

" To learn the law of God, and to know his son Jesus Christ, is sufficient to absorb the whole of life. . . . A.D. 1525." (Luth. Werke, tom. ii. p. 61, sqq.)

Page 31, col. 1. "*Luther obtained an order from the elector for Carlstadt's expulsion.*"—" As to Carlstadt's reproach, that I have driven him away, I should not much trouble myself if the complaint were well founded ; but with God's help I hope I can justify myself in the matter. At all events I am very glad that he is no longer in our country, and I would wish he were not in yours."

" Basing himself on one of his writings, he would have almost persuaded me not to confound the spirit that animated him, with the seditious and homicidal one of Altstet (Münzer's residence when at my sovereign's command I went among Carlstadt's good christians, I found surely what seeds he had been sowing ; thank God I was not stoned or pelted with there, for the common form of benedictio which they greeted me was this : 'Get you in the name of a thousand devils, and m break your neck before you get out of the t (Letter to the Strasburghers. Luther, W ii. p. 58.)

" In the disputations at Leipsig Carlst sisted on speaking before me; he left me the combat Eck's propositions on the supremacy pope, and on John Huss. . . . He is a po puter, with a dull and opiniated head of hi . . . but he had, however, a very merry Ma

" These subjects of scandal do much h the cause of the gospel. A French spy on me that his king knew all about us ; for heard that we no longer respected either r or laws, or even marriage itself, but that w it was like the beasts that perish. (Tischre 417, 422.)

Carlstadt's Death. " I wish to know w Carlstadt died repentant or not. . . ."

" They tell a story of Carlstadt's havin killed by the devil. A man of gigantic sta said to have entered the church where Ca was preaching, and to have afterwards g Carlstadt's house, where he caught up his s to dash out his brains against the floor, but s down, and bade him tell his father that he return in three days to bear him off. Ca died the third day. . . . I think it likely t was seized with sudden terrors, and that killed by the fear of death alone ; for he had the greatest dread of dying." (April 7th, 154

Page 33, col. 2. "*The peasants first rose up Black Forest.*"—An important circumstance war of the peasants is, that it broke out wh troops of the empire were in Italy ; otherwi insurrection would have been more quick pressed. The peasants of count Sigismo Lupffen, in Hegovia (A.D. 1524), began the on account of the burdens laid on them (i the cause of Lutheranism). They declared William von Furstemberg, who was sent to them. . . This first insurrection was app suppressed, when Münzer roused the peas Thuringia to revolt.

The pious, the erudite, the peaceable M thon showed how accordant the demands peasants were to the word of God and to j and exhorted the princes to clemency. thundered against both parties. (See the tex

. . . . . .

A Franconian song, composed after the the peasants, had for its burthen the verse—

" Look out, peasant, or my horse will be over th

This was the counterpart of the war-song *Dithmarsen*, after they had defeated the *guard*,—

" Look out, horseman, the peasant's upon the

The common badge of the insurgent pe was a white cross. Some bodies had the w fortune on their banners ; others seals, on were engraved a ploughshare, with a flail,

or a pitchfork, and a sabot placed cross-wise. (Gropp. Chronique de Wurtzburg, i. 97. Wachsmuth, p. 36.)

A violent pamphlet appeared anonymously, in 1525, inscribed "To the Assembly of all the Peasants." It bears a wheel of fortune on the title-page, with this inscription in German verses:

"Now is the time for the wheel of fortune,
God knows beforehand who will keep uppermost—
Peasants, | Romanists,
Good Christians. | Sophists."

And lower down—

"Who makes us sweat so?
The avarice of the nobles."

And at the bottom—

"Turn, turn, turn,
Will ye, nill ye, thou must turn."

(Strobel, Memoirs on the Literature of the Sixteenth Century, ii. p. 44. Wachsmuth, p. 55.)

After the taking of Weinsberg, the peasants passed a resolution in their general council, that no quarter was to be granted to any prince, count, baron, noble, knight, priest, or monk, "in a word, to no men who live in idleness," and committed the most frightful excesses of every kind. In Franconia alone, they laid in ruins two hundred and ninety-three monasteries or castles. They used to drain the contents of the wine-cellars, and divide amongst themselves the church ornaments and the clerical vestments. One of their amusements was making the nobles take off their hats to them. . . . The peasant women bore their share in the war, and marched under a banner of their own. (Jæger, History of Heilbronn, ii. p. 34.)

When the insurrection had been put down in Suabia, numbers of the peasants were crucified, others beheaded, &c. In Alsace, where the spirit of revolt had made great progress, duke Antony of Lorraine collected a body of troops, chiefly out of the scattered remains of the battle of Pavia, defeated the peasants in three encounters (A.D. 1525), and is said to have slain more than thirty thousand. He had three hundred prisoners beheaded. (D. Calmet, Histoire de la Lorraine, i. p. 495, &c.; Hottinger, Hist. de la Suisse, ii. p. 28; Sleidan, p. 115.)

Page 34, col. 2. "*Exhortation to Peace.*"—"Dr. Martin Luther's sincere exhortation to all christians, to beware of the spirit of rebellion, 1524.

"The man of the people, tempted beyond all measure, and crushed by intolerable burthens, neither will nor can endure any longer, and has good reasons for striking with flail and mace, as *John of the Mattock* threatens to do. . . . I am rejoiced to see the tyrants trembling. . . .

"It belongs to the secular power and the nobles to complete the work (the work of Reformation). What is done by the regular authorities cannot be set down as sedition."

After pointing out that a spiritual, not a temporal insurrection is required, he goes on to say: "Spread, then, spread the Holy Gospel; teach, write, preach that all human establishments are nothing; dissuade all from becoming priests, papists, monks, nuns; exhort all who are such to renounce their way of life and to make their escape; cease to give money for bulls, tapers, bells, pictures, churches; tell them that Christian life consists in faith and charity. Go on two years on this wise, and you will see what will become of pope, bishops, cardinals, priesthood, monks, nuns, bells, church-towers, masses, vigils, surplices, copes, tonsures, rules, statutes, and the whole of this vermin, this buzzing swarm of the papal reign. The whole will have disappeared like smoke."

Page 38, col. 2. "*Thomas Münzer, the leader of the Thuringian peasants.*"—Münzer laid down certain stages in the christian's state. First, purification (*Entgrobung*), or the state of renouncing the grosser sins; as gluttony, drunkenness, debauchery. Second, the studious state, or that in which the mind dwells on another life and labours to improve. Third, contemplation; that is, meditations on sin and on grace. Fourth, weariness; that is, the state in which fear of the law makes us hate ourselves and inspires us with regret at our sins. Fifth, suspension of grace; that is, either profound dejection, profound incredulity, and despair like that of Judas, or, on the contrary, the throwing ourself through faith on God, and leaving all to his disposal. . . . "He once wrote to me and Melanchthon, 'I like you of Wittemberg attacking the pope; but your prostitutions, which you call marriages, like me not.'" He taught that a man ought not to sleep with his wife except assured beforehand, by a divine revelation, that their offspring would be holy; that else it was adultery.—(Tischred. p. 292, 293.)

Münzer professed to have received his doctrine by divine revelations, and to teach nothing but what was directly communicated by God. He had been expelled from Prague, and many other towns, when he took up his final residence at Alstet in Saxony, where he declaimed against the pope, and, what was more dangerous still, against Luther himself.

Scripture, said Münzer, promises that God will grant to him who asketh. Now, he cannot refuse a sign to him who seeks a true knowledge of his will. . . . He said that God manifested his will by dreams.—(Gnodalius, ap. Rer. Germ. Scr. ii. p. 151; History of Münzer, by Melanchthon, Luth. Werke, t. ii. p. 405.)

Page 39, col. 2. "*One cannot but be surprised at the severity with which Luther speaks of their defeat.*"—"The reason of my writing so violently against the peasants is my horror at seeing them forcing the timid into their ranks, and so dragging innocent sufferers under God's visitation. . . ."

To John Rühel, his brother-in-law:—"It is piteous to see the vengeance which has overtaken these poor people. But what was to be done? It is God's will to strike terror into them; otherwise, Satan would be doing worse than the princes are now doing. The lesser evil must be preferred to the greater. . . ." (May 23rd, 1525.)

Page 40, col. 2. "*The violence with which princes and bishops.*"—"Good princes and lords, you are in too great a hurry to see me die, me, who am only a poor man; with my death you feel assured of victory. But if you had ears to hear, I would tell you strange things; and one is, that if Luther died, not a man of you would be sure of his life and dominions. . . . Go on merrily, kill, burn; but, with God's grace, I yield not an inch. I pray you, however, when you have killed me, not to call me to life in order to kill me again. . . . I have not to do, I see, with rational beings. All the wild beas

of Germany are let loose upon me, like wolves or boars, to tear me in pieces. . . . I write to warn you, but to no purpose. God has struck you with blindness." (Cochlæus, p. 87.)

Page 41, col. 1. "*Bucer . . . . concealed his opinions for some time from Luther.*"—On the 14th of October, 1539, he wrote to Bucer, "Give my respectful regards to J. Sturm and J. Calvin, whose books I have perused with singular gratification."

Page 41, col. 1. "*Zwingle and Œcolampadius.*"—"Œcolampadius and Zwingle said, 'We leave Luther in peace, because he is the first through whom God has vouchsafed us his Gospel; but after the death of Luther we will push our own opinions!' They knew not that they would die before Luther." (Tischred. p. 283.)

"At first, Œcolampadius was a fine-hearted being; but he subsequently became sour and embittered. Zwingle, too, was at first full of vivacity and agreeability; and he, too, turned morose and melancholy." (Ibid.)

"After hearing Zwingle at the conference of Marburg, I considered that he was an excellent man, and Œcolampadius as well. . . . I have been much annoyed at seeing you publish Zwingle's book to the *most Christian king*, with a host of favourable testimonies prefixed to it, although you were aware that it contained matter offensive to myself and to all pious persons. Not that I envy the honours paid to Zwingle, at whose death I grieved; but no consideration whatever should tempt any one to do aught prejudicial to purity of doctrine." (May 14th, 1538.)

Page 41, col. 1. "*I know enough, and more than enough of Bucer's iniquity.*" "Master Bucer formerly thought himself exceedingly learned. He never was; for he publishes that all people have but one and the same religion, and are so saved. This is madness with a vengeance." (Tischreden, p. 184.)

"Dr. Luther was shown a large book, written by one William Postel, a Frenchman, on *Unity in the World*, where he laboured to prove the articles of faith from reason and nature, in the view of converting the Turks and Jews, and bringing all men to one same belief. The doctor observes, 'We have had similar works on natural theology; and this writer proves the proverb—The French are lack-brains. We shall have visionaries arising who will undertake to reconcile all kinds of idolatry with a show of faith, and so extenuate idolatry.'" (Ibid. 68, verso.)

Bucer made many attempts to be on good terms again with Luther. The latter writes (A.D. 1532), "As far as I am personally concerned, I could easily forbear you; but there are crowds of men here (as you may have seen at Smalkalde) ready to rebel against my authority. I can in no wise allow you to pretend that you have not erred, or to say that we have mistaken each other. The best plan for you is to acknowledge the whole frankly, or to keep your peace, and teach henceforward sound doctrine only. There are some among us, as Amsdorf, Osiander, and others, who cannot away with your subterfuges."

After the revolt of the Anabaptists (A.D. 1535), fresh attempts were made to unite the reformed churches of Switzerland, Alsace, and Saxony under one common confession of faith. Luther writes to Capito (Kœpstein), Bucer's friend, and minister at Strasburg, "My Catherine thanks you for the gold ring you sent her;" then, after mentioning that it had been either lost or stolen, he says, "The poor woman is greatly distressed, because I had told her the present was a happy gage of the future concord of your church and ours." (July 9th, 1537.)

Page 42, col. 1. "*This forbearance could not last. The publication De Libero Arbitrio*" (Of the Freedom of the Will).—"You say less, but you grant more to freedom of the will than any one else; for you do not define free-will, and yet grant it every thing. I would prefer receiving the doctrine of the sophists and of their master, Peter Lombard; who tell us that free-will is no more than the faculty of distinguishing and choosing between good and evil, according as we are directed by grace or not. Peter Lombard believes with Augustin, that if free-will have nothing to direct it, it can only lead man to sin. So Augustin, in his second book against Julian, calls it the *slave will*, rather than *free will*." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 477, verso.)

Page 42, col. 1, the last line but one. "*There is no longer God, nor Christ, nor Gospel.*"—"If God has foreknowledge; if Satan is the prince of this world; if original sin has lost us; if the Jews, seeking righteousness, have fallen into unrighteousness; whilst the Gentiles, seeking unrighteousness, have found righteousness (freely offered unto them); if Christ has redeemed us by his blood; there can be no free-will for men or for angels. Either Christ is superfluous; or we must admit that he has only redeemed the vilest part of man." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 525, vero.)

Page 42, col. 2. "*The more Luther struggles.*"—Pushed hard by contradictions, Luther is reduced to maintain the following propositions:—"Grace is gratuitously given to the most unworthy and least deserving; it is not to be obtained by study, work, by any efforts, great or little; it is not even granted to the ardent zeal of the best and most virtuous of men, whose sole pursuit is righteousness." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 520.)

Page 42, col. 2. "*And, to his latest day, the name of him.*"—"What you tell me of Erasmus's foaming against me, I can see in his letters. . . . . He is a most trifling man, who laughs at all religions like his Lucian, and only writes seriously when he wishes to retort and annoy." (May 28th, 1529.)

"Erasmus shows a spirit worthy of himself by thus persecuting the name of Lutheran, which constitutes his safety. Why is he not off to his Hollanders, his Frenchmen, his Italians, his Englishmen, &c.? . . . He seeks by these flatterers to secure himself an asylum; but he will find none, and, betwixt two stools, will come to the ground. Had the Lutherans hated him as his own countrymen do, he would live at Bâle at the risk of his life. But let Christ judge this atheist, this Epicurus." (March 7th, 1529.)

Page 43, col. 1. "*If I fight with dirt, &c.*"—The original epigram is as follows:—

"Hoc scio pro certo, quod, si cum stercore certa,
Vinco vel vincor, semper ego maculor."

Page 43, col. 2. "*I have chosen to practise what I preached.*"—Luther, in preaching the marriage of priests, thought only of putting an end to the shameful lie they daily gave to their monastic vows. It never occurred to him at this time that a married priest would be led to prefer his family according to the flesh, to that entrusted to him by God and the Church. Yet he himself could not always withdraw himself from the selfish feelings of a father; and expressions sometimes escaped him, lamentably at variance with charity and devotion, as they are understood and frequently practised by Catholic priests.

"It is quite sufficient," he says in one of his charges to a pastor, "if the people communicate three or four times in the year, and that publicly. To administer the communion in private would become too heavy a burthen on ministers, especially in seasons of pestilence. Besides, the Church ought not to be rendered in this manner, as regards her sacraments, the slave of individuals, above all, of those who despise her, yet would, nevertheless, have the Church in all cases ever ready to administer to them, although they do nothing for the Church." (November 26th, 1539.)

He himself, however, acted upon very different maxims; displaying on serious emergencies all the heroism of charity.

"I have turned my house into a hospital, as all others were frightened. I have received the pastor into my house (his wife has just fallen a victim) and all his family." (November 4th, 1527.)

Doctor Luther, speaking of the death of Dr. Sfhald and his wife, whom he had visited in their sickness and touched, said, "They died of sorrow and distress more than of the plague." He took their children into his house, and being told that he was tempting God's providence; "Ah!" said he, "mine has been a good schooling, which has taught me to tempt God in this way."

The plague being in two houses, they wanted to sequester a deacon who had entered them; Luther would not allow it, both from trust in God, and unwillingness to create alarm. (December, 1538. Tischreden, p. 356.)

Page 44, col. 1. "*Pre-occupied with household cares.*"—"We have excellent wine from the prince's cellar, and we should become perfect evangelists, if the Gospel fattened us equally." (March 8th, 1523.

Luther usually concludes his letters, at this period, with such words as these: *Mea costa, Dominus meus, imperatrix mea Ketha, te salutat.* My dear rib, my master, my empress Ketha salutes thee.

"My lord Ketha was at her new kingdom at Zielsdorf (a small property belonging to Luther) when thy letters arrived."

He writes to Spalatin: "My Eve wishes for thy prayers to God to preserve to her her two infants, and to help her happily to conceive and become the mother of a third." (May 15th, 1528.)

Luther had three sons, John, Martin, Paul; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Madeleine, and Margaret; the two first daughters died young, one at the age of eight months, the other at thirteen years of age; on the tomb of the first, is written, *Hic dormit Elisabetha, filiola Lutheri.* The male line of Luther became extinct in 1759. (Ukert, i. p. 92.)

There is, in the church of Kieritzsch (a Saxon village), a likeness of Luther's wife, in plaster, bearing the following inscription: *Catarina Luther, gebohren von Bohrau*, 1540. This likeness had belonged to Luther. (Ukert, i. 364.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*Marks the end of this period of atony.*" He was exceedingly wrath with too vehement preachers. If N * * * cannot be more moderate, he writes to Hausmann, I shall get the prince to eject him.

"I have already begged you," he writes to this same preacher, "to preach more peaceably the word of God, abstaining from all personalities, and from whatever gives annoyance to the people without adequate results. . . At the same time, you are too lukewarm about the sacrament, and are too long without communicating." (February 10th, 1528.)

"We have a preacher from Kœnigsberg, who wants to introduce I know not how many regulations, touching bells, wax-tapers, and other things of the like sort. . . . It is not needful to preach so often. I hear that they give three sermons every Sunday, at Kœnigsberg. Where is the use of that? two are quite enough; and for the whole week, two or three. Daily preaching takes one into the pulpit without sufficient meditation, and we preach whatever comes uppermost, whether to the purpose or beside it. For God's sake, moderate the temper and the zeal of our preachers. This Kœnigsberg preacher is too vehement, and tragedises, and glooms and discourses about trifles." (July 16th, 1528.)

"Did I want to grow rich, I would give up preaching, and turn mountebank. I should find more ready to pay for seeing me, than I have hearers gratis now." (Tischred. p. 186.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*So let us honour marriage.*"—As early as the 25th of May 1524, he wrote to Capiton and Bucer: "I rejoice in the marriages you are contracting between the priests, monks, and nuns; I love this array of husbands against the bishops of Satan, and approve the choice you have made for the different parishes; in fact, there is nothing that you tell me but gives me the liveliest satisfaction: go on and prosper. . . . I will say yet more, we have of late years made concessions enough to the weak. Besides, since they harden themselves daily, we must speak and act with all freedom. . . . I am thinking myself of giving up the cowl, which I have worn so long for the support of the weak, and in mockery of the pope." (May 25th, 1524.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*I have not liked to refuse giving my father the hope of posterity.*"—"The affair of the peasants has emboldened the papists, and much injured the cause of the gospel; and so we christians must now lift up the head higher. It is to this end, and that it may not be said we preach the gospel without practising it, that I am going to marry a nun; my enemies were triumphing; they cried, Io! Io! I have wished to prove to them that I am not disposed to beat a retreat, though something old and infirm. And perhaps I may do yet something else, at least I hope so, to damp their joy and to strengthen my own words." (August 16th, 1525.)

Hardly was Luther married before his enemies spread the report that his wife was about to be

confined. Erasmus caught at the report with great eagerness, and hastened to spread it among all his correspondents, but he was compelled, at a subsequent period, to eat his words. (Ukert, i. 189—192.)

Eck and others attacked him with numerous satires on the occasion of his marriage, to which he replied in various pieces which were collected under the title of *the Fable of the Lion and the Ass.*

Page 44. col. 1, near the end. "*We are daily plunging deeper into debt.*"—In 1527, he was obliged to pledge three of his goblets for fifty florins, and at last sold one for twelve florins. His ordinary income never exceeded two hundred Misnia florins a year. . . . The publishers made him an offer of four hundred florins yearly, but he could not resolve on accepting it. In spite of his straitened means, his liberality was profuse; he gave to the poor the presents made to his children at their baptism. A poor scholar once asking him for a little money, he begged his wife to give him some; but, she replying that there was none in the house, Luther then took up a silver vase, and putting it into his hands desired him to go and sell it to some goldsmith for his own use. (Ukert, ii. p. 7.)

"Doctor Pomer brought Luther one day a hundred florins of which some nobleman had just made him a present, but he would not accept them; he instantly gave half of it to Philip, and wished Dr. Pomer to take back the rest, but he would not. (Tischr., p. 59.) "I have never asked a single farthing of my gracious lord." (Tischr., p. 53—60.)

Page 44. col. 2. "*asking them nothing for all my labour.*"—"A lawful gain has God's blessing, as when one gains one farthing out of twenty, but a dishonest profit will be accursed. Thus it shall be with the printer of * * * who gains one farthing out of every two . . . on the books he has had to print for me. The printer, John Grunenberger, said to me conscientiously, 'Sir doctor, this brings me in too much; I cannot supply copies enough.' This was a man fearing God, and he has been blessed." (Tischr. p. 62, verso.)

"You know, my dear Amsdorf, that I alone cannot supply all the presses, and yet they all come to me for this food; there are here nearly six hundred printers." (April 11th, 1525.)

Page 46, col. 2. "*Wherefore should I be provoked with the papists?*" It seems, however, that they attempted to make away with him by poison. (See letters written by him in Jan. and Feb., 1525; Cochlæus, p. 25; Tischreden, p. 416, and p. 274, verso.)

Page 47, col 1. "*A clandestine but most dangerous persecution.*"—"To the christians of Holland, of Brabant, and of Flanders (on the occasion of the torture of two Austin friars, who were burnt to death at Brussels).

"Oh! how shocking a death have these two poor men suffered. But what glory are they now enjoying in God's presence! It is a small thing to be despised and killed by this world, when we know that, as the Psalmist says (cxvi. 15.), '*Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.*' And what is the world compared to God! . . . What joy, what delight must the angels have felt when they welcomed these two souls! God be praised and blessed to all eternity, who has permitted us, even us, to hear and to see true saints and real martyrs. We, who have aforetime honoured so many false saints!" (July, 1523.)

"The noble lady Argula von Staufen, passes her life in continual suffering and peril. She is filled with the spirit, the word, and the knowledge of Christ. She has attacked the academy of Ingolstad with her writings, because of their forcing a young man, named Arsacius, into a shameful revocation of his faith. Her husband, who is himself a tyrant, and who has just lost a post through her, is at a loss what to do. . . . As for her, though surrounded by so many dangers, she maintains a firm faith, although, when writing to me, she confesses her courage is sometimes shaken. She is a precious instrument in the hands of Christ. I mention her to you, that you may see how God can confound by this *weak vessel* the mighty of this world, and those who glorify themselves in their wisdom." (A.D. 1524.)

Luther's translation of the Bible inspired a general itch of disputation. Even women challenged theologians, and averred that all the doctors were in darkness. Some of them were for mounting the pulpits, and teaching in the churches. Had not Luther declared that by baptism we are all teachers, preachers, bishops, popes, &c.! (Cochlæus, p. 51.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*and suffered to die of hunger.*"—One day, when some observations were made at Luther's table, on the little generosity shown to preachers, he said, "The world is incapable of giving anything with hearty will; it requires to be dealt with by clamour and importunity; and such impudence is brother Matthew's, who, by dint of begging, got the elector to promise that he would buy him a fur robe; but, as the prince's treasurer took no notice of it, brother Matthew called out in the middle of his sermon, as he was preaching before the elector, 'Where is my fur robe!' The order was repeated to the treasurer, but he again forgot it; so the preacher again referred to the gown in the elector's presence, saying this time, 'Alas! I have not yet seen my fur robe: where is it!' And upon this he finally obtained the promised boon." (Tischreden, p. 189, verso.)

Nevertheless, Luther constantly complains of the miserable state of the ministers generally.

"Their salaries," he says, "are often grudged them; and those who formerly would squander millions of florins on a set of rogues and impostors, are unwilling in these days to spare one hundred to a preacher." (March 1st, 1531.)

"There is now established here (at Wittemberg) a consistorial court for questions relating to marriage, and to oblige the peasants to better discipline in regard to the payments of their pastors; a regulation which, perhaps, would be of equal benefit if observed towards some of the nobility and the magistracy." (January 12th, 1541.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*There is nothing certain with regard to the apparitions.*"—"Joachim writes me word, that a child has been born at Bamberg with a lion's head! but that it died almost instantly; and that there had also appeared the sign of the cross over the city; but the priests have taken care that these things should not be noised abroad." (January 22nd, 1525.) "Princes die in great numbers this year, which perhaps may se-

count for this number of signs." (September 6th, 1525.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*when the Turks encamped.*"—Luther's first idea seemed to have been that the Turks were a succour sent him from God. "They are," says he, "the instruments of divine vengeance." A.D. 1526. (*Præliari adversus Turcas est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos.*) He did not wish the Protestants to arm themselves against them in defence of Papists; for "these (he said) are no better than the Turks."

He says, in a preface which he prefixed to a book of doctor Jonas's, that the Turks equal the Papists, or rather surpass them, in those very things which the latter think so essential to salvation; such as alms-giving, fasts, macerations, pilgrimages, the monastic life, ceremonials, and all other external works; and that it is for this reason that the Papists are reserved touching the worship of the Mahomedans. He takes occasion from this to laud and elevate over these Mahomedan and Romanist practices, "that pure religion of the soul and spirit taught by the Holy Gospel."

Elsewhere he draws a parallel between the Turk and the pope, concluding thus: "If we must needs oppose the Turk, so must we in like manner oppose the pope." Nevertheless, when he found the Turks seriously menacing the independence and peace of Germany, he repeatedly recommended the maintenance of a permanent army upon the frontiers of Turkey, and often repeated that all who bore the name of Christians ought to be fervent in prayer to God for the success of the emperor's arms against the infidels.

Luther exhorted the elector, in a letter of the 29th of May, 1538, to take part in the war that was preparing against the Turks; and begged of him to forget the intestine quarrels of Germany, in order to turn all his forces against the common enemy.

A former ambassador in Turkey told Luther, one day, that the sultan had asked him, "Who is this Luther? and what is his age?" And that when he learnt he was forty-eight, he said, "I wish he was not so old; tell him, that in me he has a gracious lord." "May God preserve me from all such gracious lords!" said Luther, crossing himself. (Tischreden, p. 432, verso.)

Page 48, col. 1. "*the landgrave....believing himself to be menaced.*"—Luther, in a letter to chancellor Brück, speaking of the landgrave's preparations for war, says, "A similar aggression on our part would be a great reproach to the Gospel. It would not be a revolt of the peasants, but a revolt of princes, which would bring the most fearful evils on Germany. It is what Satan desires above all things." (May, 1528.)

Page 48, col. 1. "*duke George of Saxony.*"—"Pray with me, that it may please the God of mercy to convert duke George to his Gospel, or that, if he be not worthy of it, he may be taken out of the world." (March 27th, 1526.)

Luther writes to the elector, on the subject of his quarrels with duke George. (December 31st, 1528.) ...."I pray your grace to abandon me entirely to the decision of the judges, supposing that duke George should insist upon it; for it becomes my duty to expose my own life, rather than that your grace should incur the least detriment. Jesus Christ will, I feel sure, arm me with sufficient strength to resist Satan, singly."

Page 48, col. 1. "*this Moab, who exalts his pride.*"—Duke George was, after all, a good-tempered persecutor enough. Having expelled eighty-four Lutherans from Leipsic, he allowed them permission to retain their houses, to leave there their wives and children, and to visit them at the time of the yearly fair. In another instance, Luther having advised the Protestants of Leipsic to resist the orders of their duke, he (the duke) contented himself with praying the elector of Saxony to interdict all communication between Luther and his subjects. (Cochlæus, p. 230.)

Page 48, col. 2. "*the party of the Reformation broke out.*"—Luther still tried to restrain his favourers. On the 22nd of May, 1529, he wrote to the elector to dissuade him from entering into any league against the emperor, and to exhort him to put himself entirely in the hands of God.

Page 49, col. 2. "*the elector brought him as near as possible to Augsburg.*"—He left Torgau the 3rd of April, and arrived at Augsburg the 2nd of May. His suite was composed of one hundred and sixty horsemen. The theologians who accompanied him were Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Agricola, Spalatin, and Osiander. Luther, excommunicated and proscribed the empire, remained at Coburg.—(Ukert, t. i. p. 232.)

Page 50, col. 1. "*all the comfort he got was rough rebuke.*"—Sometimes, however, he sympathised with him in his trials:—"You have confessed Christ, made peace-offerings, obeyed Cæsar, suffered injuries, endured blasphemies; you have never rendered evil for evil; in fact, you have been a worthy labourer in the Lord's vineyard, as becometh the godly. Rejoice, then, and be comforted in the Saviour. Man of long-suffering, look up, and raise your drooping head, for your redemption draweth nigh. I will canonize you as a faithful member of Christ; what more of glory would you seek?"—(September 15th, 1530.)

Page 50, col. 2, last line but four. "*The Protestant profession of faith.*"—"At the diet of Augsburg, duke William of Bavaria, who was strongly opposed to the reformers, having said to Dr. Eck, 'Cannot we refute these opinions by the Holy Scriptures?' 'No,' said he, 'but by the Fathers.' The bishop of Mentz then said, 'Mark! how famously our theologians defend us! The Lutherans show us their belief in Scripture, and we ours out of Scripture.' The same bishop then added, 'The Lutherans have one article which we cannot confute, whatever may be the case with the rest,—the one on marriage.'"—(Tischred. p. 99.)

Page 51, col. 1. "*If the emperor chooses to publish an edict.*"—Luther, conscious of his power, says, "If I were killed by the Papists, my death would protect those I leave behind; and these wild beasts would perhaps be more cruelly punished for it than even I could wish. For there is One who will say some day, *Where is thy brother Abel?* And He shall mark them on the forehead, and they shall be wanderers on the face of the earth. . . . Our race is now under the protection of our Lord God, who has written, 'I will show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my com-

mandments.' And I believe in these words!" (June 30th, 1530.)

"If I were to be killed in any disturbance of the Papists, I should bear off with me such numbers of bishops, priests, and monks, that all would say, 'Dr. Martin Luther is followed to the tomb by a grand procession indeed. He must have been a great doctor, learned and good, beyond all bishops, priests, and monks; therefore they must all be at his interment, and, like him, on their backs.' So we should take our last journey together." (A.D. 1531. Cochlæus, p. 211. Extract from the book of Luther, entitled, "Advice to the Germans.")

The Catholics, he was told, reproached him with many false interpretations in his translation of the Scriptures; he replied, "They have much too long ears! and their *hi-haw! hi-haw!* is too weak to be able to judge of a translation from Latin into German. . . . Tell them that it is Dr. Martin Luther's pleasure that an ass and a Papist should be one and the same thing."

"Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas."

—(Passage cited by Cochlæus, 201, verso.)

Page 51, col. 1. "*Let them restore to us Leonard Keiser.*"—"Not only the title of king, but also that of emperor is due to him, since he has conquered him who has no equal upon earth. He is not a priest only,—but a sovereign pontiff, and a true pope, who has just offered up his own body as a sacrifice unto God. With good reason was he called *Leonhard*,—that is to say, 'the strength of a lion.' He was a lion for force and intrepidity." (October 22nd, 1527.)

"If we were to believe Cochlæus, Luther was a persecutor in his turn. In 1532, a Lutheran having recanted, Luther had him taken up and carried to Wittemberg, where he was imprisoned, and a process commenced against him. The charge against him being insufficient, he was released, but was ever after persecuted in an underhand way by the Lutherans." (Cochlæus, p. 218.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*They entered a protest . . . prepared for war.*"—Nevertheless, the issue of the struggle was so much feared on all hands, that, contrary to all expectation, peace was preserved. (June, 1531.)

The fear of a fresh rising of the peasants, greatly contributed to keep the princes in their pacific intentions. (July 19th, 1530.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*Luther was accused of having instigated the Protestants.*"—So far from it, he had ever since 1529 dissuaded the elector from entering into any league whatever against the emperor. . . . "We cannot approve of any such alliance. Should any evil result from it, say open war, all would fall upon our conscience; and we would prefer death a hundred times to the reproach of having shed blood for the Gospel's sake." (November 18th, 1529.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*I have not advised resistance to the emperor.*"—In the Book of the Table Talk (p. 397, verso), Luther speaks more explicitly. "There will be no fighting for religion's sake. The emperor has taken the bishoprics of Utrecht and of Liege, and has offered to allow the duke of Brunswick to seize that of Hildesheim. He hungers and thirsts for ecclesiastical property; he absolutely devours it. Our princes will not suffer this; they will want to eat with him; on this they will come to buffets." (A.D. 1530.)

"I have often been asked by my gracious master, what I should do were a highwayman or murderer to attack me? I should resist, out of loyalty to the prince whose subject and servant I am. I might slay the thief, even with the sword, and still afterwards receive the sacrament. But if it were for the word of God, and as a preacher, that I was attacked, I ought to suffer, and leave vengeance to God. I do not take a sword with me into the pulpit, only on the road. The Anabaptists are knaves in despair; they carry no arms, and boast of their patience." (1539.) Luther answers, on the question of right of resistance, "That according to public law, the law of nature and reason, resistance to unjust authority is permissible: there is no difficulty but upon the ground of religion."

"The question would not have been difficult to resolve in the time of the apostles, for then all the authorities were pagans, not Christians. But now that all the princes are Christians, or pretend to be such, it is difficult to decide; for a prince and a Christian are near of kin. Whether a Christian may resist the powers that be, is a question pregnant with matter. . . . In fine, it is from the pope I wrest the sword, not from the emperor."

He thus sums up himself the arguments he might have addressed to the Germans, if he had exhorted them to resistance.

"1. The emperor has neither the right nor the power to give such orders; certain it is, if he does so order, we ought not to obey him.

"2. It is not I who excite disturbance; I prevent it, I am opposed to it. Let them consider whether they are not the beginners, who command that which is contrary to God.

"3. Do not make a jest of the matter: if you will make the fool drunk (*narren Luprian*) take care that he does not spit in your face; besides he is thirsty enough, and only desires to drink his fill.

"4. Well, then, you will fight? bend your heads then for a blessing: success attend you! may God give you the victory! I, doctor Martin Luther, your apostle, I have spoken, I have warned you as was my duty." . . .

"To kill tyrants is a thing not permitted to any man who is not in some public capacity; for the fifth commandment says: 'Thou shalt not kill.' But if I surprise a man with my wife or my daughter, although he be not a tyrant, I am justified in killing him. So, if he were to take by force such a man's wife, another man's daughter, or another's goods and estates, his citizens and subjects, sick of his violence and tyranny, might assemble and slay him as they would any other murderer or highway robber." (Tischreden, p. 397, verso, sqq.)

"The good and truly noble lord, Gaspard von Kokritz, has desired me, my dear John, to write to thee my opinion, in the event of Cæsar's making war on our princes on account of the Gospel, whether it be lawful for us to resist and defend ourselves. I had already written my opinion on this subject in the lifetime of duke John. It is now a little late to ask my advice, since the princes have decided that they may and will both resist and defend themselves, and that they will not abide by what I shall say. . . . Do not strengthen the arms of the ungodly against our princes; leave all to the wrath and

judgment of God, which they have, up to this day, sought with fury, with laughter and riotous joy. Nevertheless moderate our side, by the example of the Maccabees who would not follow those that fought against Antiochus, but, in their simplicity of heart, chose death rather." (8th February, 1530.)

In his book *De Seculari Potestate*, dedicated to the Duke of Saxony, he says: "In Misnia, in Bavaria, and other places, the tyrants have issued an edict, commanding all to deliver up the New Testament to the magistrates. If their subjects obey this edict, it is not a book which at the peril of their souls they deliver up; it is Christ himself whom they give into the hands of Herod. However, if they are taken away by violence, it must be endured. Princes are of this world, and this world is the enemy of God."

"We must not obey Cæsar if he makes war against our party. The Turk does not attack his Alcoran, neither must the emperor attack his Gospel." (Cochlæus, p. 210.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*My opinion, as a theologian, . . .*"—The elector had asked Luther if he might resist the emperor sword in hand. Luther replied in the negative, only adding: "If, however, the emperor, not content with being the master of the states of princes, should go so far as to require of them to persecute, put to death, or banish their subjects on account of the Gospel, the princes, knowing that this would be acting in opposition to the will of God, ought to refuse obedience; otherwise, they would be doing violence to their faith, and rendering themselves the accomplices of crime. It is sufficient for them to suffer the emperor to take the matter into his own hands,—he will have to answer for it,—and to refrain from supporting their subjects against him." (March 6th, 1530.)

Page 52, col. 1. "*I care not about being accused of violence.*"—The elector had reprimanded Luther on account of two of his writings (*Warning to his beloved Germans*, and, *Glosses on the pretended Imperial Edict*), which he thought too violent. Luther replied to him (April 16th, 1531), "It was impossible for me to keep silence any longer in this affair, which concerns me more than any one else. If I were silent under such a public condemnation of my doctrine, would it not be equivalent to abandoning, to denying it? Rather than this, I would brave the anger of all the devils, and of the whole world, not to mention that of the imperial councillors."

Page 52, col. 2. "*Anabaptism was in the ascendant.*"—The Anabaptists had been for a long time spreading in Germany. "We have here a new kind of prophets, come from Antwerp, who pretend that the Holy Ghost is nothing more than the mind and natural reason." (March 27th, 1525.)

"There is nothing new, save that they say the Anabaptists are increasing and spreading in every direction." (December 28th, 1527.)

He writes to Link (May 12th, 1528): "Thou hast, I think, seen my *Antischwermerum* and my dissertation on the bigamy of the bishops. The courage of these Anabaptists, when they die, is like that of the Donatists, of whom Saint Augustin speaks, or the fury of the Jews in wasted Jerusalem. Holy martyrs, such as our Leonard Keiser, die in fear and humility, praying for their executioners. The obstinacy of these people, on the contrary, when they are borne to execution, seems to increase with the indignation of their enemies."

Page 56, col. 1. "*were executed in the same horrible manner.*"—Extract from an old book of hymns used by the Anabaptists. "The words of Algerius are miracles. 'Here,' he says, 'others groan and weep, but I am full of joy. In my prison the army of heaven appears to me; thousands of martyrs are with me daily. In all the joy, all the delight, all the ecstacy of grace, I am shown my Lord upon his throne.'

"But thy country, thy friends, thy relatives, thy profession, canst thou voluntarily abandon them? He answered those sent to him: 'No man can banish me from my country; my country lies at the foot of the celestial throne; there, my enemies shall be my friends, and shall join in the same song.'

"'Nor doctors, nor artists, nor workmen, can succeed here; he that has not strength from on high, has no strength.' The angry judges threatened him with the flames. 'In the might of the flames,' said Algerius, 'you shall acknowledge mine.'" (Wunderhorn, t. i.)

Page 56. Additions to Chapter 2. Book III. The following extracts from Ruchart (History of the Reformation in Switzerland) will serve to show the singular enthusiasm of the Anabaptists: —"In the year 1529, nine Anabaptists were apprehended and thrown into prison at Bâle. They were brought before the senate, which summoned the ministers to confer with them. Œcolampadius first briefly explained to them the Apostles' Creed and St. Athanasius's Creed, and showed them that the belief therein expounded was the true and indisputable Christian faith (doctrine) which Jesus Christ and his apostles had preached. Then the burgomaster, Adelbert Meyer, told the Anabaptists that they had just heard a sound exposition of the Christian faith, and that, since they complained of the ministers, they ought to speak out frankly and freely, and boldly explain in what they felt aggrieved! But no one answered a word, and they stood looking at each other. Then the clerk of the chamber said to one of them, who was by trade a turner, 'How comes it that you do not speak now, after having prated so much elsewhere, in the streets, in the shops, and in prison?' As they still remained silent, Mark Hedelin, the head tribesman, addressed their leader, asking, 'What answer, my brother, dost thou make to this proposition?' The Anabaptist replied, 'I do not recognize you as my brother.' 'Why?' said this nobleman to him. 'Because you are not a Christian. Repent first, reform, and quit the magistracy.' 'In what, then, do you think I sin so heavily?' said Hedelin. 'You know well enough,' replied the Anabaptist.

"The burgomaster then took up the word, exhorted him to reply in a modest and becoming manner, and earnestly pressed him to speak to the question proposed. On this he replied, 'That no Christian could belong to a worldly magistracy, because he who fights with the sword will perish with the sword; that the baptism of children proceedeth from the devil, and is an invention of the pope's; adults ought to be baptized, and not infants, according to Jesus Christ's commands.'

"Œcolampadius undertook to refute him with all possible gentleness, and to show him that the passages which he had quoted bore a very different interpretation, as all the ancient doctors testified. 'My dear friends,' he said, 'you do not understand Holy Scripture, and you handle it in a rude and insufficient manner.' And as he was proceeding to show them the sense of these passages, one of them, a miller by trade, interrupted him, accusing him of being a tempter, and an empty talker, saying, that his arguments had nothing to do with the subject; that they had in their hands God's pure and very word, that they would not forsake it their life long, and that the Holy Ghost spoke at the present day through it. At the same time, he apologized for his want of eloquence, saying, that he had not studied, that he had not belonged to any university, and that from his youth he had hated human wisdom, which is full of deceit; and that he was well aware of the tricks of the scribes who were for ever seeking to throw dust in the eyes of the simple. Whereupon, he began crying and weeping, saying, that after he had heard the word of God, he had forsaken his irregular course of life; and that now that, through baptism, he had received pardon for his sins, he was persecuted of all, whereas, whilst he was sunk in vice of every kind, no one had rebuked or imprisoned him, as was now the case. He had been confined in the gaol, like a murderer; what was his crime? &c. The conference having lasted to the hour of dinner, the senate broke up.

"The senate meeting again after dinner, the ministers began to question the Anabaptists on the subject of the magistracy; and when one of them had given very fair and satisfactory answers, the rest evidenced their discontent, declaring that he was a waverer, and interrupted him. 'Leave us to speak,' said they to him; 'we who understand Scripture better than thou, and can reply better touching these articles than thou, who art still a novice, and incapable of defending our doctrine against foxes.' Then the turner, beginning an argument, maintained that St. Paul (Rom. xiii.), when speaking of the superior powers, does not refer to the magistracy, but to the higher ecclesiastical authorities. This Œcolampadius denied, and asked in what part of the Bible he found it. The other said, 'Turn over the leaves of your Old and New Testament, and you will find that you are entitled to a salary. You are better off than I, who have to support myself with the labour of my hands, so as to be a burthen to no one.' This sally made the bystanders laugh. Œcolampadius remarked to them, 'Gentlemen, this is not a time for laughing; if I receive from the Church my means of support and existence, I can prove the reasonableness of this from Scripture. Language of the sort is seditious. Pray rather for the glory of the Lord that God may soften their hardened hearts, and illuminate their hearts with his grace.'

"After several other arguments, as the time of breaking up the sitting approached, one of them, who had said nothing the whole day, began howling and weeping. 'The last day is at hand,' he shouted forth; 'reform; the axe is already laid to the tree; do not, then, calumniate our doctrine on baptism. I pray you, for the love of Jesus Christ, persecute not honest folk. Of a verity, the just Judge will soon come, and will cause all the ungodly to perish.'

"The burgomaster interrupted him, to tell him there was no need of all this outcry, but that he should confine himself to reasoning on the points in question. Nevertheless, he attempted to persevere in the same strain, but was prevented. At last, the burgomaster undertook to justify the conduct of the senate towards the Anabaptists, and stated that they had been arrested, not on account of the Gospel, or on account of their good conduct, but on account of their irregularities, their perjuries, and their sedition; that one of them had committed murder, another had preached that tithes were unlawful, a third had excited disturbances, &c.; that it was for these crimes they had been arrested, until it had been settled what course should be pursued with them, &c.

"Hereupon, one of them began crying out, 'Brothers, resist not the ungodly; though the enemy should be at your gate, shut it not. Let them approach; they cannot harm us without the will of our Father, since the hairs of our head are numbered. More than this, I say, you must not even resist a robber in a wood. Think you not that God watches over you?' They forced him to desist from this outcry." (*Ruchart, Réforme Suisse*, p. 498.)

Another disputation.—"The Zwinglian ministers spoke to them amicably and gently, proving to them that if they taught the truth, they were in the wrong to separate from the Church, and to preach in the woods and other solitary places. Then he briefly expounded to them the doctrine of the Church. One of the Anabaptists interrupted him with, 'We have received the Holy Ghost by baptism; we have no need of instruction!' One of the lords deputies then said, 'We are commissioned to tell you that the magistrates are pleased to allow you to depart without further punishment, provided you quit the country, and promise never to return, except you are minded to alter your way of life!' One of the Anabaptists exclaimed, 'What orders are these? The magistrates are not masters of the land, to order us to quit it, or go elsewhere. God has said, Dwell in the land. I choose to obey this commandment, and to remain in the country where I was born, where I was brought up, and no one has a right to hinder me!' He was now, however, taught the contrary." (*Idem*, t. iii. p. 102.)

"At Bâle, an Anabaptist named *Conrad in Gersen* used to utter strange blasphemies; for instance, 'That Jesus Christ was not our Redeemer, that he was not God, and that he was not born of a virgin!' He made no account of prayer, and when it was pointed out to him that Jesus Christ had prayed on the Mount of Olives, he answered with brutal insolence, 'Who heard him?' Being found to be incorrigible, he was condemned to be beheaded. This impious fanatic reminds me of another of our own day, who persuaded certain of our neighbours, some years ago, that it behoved to use neither bread nor wine. And when it was objected to him one day at Geneva, that Christ's first miracle was changing water into wine, he answered, 'That Jesus Christ was still young at that time; and that it was a venial fault, which ought to be forgiven him.'" (*Idem*, t. iii. p. 104.)

The Reformation, born in Saxony, soon gained the banks of the Rhine, and proceeded up that stream to mingle, in Switzerland, with the rationalism of

the Vaudois; it even dared to cross into Catholic Italy. Melanchthon, who kept up a correspondence with Bembo and Sadolet, both secretaries to the apostolic chamber, was at first better known than Luther to the Italian literati; and the glory of the first attacks on Rome was attributed to him. But Luther's reputation spreading with the importance of his reformation, the Italians soon learned to consider him the head of the Protestant party; and it is, as such, that Altieri addressed him, in 1542, in the name of the Protestant churches of the north-east of Italy (the churches of Venice, Vicenza, and Trevisa). . . . "Engage the most serene princes of Germany to intercede for us with the Venetian senate to relax the violent measures instituted against the Lord's flock, at the suggestion of the papal ministers. . . . You know the addition made here to your churches, and how wide is the gate open to the Gospel. . . . Aid, then, the common cause." (Seckendorf, c. iii. p. 401.)

Charles the Fifth himself contributed to spread the name and doctrines of Luther in the Italian peninsula, by constantly pouring into it from Germany new bands of *landsknechts*, among whom were many Protestants. It is well known that George Von Frundsberg, the leader of the Constable de Bourbon's German troops, swore that he would strangle the pope with the gold chain that hung round his neck. . . .

Luther himself was solemnly proclaimed: "A number of German soldiers assembled one day in the streets of Rome, mounted on horses and mules. One of them, named Grundwald, of remarkable stature, dressed himself up like the pope, placed a triple crown on his head, and mounted on a mule richly caparisioned. Others tricked themselves out as cardinals, with mitres on their heads, and in either scarlet or white robes, according to the personages they represented. They then set out in procession, with drums and fifes, followed by an immense crowd, and with all the pomp customary in pontifical processions. Whenever they passed a cardinal's house, Grundwald gave his benediction to the people. He at last alighted from his mule; and the soldiers, setting him in a chair, bore him on their shoulders. On reaching the castle of St. Angelo he takes a large cup, and drinks to Clement's health, and his comrades follow his example. He then tenders the oath to his cardinals, adding that he binds them to do homage to the emperor, as their lawful and only sovereign, and makes them promise that they will no more trouble the peace of the empire by their intrigues, but that, following the commands of Scripture, and the example of Jesus Christ and the apostles, they will be submissive to the civil power. After an harangue, in which he recapitulated the wars, parricides, and sacrileges of the popes, the mock pontiff volunteers a solemn promise to transfer, in form of a will, his powers and authority to Martin Luther, who alone, he said, could abolish all abuses of the kind, and repair the bark of St. Peter, so that it should no longer be the sport of winds and waves. Then raising his voice, he exclaimed: 'Let all who think with me lift up their hands.' The whole of the soldiery at once lifted up their hands, with shouts of 'Long live Pope Luther!' All this took place before the eyes of Clement VII." (Macrae, Ref. in Italy, p. 66, 67.)

Zwingle's works, being written in Latin, had a wider circulation in Italy than those of the reformers of the north of Germany, who did not always use the universal and learned language. No doubt this is one of the reasons for the peculiar bias taken by the reformation in Italy, particularly in the academy of Vicenza—where Socinianism had its birth. On February 14th, 1519, the chief magistrate of that city writes to him:—"Blaise Salmonius, bookseller of Leipsic, has sent me some of your treatises. . . . I have had them printed, and have sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. . . . My friends assure me that even in the Sorbonne there are those who read and approve of them. The learned of this country have long desired to see theology treated in an independent spirit. Calvi, bookseller of Pavia, has undertaken to distribute great part of the edition through Italy. He also promises to collect and send all the epigrams composed in your honour by the learned of this country. Such is the favour your courage and zeal have won for you and for the cause of Christ."

On September 19th, 1520, Burchard Schenk writes from Venice to Spalatin:—"Luther has long been known to us by reputation; we say here, he must beware of the pope! Two months since, ten of his books were brought here and at once sold. . . . May God keep him in the path of truth and charity!" (Seckendorf, p. 115.)

Some of Luther's works found their way to Rome, and even into the Vatican, under the safeguard of some pious personage, whose name was substituted on the title-page for that of the heretical author. In this manner, many cardinals, to their great mortification, were entrapped into loud encomiums on the commentary *Upon the Epistle to the Romans*, and the *Treatise on Justification* of a certain cardinal Fregoso, who was no other than Luther.

Page 56, col. 2. "*The momentary union of the Catholics and Protestants against the Anabaptists.*"—To rebut the reproaches of the Catholics, who attributed the revolt of the Anabaptists to the Protestant preachers, the reformers of all sects made an effort at amalgamation. A conference took place at Wittemberg (A.D. 1536), to which Bucer, Capito, and others repaired in the month of May, to confer with the Saxon theologians. The conference lasted from the 22nd to the 25th; on which day the *Formula of Concord*, which had been drawn up by Melanchthon, was agreed to and signed. Both Luther and Bucer preached, and proclaimed the union which had just been concluded between the parties. (Ukert, i. p. 307.)

Page 58, col. 1, top of the page. "*Given at Wittemberg.*"—We find in the Table-talk (p. 320), "The secret marriage of princes and of great lords is a true marriage before God; it is not without analogy to the concubineship of the patriarchs." (This may serve to explain the exception in favour of the landgrave.)

Page 58, col. 2. "*Our wine is poisoned.*"—In 1541, a citizen of Wittemberg, named Clémann Schober, followed Luther, harquebuss in hand, with the evident intention of killing him; he was arrested and punished. (Ukert, i. p. 323.)

Page 59, col. 1. "*Let us . . . seat ourselves at*

his table." — Here he was always surrounded by his children and his friends Melanchthon, Jonas, Aurifaber, &c., who had supported him under his labours. A place at this table was an enviable privilege. "I would willingly," he writes to Gaspard Müller, "have received Kégel as one of my boarders, for many reasons; but, young Porse von Jena being about to return soon, my table will be full, and I cannot well dismiss my old and faithful companions. If, however, a place shall become vacant, which may occur after Easter, I will comply with your request with pleasure, unless *my lord* Catherine, which I cannot think, should refuse us her consent." (January 19th, 1536.) He often calls his wife, *Dominus Ketha*. He begins a letter thus, which he wrote on the 26th July, 1540: "To the rich and noble lady of Zeilsdorf *, Madam, the *doctoress* Catherine Luther, residing at Wittemberg, sometimes taking her pleasure at Zeilsdorf, my well-beloved spouse" . . .

Page 59, col. 1. "*father of a family.*" — *To Mark Cordel.*—"As we have agreed upon, my dear Mark, I send you my son John, that you may employ him in teaching children grammar and music, and, at the same time, that you may watch over him, and improve his manners. If your care succeeds with this one, you shall have, if I live, two others. I am in travail with theologians. I would also bring into the world grammarians and musicians." (August 26th, 1542.)

Doctor Jonas remarked, one day, that the curse of God on disobedient children was accomplished in the family of Luther, the young man of whom he spoke being always ill and a constant sufferer. Doctor Luther added, "It is the punishment of his disobedience. He almost killed me at one time, ever since which my strength has utterly failed me. Thanks to him, I now comprehend the passage where St. Paul speaks of children who kill their parents, not by the sword, but by disobedience. They do not live long, and have no real happiness. . . . O my God! how wicked this world is, and in what times we live! They are the times of which Jesus Christ has spoken: 'When the Son of man comes, thinkest thou He will find faith and charity?' Happy are they who die before such times." (Tischreden, p. 48.)

Page 59, col. 1. "*From women proceed children.*" —"Woman is the most precious of all gifts; she is full of charms and virtues; she is the guardian of the faith.

"Our first love is violent; it intoxicates us, and deprives us of reason. The madness passed away, the good retain a sober love, the ungodly retain none.

"My gracious Lord, if it be thy holy will that I live without a wife, sustain me against temptations; if otherwise, grant me a good and pious maiden, with whom I may pass my life sweetly and calmly, whom I may love, and of whom I may be loved in return." (Tischreden, p. 329—331.)

Page 59, col. 2. "*Take another.*"—Lucas Cranach, the elder, had made a portrait of Luther's wife. When the picture was hung up, the doctor said, on seeing it, "I will have the portrait of a man painted. I will send both portraits to the council at Mantua, and ask the holy fathers whether they would not prefer the marriage state to the celibacy of the priests."

Page 60, col. 1. "*We find an image of marriage.*" "A marriage which the authorities approve of, and which is not against the word of God, is a good marriage, whatever may be the degree of consanguinity." (Tischreden, p. 321.)

He was loud in his blame of those lawyers who, "against their own consciences, against natural law, and the divine and imperial, maintained as valid secret promises of marriage. Every one ought to be left to settle the matter with his own conscience: one cannot force love.

"Questions of dowry, nuptial presents, property, inheritance, &c., belong to the civil power; and I will refer all such to it. . . . We are pastors of consciences, not of bodies and goods." (Tischreden, p. 315.)

Consulted in a case of adultery, he says, "You shall summon them, and then separate them. Such cases belong exclusively to the civil power, for marriage is a temporal affair; and the Church is interested no further than the conscience is concerned." (Tischreden, p. 322.)

Page 60, col. 2. "*Ah! how my heart sighed after mine own!*"—During the diet of Augsburg he wrote to his son John. . . . "I know a lovely garden, full of children with golden robes, who wander about, playing under the trees, having plenty of fine apples, pears, cherries, nuts, and plums. They sing, and frisk, and are all merriment. They have pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. Passing before this garden, I asked the owner who those children were. He answered, 'Those who love to pray, to learn, and who are good.' Then I said, 'Dear friend, I, too, have a child, little John Luther. May not he come into this garden to eat these beautiful apples and pears, to ride these pretty little horses, and play with the other children?' The owner answered, 'If he is very good, and says his prayers, and attends to his lessons, he can come, and little Philip and little James with him. They will find here fifes, cymbals, and other fine instruments to play upon; and can dance, and shoot with little crossbows.' As he spake thus, the owner showed me, in the middle of the garden, a beautiful meadow for dancing, where were hung fifes, timbrels, and little crossbows. But as it was morning, and the children had not had their dinner, I could not wait to see the dancing. I then said to the owner, 'Dear sir, I shall write directly to my dear little John, to tell him to be good, to pray, and to learn, that he, too, may come into this garden; but he has an aunt Madeleine, whom he dearly loves, may he bring her with him?' The owner replied, 'Yes; they may come together.' Be, then, very good, my dear child, and tell Philip and James to be so, too, and you shall all come together to play in this fine garden.—I commend you to the care of God. Give my love and a kiss for me to aunt Madeleine. Your loving father, MARTIN LUTHER." (June 19th, 1530.)

Page 60, col. 2. "*It is touching to see how each thing that attracted his notice.*"—"Philip and I are overwhelmed with business and troubles. I, who

* Zeilsdorf, the name of a village near which Luther had a small property.

am old and *emeritus*, would prefer now to take an old man's pleasure in gardening, and in contemplating the wonders of God in trees, flowers, herbs, birds, &c.; and these pleasures, and this life of ease, would be mine, had I not deserved by my sins to be debarred them by these importunate and often useless matters." (April 8th, 1538.)

"Let us endure the difficulties which accompany our calling with equanimity, and hope for succour from Christ. See an emblem of our lot in these violets and daisies which you trample under foot, as you walk on your grassplots. We comfort the people (!) when we fill the church; here we find the robe of purple, the colour of afflictions, but in the background the golden flower recalls the faith which never fades.

"God knows all trades better than any one else. As tailor, he makes the deer a robe which lasts nine hundred years without tearing. As shoemaker, he gives him shoes which outlast himself. And is he not a skilful cook, who cooks and ripens everything by the fire of the sun? If our Lord were to sell the goods which he gives, he would turn a decent penny; but, because he gives them gratis, we set no store by them." (Tischr. p. 27.)

Page 61, col. 1. "*The decalogue is the doctrine of doctrines.*"—"I begin to understand that the decalogue is the logic of the Gospel, and the Gospel the rhetoric of the decalogue. Christ has all which is of Moses, but Moses has not all which is of Christ." (June 30th, 1530.)

Page 61, col. 2. "*There will be a new heaven and a new earth.*"—"The *gnashing of teeth*, spoken of in Scripture, is the last punishment which will fall on an evil conscience, the desolating certainty of being for ever cut off from God." (Tischr. p. 366.) Luther would thus seem to have entertained a more spiritual idea of hell than of paradise.

Page 61, col. 2. "*Men used to go on pilgrimages to the saints.*"—"The saints have often sinned and gone astray. What madness to be ever setting up their words and acts as infallible rules! Let these insensate sophists, ignorant pontiffs, impious priests, sacrilegious monks, and the pope with all his train know . . . that we were not baptized in the name of Augustin, of Bernard, of Gregory, of Peter, of Paul, nor in the name of the beneficent theological faculty of the Sodom (the Sorbonne) of Paris, nor in that of the Gomorrah of Louvain, but in the name of Jesus Christ, our master, alone." (*De Abrogandâ Missâ Privatâ*, Op. Lat. Lutheri, Witt. ii. p. 245.)

"The true saints are all authorities, all servants of the Church, all parents, all children who believe in Jesus Christ, who do no sin, and who fulfil, each in his way of life, the duties God requires of them." (Tischreden, 134, verso.)

"The legend of St. Christopher is a fine Christian poem. The Greeks, who were a learned, wise, and ingenious people, have wished to set forth by it what a Christian ought to be (*Christophoros*, he who bears Christ). So with the legend of St. George. That of St. Catherine is contrary to all Roman history, &c."

Page 61, col. 2. "*When we read attentively the prophets.*"—"I sweat blood and water to give the prophets in the vulgar tongue. Good God! what labour! how difficult to persuade these Jewish writers to speak German. They will not forsake their Hebrew for our barbarous tongue. It is as if Philomel, losing her gracious melody, was obliged ever to sing with the cuckoo one monotonous strain." (June 14th, 1528.) He says, elsewhere, that whilst translating the Bible, he would often devote several weeks to elucidating the sense of a single word. (Ukert, ii, p. 337.)

Page 62, col. 1. "*With something from the Psalms.*"—From his dedication of his translation of Psalm cxviii. to the abbot Frederick of Nuremberg. . . . "This is my psalm, my chosen psalm. I love them all; I love all holy Scripture, which is my consolation and my life. But this psalm is nearest my heart, and I have a peculiar right to call it mine. It has saved me from many a pressing danger, from which nor emperor, nor kings, nor sages, nor saints, could have saved me. It is my friend; dearer to me than all the honours and power of the earth. . . .

"But it may be objected, that this psalm is common to all; no one has a right to call it his own. Yes; but Christ is also common to all, and yet Christ is mine. I am not jealous of my property; I would divide it with the whole world. . . And would to God that all men would claim the psalm as especially theirs! It would be the most touching quarrel, the most agreeable to God—a quarrel of union and perfect charity." (Coburg, July 1st, 1530.)

Page 62, col. 2. "*Of the Fathers.*"—At the beginning of the year 1519, he wrote to Jerome Düngersheim a remarkable letter on the importance and authority of the fathers of the Church. "The bishop of Rome is above all the others in dignity. It is to him that we must address ourselves in all difficult cases and great needs: but I allow, nevertheless, that I cannot defend against the Greeks this supremacy that I accord to him. If I recognized the pope as the sole source of power in the Church, I must, as a consequence of this doctrine, treat as heretics, Jerome, Augustin, Athanasius, Cyprian, Gregory, and all the bishops of the east who were established neither by him nor under him. The Council of Nice was not called by his authority; he did not preside either in person or by a legate. What can I say of the decrees of this council? Is any one master of them? Can any one tell which among them to acknowledge? It is your custom and Eck's to believe any one's word, and to modify Scripture by the fathers, as if, of the two, they were to be preferred. For myself, I feel and act quite differently; like Saint Augustin and Saint Bernard, whilst respecting all authorities, I ascend from the rivulets to the river that gives them birth. (Here follow many examples of the errors into which some of the fathers had fallen. Luther criticises them philologically, showing that they had not understood the Hebrew text.) How many texts does not Jerome quote erroneously against Jovinian? and so Augustin against Pelagius? Thus Augustin says that the verse of Genesis: 'To make man in our own image,' is a proof of the Trinity, but there is in the Hebrew text, 'I will make man,' &c.—The *Magister Sententiarum* has set a fatal example by endeavouring to reconcile the opinions of the fathers. The consequence is, that we have become a laughing-stock to the heretics when we present ourselves before them with these obscure phrases

and double and doubtful meanings. Eck delights in being the champion of all these diverse and contrary opinions. And it is on this that our disputation will turn." (A.D. 1519.)

"I always marvel how, after the apostles, Jerome won the name of Doctor of the Church; and Origen, that of Master of the Churches. Their works would never make a single Christian. . . . So much are they led away by the pomp of works. Augustin himself would not have been a whit better, had not the Pelagians tried him and compelled him to defend the true faith." (August 26th, 1530.)

"He who dared to compare monkhood with baptism was completely mad, was more a stock than a brute. What! and would you believe Jerome when he speaks in so impious a way of God! when he actually lays it down, that, next to ourself, one's relatives should command our cares! Would you listen to Jerome, so often in error, so often sinful! Would you, in short, believe in man rather than in God himself! Go, then, and believe, if you will, with Jerome, that you ought to break your parent's hearts in order to fly to the desert." (Letter to Severinus, an Austrian monk, October 6th, 1527.)

Page 63, col. 1. "*but consider that the schoolmen in general.*"—"Gregory of Rimini has convicted the schoolmen of a worse doctrine than that of the Pelagians. . . . For although the Pelagians think we can do a good work without grace, they do not affirm that we can obtain heaven without grace. The schoolmen speak like Pelagius when they teach that without grace we can do a good work, and not a meritorious work. But they out-herod the Pelagians when they add, that man, by inspiration of natural reason, may subdue the will, whilst the Pelagians allow that man is aided by the law of God." (A.D. 1519.)

Page 65. col. 1. "*I regret not having more time to devote.*"—*To Wenceslaus Link of Nuremberg*:—"If it would not give you too much trouble, my dear Wenceslaus, I pray you to collect for me all the drawings, books, hymns, songs of the Meistersänger, and rhymes which have been written and printed in German this year in your town. Send me as many as you can collect; I am impatient to see them. Here, we can write works in Latin, but as to German books, we are but apprentices. Still, by dint of our earnest application, I hope we may soon succeed, so as to give you satisfaction." (March 20th, 1536.)

Page 65, col. 1. "*no better books than Æsop's fables.*"—In 1530, Luther translated a selection of Æsop's fables, and in the preface he says, that most likely there never was any man of that name, but that these fables were apparently collected from the mouths of the people. (Luth. Werke, ix. p. 455.)

Page 66, col. 1. "*Singing is the best exercise.*"—Heine, *Revue des deux Mondes*, March 1st, 1534:—"Not less curious or significant than Luther's prose writings, are his poems; those songs, which burst forth from him in his exigencies and difficulties—like the flower that struggles into existence from between the stones; a lunar ray shedding light on an angry ocean. Luther loved music passionately; he wrote a treatise on the art, and his own compositions are sweet and melodious. He obtained and merited the title of the swan of Eisleben. But he was any thing but a gentle swan in those songs of his in which he rouses the courage of his followers, and lashes himself into a savage ardour. The song with which (for instance) he entered Worms, followed by his companions, was a true war-song. The old cathedral shook again at the strange sounds, and the ravens were disturbed in their nests on the summit of the towers. This hymn, the Marseillaise of the Reformation, has preserved to this day its powerful energy and expression, and may some day again startle us with its sonorous and iron-girt words in similar contests.

"Our God is a fortress,
A sword and a good armour;
He will deliver us from all the dangers
Which now threaten us.
The old wicked serpent
Is bent on our ruin this day;
He is armed with power and craft;
He has not his like in the world.

"Your power will avail not,
You will soon see your ruin;
The man of truth fights for us,
God has himself chosen him.
Seek you his name?
'Tis Jesus Christ,
The Lord of Sabaoth;
There is no other God but He,
He will keep his ground, He will give the victory.

"Were the world full of devils
Longing to devour us,
Let us not trouble ourselves about them;
Our undertaking will succeed.
The prince of this world,
Although he grins at us,
Will do us no harm.
He is sentenced—
One word will o'erthrow him.

"They will leave us the word,
We shall not thank them therefore:
The word is amongst us,
With its spirit and its gifts.
Let them take our bodies,
Our goods, honour, our children.
Let them go on—
They will be no gainers:
The empire will remain ours."

Page 66, col. 1. "*Of Painting.*"—The doctor was one day speaking of the talent and skill of the Italian painters. "They understand," said he, "how to imitate nature so wonderfully, that, besides giving the colouring and form, they express the very attitudes and sentiments to such a degree as to make their pictures seem living things. The Flemish painters follow in the track of Italy. The natives of the Low Countries, and, above all, the Flemings, are intelligent, and have an aptitude for learning foreign languages. It is a proverb, that if a Fleming were carried to Italy or France in a sack, he would, nevertheless, learn the language of the country." (Tischreden, p. 424, verso.)

Page 67, col. 1. "*Of Banking.*" — He says in his treatise *de Usuris*,—"I call usurers, those who lend at five and six per cent. The Scriptures forbid lending on interest; we ought to lend money as willingly as we would a vase to our neighbours. Even civil law prohibits usury. It is not an act of charity to exchange with any one,

and to gain by the exchange, but thieving. A usurer, then, is a thief worthy of the gallows. At the present day, in Leipsic, the usual interest is forty per cent. Promises to usurers need not be kept. They are not to be allowed to communicate, or to be buried in holy ground. . . . The last advice that I have to give to usurers is this:—They want money! gold! Well, let them apply to Him who will not give them ten or twenty per cent, but a hundred for every ten! His treasures are inexhaustible; he can give without being impoverished." (Oper. Lat. Luth. Witt. i. 7, p. 419—447.)

Dr. Henning proposed this question to Luther, "If I had amassed money, and did not wish to part with it, and were asked to lend, could I then with a good conscience reply, I have no money?" "Yes," said Luther, "you might so do with a safe conscience, for it would be the same as saying, I have no money to spare. . . . Christ, when he bids us give, does not mean to the prodigal and dissipated. . . . In this town, I reckon the most needy to be the scholars. Their poverty is great, but alas! their laziness is greater still. . . . And must I take the bread from the mouths of my wife and children, to give to those whom no help benefits? Certainly not." (Tischreden, p. 64.)

Page 70, col. 1. "*The Roman, or imperial law only holds by a thread.*"—Still Luther preferred it to the Saxon law.

"Dr. Luther, speaking of the great barbarity and rudeness of the Saxon law, said that things would go on better, were the imperial law followed throughout the empire. But it is a settled belief at court that the change could not take place without great confusion and mischief." (Tischreden, p. 412.)

Page 70, col. 1. "*to let the old dog sleep.*"—In his last letter but one to Melanchthon, (February 6th, 1546,) he says, speaking of the legists, "O sycophants, O sophists, O pests of mankind! . . . I write to thee in wrath, but I know not that I could indite better, were I cool."

Page 70, col. 1, last line. "*Pious jurists.*"—He wishes that their condition could be bettered.

"Doctors at law gain too little, and are obliged to turn attorneys. In Italy, a jurist has four hundred ducats, or more, yearly, whilst in Germany their salary is only a hundred. They ought to be ensured honourable pensions, as ought good and pious pastors and preachers. For lack of this, in order to support their families, they are obliged to apply to agriculture and domestic cares." (Tischreden, p. 414.)

Page 71. ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER 3. BOOK V.—Confidential discussion between Luther and Melanchthon. (A.D. 1536.)

MELANCHTHON inclined to the opinion of Saint Augustin, who held "that we are justified by faith and regeneration;" and who, under the name of regeneration, includes all the graces and virtues that we derive from God*. "What is your opinion?" he asked of Luther; "do you hold with Saint Augustin, that men are justified by regeneration?"

LUTHER replies, "I hold so, and am certain that the true meaning of the Gospel and of the Apostles is, that we are justified before God by faith *gratis*; *i. e.* only by God's mere mercy, wherewith, and by reason whereof, he imputeth righteousness to us in Christ."

MELANCHTHON then inquires, "But will you not allow me to say, Sir, that man is justified *principaliter* (principally) by faith, and *minus principaliter* (in the least measure) by works? yet in such manner that faith supplieth that which is wanting in the law?"

LUTHER.—"The mercy of God is our sole justification. The righteousness of works is but external, and can by no means deliver us from God's wrath, and sin, and death."

MELANCHTHON.—"I ask touching Saint Paul, after he was regenerated, how became he justified and rendered acceptable to God?"

LUTHER.—"Solely by reason of this same regeneration, by which he became justified by faith, and will remain so everlastingly."

MELANCHTHON.—"Was he justified by God's mercy only? or *principally* by the mercy, and *less principally* by his virtues and works?"

LUTHER.—"No. His virtues and works were only pleasing to God because they were Saint Paul's, who was justified; like as a work is pleasing or displeasing, good or evil, according to the person who performs it."

MELANCHTHON.—"Then it seems Saint Paul was not justified by mercy only. You yourself teach that the righteousness of works is necessary before God; and that Saint Paul, who had faith and who did good works, pleased God as he would not have done if he had not these good works, making our righteousness a little piece of the cause of our justification."

LUTHER.—"Not at all. Good works are necessary, but not out of compulsion by the law, but out of the necessity of a willing mind. The sun must needs shine—that is a necessity; but it is not by reason of any law that he shines, but by his nature, by a quality inherent and immutable. It was created to shine. Even so one that is justified and regenerate doeth good works not by any law or constraint, but by an unchangeable necessity. And Saint Paul saith, '*We are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works,*' &c."

MELANCHTHON.—"Sadolet accuses us of contradicting ourselves, in teaching that we are justified by faith—yet admitting the necessity of good works."

LUTHER.—"It is, because the false brethren and hypocrites make a show, as if they believed that we require of them works, to confound them in their knavery."

MELANCHTHON.—"You say Saint Paul was justified by God's mercy only; to which I reply, that if our obedience followeth not, then are we not saved, according to these words (1 Cor. ix.), '*Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.*'"

LUTHER.—"There is no want of any thing to add to faith. Faith is all-powerful, otherwise it is no faith. Therefore of what value soever the works are, the same they are through the power of faith, which undeniably is the sun or sunbeam of this shining."

MELANCHTHON.—"In Saint Augustin, works are directly excluded in the words *sola fide*."

LUTHER.—"Whether it be so or no, Saint Augustin plainly shows he is of our opinion when he

* Melanchthon observes, that Saint Augustin does not express this opinion in his controversial works.

saith, 'I am afraid, but I do not despair, for I think upon the wounds of our Saviour;' and elsewhere, in his *Confessions*, he saith: 'Woe be to the life of that human creature (be it ever so good and praiseworthy) that disregardeth God's mercy. . .'"

MELANCHTHON.—"Is it proper to say that righteousness of works is necessary to salvation?"

LUTHER.—"Not in the sense that works procure salvation, but that they are the inseparable companions of the faith which justifieth, as I, of necessity, must be present at my salvation. . . . 'I shall be there as well as you,' said the man they were taking to be hanged, and who saw the people running as hard as they could towards the gallows. . . . The faith, which is the gift of God, is the beginning of righteousness; after that, the works are required which are commanded by the law, and which must be done after and besides faith. The works are not righteousness themselves in the sight of God, although they adorn the person accidentally, who doeth them; but they justify not the person, for we are all justified one way, in and by Christ. To conclude, a faithful person is a new creature, a new tree. Therefore all these speeches used in the law are not belonging to this case, as to say, *a faithful person must do good works*, the sun *must shine, a good tree must bring forth good fruit*, three and seven *shall* be ten. For the sun shall not shine, but it doth shine, by nature unbidden; likewise a good tree bringeth forth good fruit without bidding. Three and seven are already ten, not shall be; there is no need to command what is already done."

The following passage is more to the purpose still, "I use to think in this manner, as if my heart were no quality or virtue at all, called faith or love (as the sophists do dream of), but I set all on Christ, and say *mea formalis justitia*, that is, my sure, constant, and complete righteousness (in which is no want nor failing, but is before God as it ought to be) is Christ my Lord and Saviour." (Tischreden, p. 133.)

This passage is one of those which most strongly shows the intimate connexion of Luther's doctrine with the system of absolute identification. It is plain how the German philosophy ended in that of Schelling and Hegel.

Page 71, col. 1. "*good and true divinity.*"—The Papists threw great ridicule on the four new Gospels: that of Luther, who condemned works; that of Kuntius, who rebaptized adults; that of Otho de Brunfels, who regarded the Scripture only as a purely cabalistic recitation, *surda sine spiritu narratio*; and finally, that of the Mystics. (Cochlæus, p. 165.) They might have added that of Dr. Paulus Ricius, a Jewish doctor, who published, during the diet at Ratisbon, a little book in which Moses and St. Paul demonstrated in a dialogue how all the religious opinions, which excited such disputes, might be reconciled.

Page 72, col. 1. "*I saw a small cloud of fire in the air.*"—"I incline to think from the comet, that some danger is threatening the emperor and Ferdinand. It turned its tail at first towards the north, then towards the south; thus pointing out the two brothers." (October, 1531.)

Page 72, col. 2. "*Michael Stiefel believes himself.*"—"Michael Stiefel, with his seventh trumpet, prophesies that the day of judgment will fall this year, about All Saints' Day." (August 26th, 1533.)

Page 77, col. 1. "*The devil, in truth, has not graduated.*"—"It is a wonderful thing," says Bossuet, "to hear how solemnly and earnestly he describes his waking with a sudden start in the middle of the night—manifestly the work of the devil come to dispute with him. The alarm which seized him; the sweats; the tremblings; the horrible beatings of the heart in this combat; the pressing arguments of the demon, leaving the mind not one instant of rest; the tones of his powerful voice; the overwhelming manner of the dispute, in which question and answer were heard at one and the same moment. 'I now understand,' says he, 'how sudden deaths so often happen towards morning; it is, that not only the devil can kill and strangle men, but that he has the power to set them so beside themselves with these disputes, as to leave them half-dead, as I have several times experienced.'" (De Abrogandâ Missâ Privatâ, t. vii. p. 222. Trad. de Bossuet, Variations, ii. p. 203.)

Page 80, col. 1. "*At dinner, after preaching at Smalkalde.*"—He wrote to his wife upon this illness, "I have been like to one dead. I recommended thee and our children to God and to our Saviour, believing that I should see you no more. I was much moved as I thought of you; I beheld myself in the tomb. The prayers and tears of pious people who love me, have found favour before God. This very night I have had a favourable crisis, and I feel a 'new man.'" (February 27th, 1537.)

Luther experienced a dangerous relapse at Wittemberg. Obliged to remain at Gotha, he thought himself dying, and dictated to Bugenhagen, who was with him, his last will. He declared that he had combated papacy according to his conscience, and asked pardon of Melanchthon, of Jonas, and of Creuziger, for the wrongs he might have done them. (Ukert, t. i. 325.)

Page 80, col. 1. "*I believe my true malady.*"—Luther suffered early in life from stone; and was a martyr to it. He was operated upon the 27th of February, 1537. "By God's grace, I am getting convalescent, and have begun to eat and drink, though my legs, knees, and joints tremble so that I can with difficulty support myself. I am only, not to speak of infirmities and old age, a walking skeleton, cold and torpid." (December 6th, 1537.)

Page 82, col. 2. "*his last days were painfully employed.*"—He had tried in vain to reconcile the counts of Mansfeld. "If," says he, "you would bring into your house a tree that has been cut down, you must not take it by the top, or the branches will stick in the doorway; take it by the root, and the branches will yield to the entrance." (Tischreden, p. 355.)

Page 84.—We here throw together several particulars relative to Luther.

Erasmus says of him: "His morals are unanimously praised; it is the highest testimony man can have, that his enemies even can find no flaw in them for calumny." (Ukert, t. ii. p. 5.)

Luther was fond of simple pleasures. He loved music, and would often bear his share in a friendly concert, or play a game of skittles with his friends. Melanchthon says of him, "Whoever has known him, and seen him often and familiarly, will allow

is a most excellent man, gentle and
a society, not in the least obstinate or
sputation, yet with all the gravity be-
character. If he showed any great
combating the enemies of the true doc-
s from no malignity of nature, but from
enthusiasm for the truth." (Ukert,

gh he was neither of small frame nor
itution, he was extremely temperate in
drinking. I have seen him, when in
pass four days together without taking
and often go a whole day with only a
and a herring." (*Life of Luther*, by
n.)

hon says, in his posthumous works:
yself often found him shedding bitter
raying earnestly to God for the welfare
ch. He devoted part of each day to
Psalms, and to invoking God with all
of his soul." (Ukert, t. ii. p. 7.)

ys of himself: "If I were as eloquent
s Erasmus, as good a Greek scholar as
merarius, as learned in Hebrew as
nd a little younger into the bargain,
would accomplish!" (Tischreden, p.

f, the licentiate, is a theologist by na-
rs Creuziger and Jonas are so from
reflection. But doctor Pomer and my-
ay ourselves open in argument." (Tisch-
5.)

e Unruche, judge at Torgau. . . . "I
with all my heart, dear Anthony, for
en in hand the cause of Margaret
for not having suffered those insolent
ires to take from the poor woman the
as. Doctor Martin is, you know, not
ian and defender of the faith, but also
r of the poor in their rights, who come
all quarters, for his counsel, and inter-
the authorities; he willingly aids the
do yourself, and all who resemble you.
ly pious, you fear God, and love his
fore Jesus Christ will not forget you."
22nd, 1538.)

rites to his wife on the subject of an
who was about to quit their house:
John must be honourably discharged;
st that he has always served us faith-
zeal, and as became a Christian ser-
much have we not squandered on
eople and ungrateful students, who
bad use of our money! We must not,
e niggardly on this occasion, towards
servant, on whom whatever we lay
laid out in a way pleasing to God. I
re are not rich; I would willingly give
ins if I had them; in any case he must
s than five, for he is not well clothed.
nore you can do for him, do it, I beg of
true that he ought also to have some-
the city chest for the various offices he
the Church; let them do as they will.
en how thou mayst raise this money;
silver goblet to place in pawn. God
ndon us I feel sure. Adieu." (Febru-
32.)

ince has given me a gold ring; but in
I may well understand that I was not
born to wear gold, the ring has already fallen off my finger (for it is a little too large). I said, 'Thou art but a worm of the earth, and no man: this gold would better have become Faber or Eck; for thee, lead, or a cord for thy neck, would suit thee better.'" (September 15th, 1530.)

The elector on levying a tax for the war against the Turks, had exempted Luther from it. The latter said he accepted this mark of favour for his two houses, one of which (the ancient convent) it had cost him much to keep up without bringing him in any thing; and for the other he had not yet paid. "But," continues he, "I pray your electoral grace, in all submission, to allow me to defray the assessment on my other possessions. I have a garden estimated to be worth five hundred florins, some land valued at ninety florins, and a small garden worth twenty. I prefer doing as the rest, fighting the Turks with my farthings, and not to be excluded from the army which is to save us. There are enough already who do not give willingly; I would not be a cause of jealousy. It is better to give no occasion for complaint, so that they cannot but say, 'Dr. Martin is also obliged to pay.'" (March 26th, 1542.)

To the Elector John. "Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. Most serene highness, I have long delayed to thank your grace for the robes you have been pleased to send me; I do so now with my whole heart. Nevertheless, I humbly pray your grace, not to believe those who represent me as in utter destitution. I am but too rich, as my conscience tells me; it does not behove me as a preacher to be in affluence; I neither desire, nor ask it. The repeated favours of your grace truly begin to alarm me. I should not wish to be of those to whom the Saviour says, 'Woe to you, ye rich, for you have received your consolation!' Neither would I be a burden upon your grace, whose purse must be in constant requisition for so many importunate objects. Already had your grace amply provided me by sending me the brown suit; but, not to appear ungrateful, I will also wear in honour of your grace the black suit, although too rich for me; if it had not been a present from your electoral grace, I should never have put on such a dress.

"I therefore pray your grace will have the goodness to wait until I take the liberty of asking for something. This kindness on your grace's part will deprive me of courage to intercede for others, who may be far more worthy of favour. That Jesus Christ may recompense your generous soul, is the prayer that I offer up with my whole heart. Amen." (August 17th, 1529.)

John the Constant made a present to Luther of the ancient convent of the Augustins at Wittemberg. The elector Augustus bought it back of his heirs in 1564, to give it to the university. (Ukert, t. i. p. 347.)

Places inhabited by Luther, and objects kept in veneration of his memory.—The house in which Luther was born, no longer exists; it was burnt in 1689. At Wartburg, they still show a stain of ink on the wall made by Luther in throwing his inkstand at the devil's head. The cell which he occupied at the convent of Wittemberg, has also been preserved with the different articles of furniture belonging to him. The walls of this cell are covered with the names of visitors: Peter the Great's name is to be seen written on the door.

At Coburg they show the room which he occupied during the diet of Augsburg (A. D. 1530).

Luther used to wear a gold ring, with a small death's head in enamel, and these words, *Mori sæpe cogita* (Think oft of death); round the setting was engraved, *O mors, ero mors tua* (Death, I will be thy death). This ring is preserved at Dresden, with the medal of silver-gilt worn by Luther's wife. On this medal is represented a serpent raising itself on the bodies of the Israelites, with these words: *Serpens exaltatus typus Christi crucifixi* (The serpent exalted typifies Christ crucified). The reverse represents Jesus Christ on the cross, with this motto: *Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris* (Christ died for our sins) On the one side one reads, *D. Mart. Luter. Catherinæ suæ dono D. H. F.* (A present from Dr. Martin Luther to his wife). And on the other, *Quæ nata est anno* 1499, 29 *Januarii* (Who was born Jan. 29th, 1499).

He had also a seal, which he has himself described to in a letter to Lazarus Spengler:—"Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. Dear Sir and friend,—You tell me I shall please you by explaining the meaning of what you see engraved upon my seal. I proceed, therefore, to acquaint you with what I have had engraved on it, as a symbol of my faith. First, there is a black cross, with a heart in the centre. This cross is to remind me that faith in the Crucified is our salvation. Whosoever believes in him with all his soul, is justified. The cross is black, to signify mortification, the troubles through which the Christian must pass. The heart, however, preserves its natural colour, for the cross neither changes nature nor kills it; the cross gives life. *Justus fide vivit sed fide Crucifixi.* The heart is placed on a white rose, to indicate that faith gives consolation, joy, and peace; the rose is white, not red, because it is not the joy and peace of this world, but that of the angelic spirits. White is the colour of spirits and of angels. The rose is in an azure field, to show that this joy of the spirit and the faith is a beginning of that celestial happiness which awaits us, of which we already have the foretaste in the hope which we enjoy of it, but the consummation of which is yet to come. In the azure field you see a circle of pure gold, to indicate that the felicity of heaven is everlasting, and as superior to every other joy, all other good, as gold is to all other metals. May Jesus Christ, our Lord, be with you unto eternal life. Amen. From my desert at Coburg, July 8th, 1530."

At Altenburg they preserved for a long time the drinking-glass which was used by Luther the last time he visited his friend Spalatin. (Ukert, t. i. p. 245, et seqq.)

THE END

PETTER, DUFF, AND CO. PLAYHOUSE YARD, BLACKFRIARS.

MR. HUTCHINSON'S CONFERENCE WITH LORD NEWARK.—Page 33.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON.

BY

LUCY HUTCHINSON.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

MEMOIRS

OF THE

FE OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON.

PREFACE.

nceived to be necessary, for the satisfac-
he public, to prefix to this work some
f the manuscripts from which it has been
nd of the manner in which they came
hands of the editor; which we shall
ly do, interweaving therewith such sub-
nformation as we have been able to col-
ecting the families and descendants of
nd Mrs. Hutchinson.

emoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson
seen by many persons, as well as the
the possession of the late Thomas Hut-
Esq. of Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire,
tfield Woodhall, in Hertfordshire; and he
frequently solicited to permit them to be
, particularly by the late Mrs. Catharine
, but had uniformly refused. This gen-
ing without issue, the editor, his nephew,
some part of his estates which were left
ncluding his mansion-house of Hatfield
l. In the library he found the following
ritten by Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson:—1st.
of Col. Hutchinson. 2nd. A book with-
, but which appears to have been a kind
which she had kept, and afterwards made
hen she came to writo the Life of Col.
on. 3rd. A fragment, giving an account
arly part of her own life. This book
pears to have been Mrs. Hutchinson's
y at composition, and contains, besides
of her life and family, several short
verses, some finished, some unfinished,
which are above mediocrity. And, 4th,
s treating entirely of religious subjects;
, although the fancy may be rather too
lulged, the judgment still maintains the
cy, and sentiments of exalted piety, libe-
d benevolence, are delivered in terms
dignified, and perspicuous.

works had all been read, and marked in
laces with his initials, by Julius Hutchin-
. of Owthorpe, the father of the late
Hutchinson Esq. just mentioned, and son
s Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, only
Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife,
Catharine Stanhope. Lady Catharine
n lived to the age of 102, and is reported
tained her faculties to the end of her life.
arks made by the above-mentioned Julius
n, which will be found in their proper
places in the body of the work, are declared by him to have been communicated by his grandmother, Lady Catharine; and as this lady dwelt in splendour at Nottingham, and had ample means of information; as there is only one instance wherein the veracity of the biographer is at all called in question, and even in this, it does not appear to the editor, and probably may not to the reader, that there was sufficient ground for objection; the opposition and the acquiescence of her grandson and herself seem alike to confirm the authenticity and faithfulness of the narrative.

Col. Hutchinson left four sons, of which the youngest only, John, left issue two sons; and there is a tradition in the family, that these two last descendants of Col. Hutchinson emigrated, the one to the West Indies or America, the other to Russia; the latter is said to have gone out with the command of a ship of war given by Queen Anne to the Czar Peter, and to have been lost at sea. One of the female descendants of the former, the editor once met with by accident at Portsmouth, and she spoke with great warmth of the veneration in which his descendants in the new world held the memory of their ancestor Col. Hutchinson. Of the daughters little more is known than that Mrs. Hutchinson, addressing one of her books of devotion to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, ascertains that one of them was married to a gentleman of that name.

The family of Mr. George Hutchinson likewise became extinct in the second generation.

Charles Hutchinson, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by Lady Catharine Stanhope, married one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir Francis Boteler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts; which family being zealous royalists, and he solicitous to gain their favour, (which he did so effectually, as in the end to obtain nearly their whole inheritance), it is probable that he gave small encouragement or assistance to the elder branch of the family while they suffered for their republican sentiments; on the contrary, it is certain that he purchased of Mrs. Hutchinson and her son, after the death of Col. Hutchinson, their estate at Owthorpe, which, joined to what his father had given him, and what he obtained by his marriage, raised him to more opulence than his father had ever possessed; and he seems not to have fallen short of him in popularity, for he repre-

sented the town of Nottingham in parliament from the year 1690, (being the first general election after the accession of King William), till his death.

His son Julius returned into that line of conduct and connexions which was most natural for one of his descent, for he married Betty, daughter of Col. Norton of Wellow, of the well-known patriotic family of that name in Hampshire, and whose mother was a Fiennes. He seems to have bestowed a very rational and well-deserved attention upon the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and there is a tradition in the family, that although he had many children of his own, he treated with kindness and liberality the last descendants of his uncle, and assisted them with money to fit them out for their emigration. The editor has seen a written memorandum of his, expressing his regret at hearing no more of them after their departure.

From the circumstance of these, the only grandchildren of Col. Hutchinson, standing in need of this pecuniary assistance, from the mention Mrs. Hutchinson makes of her husband's debts, and from an expression contained in that book which she addresses to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, desiring her not to despise her advice, though she sees her in adversity, it is highly probable that, even after selling her husband's estates, the sum to be divided left each member of the family in strait circumstances.

The affection and well-merited esteem with which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of her brother, Sir Allen Apsley, will excite an interest in the reader to know what became of him and his posterity: by two marriages, and by the death of his grandson in his minority, the family of Apsley entirely merged in the noble family of Bathurst, who have adopted the name Apsley as their second title; there are five or six of the family of Apsley entombed in Westminster Abbey, near to the entrance of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

Having traced the manuscript from the hands of the writer to those of the editor, in such a manner as to establish its authenticity beyond all doubt; the next, and that not a less important point, is to remove those objections which may be raised against the tendency of a work of this nature, and to show that the assumption of any evil tendency is groundless.

That avowed predilection for a republican government, which is conspicuous in this history, as it was in the lives of the persons who are the principal subjects of it, may perhaps give a momentary alarm; but a little reflection will dissipate it. At the time when Col. Hutchinson first entered on the great theatre of life, the contest was just begun between the partisans of the divine right of the sovereign, and the indispensable obligation of the subject to passive obedience and non-resistance, on one side; and the assertors of the claims of the people to command, through their representatives, the public purse, of the freedom of debate in parliament, and of the responsibility of ministers, on the other. When the sword, the *Ratio Ultima Regum*, the *last appeal of kings*, was resorted to by the former, and the latter gained the victory, they very naturally adopted the republican system, as concluding, that persons holding such opinions as the princes of the House of Stuart and their adherents did, would never concede to them their franchises, but with intention to resume them, whenever they recover power enough to attempt it with s The event fully justified this* conclusion; is now evident to all, that the only thing could ever give this nation permanent tr lity, and put an end to those heartburnings either openly or covertly had existed ever the time of the Norman conquest, was an compact between king and people, which date indeed from the revolution in 168 obtained its consummation at the fortunate sion of the house of Brunswick, when the the monarch, and the rights of the people, identified and established on one common Of this truly may be said,

> Quod optanti Divum permittere nemo
> Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultrò.
>
> What to his vot'ry not a God dared promise
> Revolving years spontaneously produced.

No one will pretend that such an occasi within the reach of human foresight; of the only remedy then attainable was app the disorder of the state. Upon a fair re the contest it will be seen that what the To the Courtier of the present day, the friend the flatterer of kingly power, admits as were the grand desiderata of the Whig a Patriot of those times, and that what wer cried out upon as daring encroachments nc as the most moderate and unquestioned Not to deceive ourselves then with wor attach our minds to names instead of although the government under which we be termed Imperial; yet the greater part legislative power resting with the people executive being vested in a chief magistra is under so many limitations that he seems in that situation very much more for the c weal, the public benefit, than his own advantage, it must be allowed to come up Hutchinson's favourite idea of a republic beneficial purposes, and would assuredly less acceptable to him, for that the her succession would be found to repress tha vescence of individual ambition which it study and the labour of his life to keep Possessing himself, but finding not in oth virtue worthy of and essential to a repu would gladly have taken shelter under limited monarchy, and of such a one he unquestionably have been a loyal subject, s ous assertor.

The Puritanism which appears in the ste actuated the conduct of Colonel Hutchin through life, may be accounted for on al similar ground with his predilection for a re

The puritanic turn of thought and style pression had been adopted by the vindica religious freedom and right of inquiry, with the champions of civil liberty naturally mad mon cause. Divinity as a science was then in vogue, and seems to have tinctu conversations and writings of the greater society. In this Mr. Hutchinson had b couraged by his father, whose library subs his family seat of Owthorpe till about th 1755, and contained a vast number of folio v

* In the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

of polemical divinity. A study environed with many dangers! and which led Col. Hutchinson into whatever errors he was guilty of. On another hand the ministers of the established church in these times preached up the prerogative in all its extravagance, and endeavoured to establish jointly and inseparably implicit faith in, and unqualified obedience to, the church and king (still giving the church the precedency); whilst the laymen of their party practised, and even professed, a total dissoluteness of life: so that those who were slaves in principle, were libertines in practice; while those who were deemed rebels by the court, and latitudinarians by the hierarchy, were rigorists in religion and morality.

This contrariety produced a constant and incessant opposition, augmented the vehemence of antipathy, fortified prejudice, and seemed almost to justify bigotry. But from this (bigotry) we are bound to exculpate Col. Hutchinson. The Independents, to whose party, if a man of so much candour and liberality can be said to be of any party, he belonged, proceeded upon that principle, which, how general soever it ought to be is however unfortunately very uncommon, of allowing to all that liberty of conscience they demanded for themselves. Accordingly they began by desiring only an act * to be passed "for taking away all coercive power, authority, and jurisdiction, from bishops, extending to civil penalties," &c. It was not till after they saw the extreme pertinaciousness of the king to retain the bishops as instruments at a future opportunity for remounting his system of arbitrary sway, and that "the prelatical party about him prevailed with him to refuse an accommodation, and hazard his crown and life, rather than diminish their greatness and power to persecute others," that they insisted on the abolition of the order†. It was quite a different party, that of the rigid Presbyterians, and peculiarly their ministers, "who cried out against the tyranny of the bishops only that they might get the power into their own hands, and, without the name, might exercise the authority ‡ of popes." That, instead of this power being irrevocably and immoveably established over us, we are now governed by the mildest church discipline in the universe, we owe to these Independents! Col. Hutchinson in particular, if he had lived in times like ours, "when bishops and ministers desire only to be helpers,§ not lords over the consciences of God's people," would either have been a conforming member of the church of England, or at most have only dissented from it in few things, and that with modesty and moderation. For it is well worthy of notice, that after having suffered provocation and persecution from catholic, episcopalian, and presbyterian, when power came into his own hands, he treated all with lenity, and to the worthy persons of all sects and parties extended his protection.

We have next to consider a part of the conduct of Col. Hutchinson which will be the most generally blamed, and is the least capable of defence, the condemnation of Charles the First. To speak of the justice of such a measure in a legal point of view would be a mockery; nothing but the breaking up of the very foundations of the state, and a war of its elements, could let in the possibility of such a procedure. Amidst the tempest and darkness which then involved the whole political horizon, it savours of presumption to decide what measures were right, expedient, or even necessary: this much alone may safely be asserted, that the king and his friends during the contest, and still more after it was virtually ended by the battle of Naseby, maintained such a conduct as rendered his destruction inevitable; but the remark of Whitelock, p. 363, seems no less just than ingenious; "that such an irregular and unheard of business should have been left to that irregular set of men, the army, who urged it on." They however, were determined to throw the odium on others, or at least draw others in to share it.

Be it as it may, though some may blame, many more will pity, a man such as Col. Hutchinson, who found or conceived himself reduced to the cruel alternative of permitting all that system of liberty, civil and religious, to the establishment of which he had devoted all his faculties, and was ready to sacrifice his existence, to be risked upon the good faith of a man whose misfortune it was (to say no worse) to be environed by designing and ambitious persons, who rendered all his virtues abortive, and made all afraid to trust him, or of signing a sentence which has since been called a murder, and the undergoing it a martyrdom! At any rate it would be highly ungracious and ungrateful in us, while we enjoy in our well-balanced constitution the benefits derived to us from the virtue, the energy, the sufferings, and even the faults of our ancestors, to pass a severe censure on their conduct; for it will hardly be denied that the remembrance of his father's fate influenced James the Second to yield so easy and bloodless a victory to his opponents, and leave them to settle the constitution amidst calm and sober counsels. On the contrary, we are bound to ascribe many of the oversights of those first founders of our liberties to a precipitancy forced on them by urgent circumstances, to cast a veil over their imperfections, and cherish their memory with thankfulness.

So much having been said for the purpose of obviating misapprehension as to the effect of this work, it may be further expected that some merit or utility should be shown, to justify the editor in presenting it to the public notice. Being not the child of his brain and fancy, but of his adoption and judgment, he may be supposed to view it with so much the less partiality, and allowed to speak of it with so much the more freedom.

The only ends for which any book can reasonably be published, are to inform, to amuse, or to improve: but unless many persons of highly reputed judgment are mistaken as well as ourselves, this work will be found to attain all three of them. In point of amusement, perhaps novelty or curiosity holds the foremost rank; and surely we risk little in saying that a history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago by a lady of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many

* Articles of the army, Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 731.

† The words of Whitelock, p. 340, where he regrets that the king's chaplains prevailed with him beyond the parliament's commissioners or his own judgment.

‡ Vide Letter of Irving, laird of Drum, and his appeal to Col. Overton; Whitelock, p. 336.

§ Words of Cromwell in his letter to Scots ministers, Whitelock, p. 473.

of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them, is a literary curiosity of no mean sort.

As to information, although there are many histories of the same period, there is not one that is generally esteemed satisfactory; most of them carry evident marks of prejudice or partiality; nor were any of those which are now read, written at or near the time, or by persons who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with what was passing, except that of Clarendon. But any one who should take the pains, which the editor has done, to examine Clarendon's State Papers, would find therein documents much better calculated to support Mrs. Hutchinson's representation of affairs than that which he himself has given. Mrs. Hutchinson writing from a motive which will very seldom be found to induce any one to take so much trouble, that of giving her children, and especially her eldest son, then about to enter on the stage of life, a true notion of those eventful scenes which had just been passing before her eyes, and which she well judged must be followed by others not less interesting to the same cause and persons, will surely be thought to have possessed both the means and the inclination to paint with truth and correctness: in effect she will be seen to exhibit such a faithful, natural, and lively picture of the public mind and manners, taken sometimes in larger, sometimes in smaller groups, as will give a more satisfactory view to an observant reader than he will anywhere else discover. He will be further pleased to see avoided the most common error of historians, that of displaying the paradoxical and the marvellous, both in persons and things. But surely the use of history being to instruct the present and future ages by the experience of the past, nothing can be more absurd than a wish to excite and leave the reader in astonishment, which instead of assisting, can only confound his judgment. Mrs. Hutchinson, on the contrary, has made it her business, and that very successfully, to account by common and easy causes for many of those actions and effects which others have left unaccounted for, and only to be gazed at in unmeaning wonder; or, in attempting to account for them, have employed vain subtilty or groundless conjecture. She has likewise not merely described the parties in the state by their general character, but delineated them in *their minute ramifications*, and thus enabled us to trace the springs, and discover the reasonableness, of many of those proceedings which had hitherto seemed incongruous and inconsistent.

But the greater merit shall appear in this work as a history, the greater will be the regret that the writer did not dedicate more of her attention to render it complete and full, instead of summary.

However, the most numerous class of readers are the lovers of biography, and to these it has of late been the practice of historians to address themselves, as Lyttleton in his Life of Henry the Second, Robertson of Charles the Fifth, Roscoe of Leo the Tenth, and many minor writers. Perhaps the prevalence of this predilection may be traced to the circumstance of the reader's thus feeling himself to be, as it were, a party in the transactions which are recounted. A person of this taste will, it is hoped, here have his wishes completely gratified; for he will, in fancy, have lived in times, and witnessed scenes, the most interesting that can be imagined to the human mind, especially the mind of an Englishman; he will have conversed with persons the most celebrated and extraordinary, whom one party represent as heroes and demigods, the other as demons, but whom, having had opportunity to view close at hand, he will judge to have been truly great men, and to have carried at once to a high degree of perfection the characters of the warrior, the politician, the legislator, and the philosopher; yet to have had their great qualifications alloyed by such failings, and principally the want of moderation, as defeated their grand designs. He will have accompanied the hero of the tale, not only through all the ages of life, but through almost every situation in society, from the lowest that can become noticeable, which Mrs. Hutchinson calls the *even ground of a gentleman*; to the highest which his principles permitted him to aspire to, that of a counsellor of state, in a large and flourishing republic; he will have seen him mark each with the exercise of its appropriate grace or virtue, and so completely to have adapted himself to each department, as to appear always to move in the sphere most natural to him: and, finally, to have maintained so steady a course through all the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, as enabled him, though he could neither control the conduct of his coadjutors, nor stem the fluctuating tides of fortune or popular opinion, yet to preserve for himself not only the great and inexhaustible resource of a good conscience, but even the unanimous esteem of the great assembly of the nation, when they agreed in no other thing he will no doubt be sensible that such a character is rare, but he will perceive such a consistency and harmony of parts as to make him deem the whole easy of belief, and conclude that such a one would be even more difficult to feign than to find: he will hence be led to concur with us in asserting, that it is much more efficacious and conducive to improvement and to the advancement of morality thus to hold forth a great example in real life, and to elicit principles from practice, than first to feign a sentiment, and then actions and events to support it, as has been done both by ancients and moderns, from the Hercules of Prodicus to the Grandison of Richardson. Nor has the skill and attention of our author been confined to the portraying of her principal character, she has equally succeeded in the delineation of the subordinate ones; so that whenever their speeches or actions are brought afresh before our view, we need not that they should be named in order to recognise the personage; and both in this department, and in that of the development of the intrigues which she occasionally lays open to us, we shall acknowledge the advantage of her adding to the vigour of a masculine understanding, the nice feeling and discrimination, the delicate touch of the pencil of a female.

As to the style and phraseology, there are so few prose writings of a prior or coeval date now read, that we should be at a loss to point out any which could have served her for models, or us for a standard of comparison; nor does it so much appear to us to bear the stamp of any particular age, as by its simplicity, significancy, and propriety, to be worthy of imitation in all times.

Some expressions will be found that are uncommon, or used in an uncommon sense, but they are such as are justified by classical propriety, and, had her book been published, would probably have been adopted and brought into general use.

We conclude with expressing a confident hope that the public will find this memoir to be such as we first announced it, a faithful image of the mode of thinking in those days of which it treats, an interesting and new specimen of private and public character, of general and individual biography, and that recommended as it comes by clearness of discernment, strength and candour of judgment, simplicity, and perspicuity of narrative, pure, amiable, and christian morality, sentiments at once tender and elevated, conveyed in language elegant, expressive, and classical, occasionally embellished with apposite, impressive, and well-supported figures, it will be found to afford pleasure and instruction to every class of readers.

The ladies will feel that it carries with it all the interest of a novel, strengthened with the authenticity of real history; they will no doubt feel an additional satisfaction in learning, that though the author added to the erudition of the scholar, the research of the philosopher, the politician, and even the divine, the zeal and magnanimity of a patriot; yet she descended from all these elevations to perform, in the most exemplary manner, the functions of a wife, a mother, and mistress of a family.

THE LIFE OF MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

A FRAGMENT.

The Almighty Author of all beings, in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no less wisdom and goodness than he manifests power and greatness in their creation; but such is the stupidity of blind mortals, that instead of employing their studies in these admirable books of providence, wherein God daily exhibits to us glorious characters of his love, kindness, wisdom and justice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderful operations of the great God, the common accidents of human life, especially if they be such as are usual, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldom employ any reflection; for in things great and extraordinary, some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forget or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the hairs of their heads.

Finding myself in some kind guilty of this general neglect, I thought it might be a means to stir up my thankfulness for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected, as much as I have heard or can remember, of the passages of my youth, and the general and particular providences exercised towards me, both in the entrance and progress of my life. Herein I meet with so many special indulgences as require a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my improvement for God's glory. The parents by whom I received my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a witness of God's wonderful workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I received in my person, each of them carries along with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodness, so I cannot reflect on them without deep humiliation for the small improvement I have made of so rich a stock; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recal and seriously ponder; and first, as far as I have since learnt, set down the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1619-20, that in the Tower of London, the principal city of the English isle, I was, about 4 of the clock in the morning, brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lidiard Tregooze, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a son and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sons, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then at peace (it being towards the latter end of the reign of king James) if that quietness may be called a peace, which was rather like the calm and smooth surface of the sea, whose dark womb is already impregnated of a horrid tempest.

Whoever considers England, will find it no small favour of God to have been made one of its natives, both upon spiritual and outward accounts. The happiness of the soil and air contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants ever since they received a mention in history confers some honour upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimity and virtue, which hath famed this island, and raised her head in glory higher than the great kingdoms of the neighbouring continent. Britain hath been as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her own soil, and whatsoever foreign countries yield to increase admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleets. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forced to toil for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and been reckoned, almost in all ages, as valiant warriors as any part of the world sent

forth: insomuch that the greatest Roman captains thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and took great glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and it was two hundred years before the land could be reduced into a Roman province, which at length was done; and such of the nation, then called Picts, as scorned servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remained a perpetual trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Britons, that thought it better to work for their conquerors in a good land, than to have the freedom to starve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetched away, and wasted in the civil broils of these Roman lords, till the land, almost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forced to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out again, nor persuaded to let their hosts inhabit with them, for they drove the Britons into the mountains of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries which, from the new masters, received a new name, and ever since retained it, being called England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various success; but after about two or three hundred years' vain contest, they were for ever driven out with shame and loss, and the Saxon heptarchy melted into a monarchy, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastity, left an empty throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it again for the Norman usurper, who, partly by violence, partly by falsehood, laid here the foundation of his monarchy in the people's blood, in which it hath swum about five hundred years, till the flood that bore it was ploughed into such deep furrows as had almost sunk the proud vessel. Of those Saxons that remained subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's family descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutual marriages, that the distinction remained but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their valour grew terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely acquitted themselves in their own defence, but have shown abroad how easily they could subdue the world; if they did not prefer the quiet enjoyment of their own part above the conquest of the whole.

Better laws and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enjoyed, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those forms, tyranny, faction, and confusion; yet is it not possible for man to devise such just and excellent bounds as will keep in wild ambition, when princes' flatterers encourage that beast to break his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and people; but could never in any age so tread down popular liberty, but that it rose again with renewed vigour, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the just bounds wherein our kings were so well hedged in, the surrounding princes have with terror seen the reproof of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves than subjects, and are only served for fear, but not for love; whereas this people have ever been as affectionate to good, as unpliable to bad, sovereigns.

Nor is it only valour and generosity that renown this nation; in arts we have advanced equal to our neighbours, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnished. Agriculture is as ingeniously practised; the English archery were the terror of Christendom, and their cloths the ornament: but these low things bounded not their great spirits, in all ages it hath yielded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of. And to complete the crown of all their glory, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, valour, wit, learning, justice, wealth, and bounty, their piety and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people here, out of the waste common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the British king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that received the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdom; Henry the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoke off from his own and his subjects' necks. Here it was that the first christian Emperor received his crown; here began the early dawn of gospel light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God raised up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianism, and a more plentiful harvest of devout confessors, constant martyrs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not grown in any field of the church, throughout all ages, than those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospel by. Yet hath not this wheat been without its tares. God, in comparison with other countries, hath made this as a paradise, so, to complete the parallel, the serpent hath in all times been busy to seduce, and not unsuccessful, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

No sooner was the faith of Christ embraced in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent christians, and slaughtered multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to oppose the name of Christ with open hostility; then the subtle serpent put off his own horrid appearance, and comes out in a christian dress to persecute Christ in his poor prophets, that bore witness against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrel hath been more successful to the devil, and more afflictive to the church, than all open wars, and I fear, will never happily be decided till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversy, which at the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shared many perils, many fears, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

From the place of my birth I shall only desire to remember the goodness of the Lord who hath caused my lot to fall in a good ground, who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture, where the well

springs of life flow to all that desire to drink of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poor people perish among the heathen, where they never hear the name of Christ; how many poor christians spring up in countries enslaved by Turkish and anti-christian tyrants, whose souls and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knows what mercy it is to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not considered the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely it is too universal a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately passed over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnify God's loving-kindness and his special favour to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater return of duty from us than from all other people of the world.

Nor is the place only, but the time of my coming into the world, a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of popery, nor in the dawn of the gospel's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguished, but when the sun of truth was exalted in his progress and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the privilege of beholding the admirable growth of gospel light in my days: and oh! that my soul may never forget to bless and praise his name for the wonders of power and goodness, wisdom and truth, which have been manifested in this my time.

The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and virtuous in their own conversation, and careful instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leisure and ability, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honour due from me in such a grateful memorial, and to increase my children's improvement of the patterns they set them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myself to sum up some few things for my own use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not or have forgotten, or cannot worthily express.

My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year, in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough; the family out of which he came was an Apsley, of Apsley, a town where they had been seated before the Conquest, and ever since continued till of late, the last heir male of that eldest house, being the son of Sir Edward Apsley; is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other families. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country I never knew much of, by reason of my youth at the time of his death, and my education in far distant places, only in general I have heard that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had been such a continued custom for my ancestors to take wives at home, that there was scarce a family of any note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages nearly related: but I was myself a stranger to them all, except my Lord Goring, who living at court, I have seen with my father, and heard of him, because he was appointed one of my father's executors, though he declined the trouble. My grandfather had seven sons, of which my father was the youngest: to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest, according to the custom of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good family, and by her had only one son, whose mother dying, my uncle married himself again to one of his own maids, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the son of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a great while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a year to the eldest of his half brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a-piece to the three for their lives. He died before I was born, but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our family; the rest of my father's brothers went into the wars in Ireland and the Low Countries, and there remained none of them nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanly, and their generations are worn out except two or three unregarded children. My father at the death of my grandfather being but a youth at school, had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but put himself into present action, sold his annuity, bought himself good clothes, put some money in his purse, and came to London; and by means of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queen Elizabeth, where he behaved himself so that he won the love of many of the court; but being young, took an affection to gaming, and spent most of the money he had in his purse. About that time the Earl of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quit his idle court life, procured an employment from the Victualler of the Navy, to go along with that fleet. In which voyage he demeaned himself with so much courage and prudence, that after his return he was honoured with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him and he married her; but she not living many years with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserved a fatherly kindness, and some of her grand-children were brought up in his house after I was born. He, by God's blessing, and his fidelity and industry growing in estate and honour, received a knighthood from King James soon after his coming to the crown, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood I cannot perfectly set down. After that, growing into a familiarity with Sir George Carew, made now by the King, Earl of Totness, a niece of this Earl's, the daughter of Sir Peter Carew, who lived a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procured a marriage between them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a son and daughter, survived her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widowhood a very disconsolate life,

careful for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the son and daughter, the dear pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himself of his employments abroad, and procured himself the office of Victualler of the Navy, a place then both of credit and great revenue. His friends considering his solitude, had procured him a match of a very rich widow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this design, he chanced to see my mother at the house of Sir William St. John, who had married her eldest sister, and though he went on his journey, yet something in her person and behaviour he carried along with him, which would not let him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble family, being the youngest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lidiard Tregooze, in the county of Wilts; her father and mother died when she was not above five years of age, and yet at her nurse's, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honourable and excellent person, but married to a lady so jealous of him, and so ill-natured in her jealous fits, to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of step-mothers: the rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were dispersed to several places, where they grew up till my uncle Sir John St. John being married to the daughter of Sir Thomas Laten, they were all again brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautiful women found in any family as these, but my mother was by the most judgments preferred before all her elder sisters, who, something envious at it, used her unkindly, yet all the suitors that came to them still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation than the rest happened to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discreetly, that my mother could not but entertain him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindness for her, persuaded her to remove herself from her sisters' envy by going along with her to the Isle of Jersey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the town, and boarded in a French minister's house to learn the language, that minister having been, by the persecution in France, driven to seek his shelter there. Contracting a dear friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better than our more superstitious service, that she could have been contented to have lived there, had not a powerful passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her return she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had professed so much love to her, in her absence had been, by most vile practices and treacheries, drawn out of his senses, and into the marriage of a person, whom, when he recovered his reason, he hated: but that served only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted I shall only add that my mother lived in my uncle's house, secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindness of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her that they seemed to have but one soul. And in this kindness she had some time a great solace, till some malicious persons had wrought some jealousies which were very groundless in my uncle concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion whichw as fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate injured innocence, she was herself not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdraw herself into the island where the good minister was, and there to wear out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixed upon it in her own thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sir William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her that he persuaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholy made her conform cheerfully to that gravity of habit and conversation which was becoming the wife of such a person: who was then forty-eight years of age, and she not above sixteen. The first year of their marriage was crowned with a son, called after my father's name, and born at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's, which belonged to my father's employment in the navy; the next year they removed to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieutenant, and there had two sons more before me, and four daughters, and two sons after: of all which only three sons and two daughters survived him at the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third year of his age, after he had three years before languished of a consumption that succeeded a fever, which he got in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhee.

He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewailed by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never conversed with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficial; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it won him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envy and malice it was his custom to overcome with obligations. He had great natural parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightening of them by study of dead writings, but, in the living books of men's conversations, he soon became so skilful that he never was mistaken, but where his own good would not let him give credit to the evil he discerned in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no less kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintain his servants honourably while they were with him, but, for all that deserved it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetening with such compassionate kindness their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his days. He had a singular kindness for all persons that were eminent either in learning or arms, and when, through the ingratitude and vice of that age, many of the wives and children of queen Elizabeth's glorious captains were reduced to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decayed fortunes till he was dead: many of those valiant seamen he maintained in prison, many he redeemed out of prison, and cherished with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshined the rest, it was the

generous liberality of his mind, wherein goodness and greatness were so equally distributed, that they mutually embellished each other. Pride and covetousness had not the least place in his breast. As he was in love with true honour, so he contemned vain titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper years he refused a barondry, which the king offered him. He was severe in the regulating of his family, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dress in any woman under his roof. There was nothing he hated more than an insignificant gallant, that could only make his legs and prune himself, and court a lady, but had not brains to employ himself in things more suitable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his virtues, but those wherein he was not excelled by any of his own or succeeding times. The large estate he reaped by his happy industry, he did many times over as freely resign again to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of it at his death in the king's hands. All his virtues wanted not the crown of all virtue, piety and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were only the consolations his desolate family could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty than he and my mother, who seemed to be acted by the same soul, so little did she grudge any of his liberalities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindness to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a year for her own private expense, and had given her all her own portion to dispose of how she pleased, as soon as she was married; which she suffered to increase in her friends' hands; and what my father allowed her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she laid most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek to physicians. By these means she acquired a great deal of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her own hands, visited and took care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not less bountiful to many poor widows and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her own house was filled with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintained in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soul and her house, and the education of her children, was her principal care. She was a constant frequenter of weekday lectures, and a great lover and encourager of good ministers, and most diligent in her private reading and devotions.

When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herself his nurse, and cook, and physician, and, through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserved him a great while longer than the physicians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length, when the Lord took him to rest, she showed as much humility and patience, under that great change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentiful and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the year 1659. The privilege of being born of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often revolved with great thankfulness for the mercy, and humiliation that I did no more improve it. After my mother had had three sons, she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the women at my birth told her I was one, she received me with a great deal of joy; and the nurses fancying, because I had more complexion and favour than is usual in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavoured to nurse me. As soon as I was weaned, a French-woman was taken to be my dry nurse, and I was taught to speak French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamed that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a star came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dream signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vain prophecies, wrought as far as it could its own accomplishment,* for my father and mother fancying me then beautiful, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spared no cost to improve me in my education, which procured me the admiration of those that flattered my parents. By that time I was four years old I read English perfectly, and having a great memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeat them exactly, and being caressed, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needle-work, but my genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so eager of, that my mother, thinking it prejudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me than kept me back, and every moment I could steal from my play, I would employ in any book I could find, when my own were locked

* This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labours, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.

up from me. After dinner and supper, I still had an hour allowed me to play, and then I would steal into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain, that was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow. My brothers, who had a great deal of wit, had some emulation at the progress I made in my learning, which very well pleased my father, though my mother would have been contented, had I not so wholly addicted myself to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for music and dancing, I profited very little in them, and would never practice my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle, I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me, I tired them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with elder company, to whom I was very acceptable; and living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table, and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again to great admiration of many that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practice as I was taught: I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day performed my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to any thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked. I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty songs and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest; among these I have† * *

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Five years after me my mother had a daughter that she nursed at her own breast, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my‡

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MRS. HUTCHINSON TO HER CHILDREN,

CONCERNING THEIR FATHER.

TO MY CHILDREN.

They who doat on mortal excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things frail, their adored idols are taken from them, may let loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the dear memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is essayed to such mourners, commonly all objects are removed out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew the grief; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivion's curtain is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things less lovely are liked, while they are not viewed together with that which was most excellent; but I that am under a command not to grieve at the common rate of desolate women*, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible, to augment my love, can for the present find out none more just to your dear father, nor consolatory to myself, than the preservation of his memory, which I need not gild with such flattering commendations as the hired preachers do equally give to the truly and titularly honourable; a naked undressed narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantial glory, than all the panegyrics the best pens could ever consecrate to the virtues of the best men.

Indeed that resplendent body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick cloud, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world's weak eyes, which I fear hath but few people in it so virtuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could make so large a progress in the race of piety, honour, and virtue: but I am almost stopped before I set forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himself more than my unperfect arithmetic can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskilful pen cannot describe. I fear to injure that memory which I would honour, and to disgrace his name with a poor monument; but when I have beforehand laid this necessary caution, and ingenuously confessed, that through my inability either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefit of all, and particularly his own posterity, I must withhold a great part from them, I hope I shall be pardoned for drawing an imperfect image of him,

* The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises, instead of depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader's taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authoress's judgment and modesty to observe, that having shown her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.

† At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

‡ Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightful loveliness in it.

Let not excess of love and delight in the stream make us forget the fountain, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flowed back into their own spring; there let us seek them, thither let us hasten after him; there having found him, let us cease to bewail among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortal; his soul conversed with God so much when he was here, that it rejoices to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his virtues were recorded in heaven's annals, and can never perish, by them he yet teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive: 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead, never to revive again, nor would we have them; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquished them: our conjunction, if we had any with him, was indissolnble, if we were knit together by one spirit into one body of Christ, we are so still, if we were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodness, we are so still; what is it then we wail in his remove? the distance! faithless fools! sorrow only makes it; let us but ascend to God in holy joy for the great grace given his poor servant, and he is there with us. He is only removed from the malice of his enemies, for which we should not express love to him in being afflicted, we may mourn for ourselves that we come so tardily after him, that we want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our tears did not put out our eyes we should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of virtuous examples and precepts to light us through the dark world. It is time that I let in to your knowledge that splendour which while it cheers and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glory to God alone, who is the father and fountain of all light and excellence.

Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, virtuous, honourable life, I would put his picture in the front of his book, but my unskilful hand will injure him. Yet to such of you as have not seen him to remember his person, I leave this—

HIS DESCRIPTION.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, curling into loose great rings at the ends, his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thin, his mouth well-made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nother chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high, his nose was raised and sharp, but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well-made, he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active, and graceful in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman; he had a great love to music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly; he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work—he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs, and making fish-ponds*; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off; he was wonderfully neat, cleanly and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome; every thing that it was necessary for him to do, he did with delight, free, and unconstrained; he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people; he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings, and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby two or three years after the war ended, but else for the latter half of his life was healthy, though tender: in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and tooth-aches, but then his spirits carried him through them; he was very patient under sickness or pain or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be feared, yet he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered, for indeed his judgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech before-hand to please himself, but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand; he was not talkative yet free of discourse, of a very spare diet, not much given to sleep, an early riser when in health; he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else; so in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending

* Many traces of his taste, judgment, and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.

to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him: to sum up therefore all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepared for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there awhile, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor.

HIS VIRTUES.

To number his virtues, is to give the epitome of his life, which was nothing else but a progress from one degree of virtue to another, till in a short time he arrived to that height, which many longer lives could never reach, and had I but the power of rightly disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive than all the rules of the best moralists, for his practice was of a more divine extraction, drawn from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spirit; therefore in the head of all his virtues, I shall set that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royal blood that runs through the whole body of virtue, and every pretender to that glorious family, who hath no tincture of it, is an imposter and a spurious brat. This is that sacred fountain which baptizeth all the gentile virtues, that so immortalize the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated and take a new name and nature; digged up in the wilderness of nature, and dipped in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the paradise of God.

By christianity I intend that universal habit of grace which is wrought in a soul by the regenerating Spirit of God, whereby the whole creature is resigned up into the divine will and love, and all its actions designed to the obedience and glory of its Maker. As soon as he had improved his natural understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercised himself in were principles of religion, and the first knowledge he laboured for was a knowledge of God, which by a diligent examination of the Scripture, and the several doctrines of great men pretending that ground, he at length obtained.—Afterward when he had laid a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of man's inventions in God's worship, which his spirit burnt up in the day of their trial. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints. He hated persecution for religion, and was always a champion for all religious people against all their great oppressors. He detested all scoffs at any practice of worship, though such a one as he was not persuaded of. Whatever he practised in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience' sake. As he hated outsides in religion, so could he worse endure those apostacies and those denials of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries, which timorous men practise under the name of prudent and just condescensions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him fountain of all his virtues, and diffusing i every stream, that of his prudence falls next mention. He from a child was v sought to by many that might have fathers for counsel, which he could ex give to himself and others, and whatev event in any of his affairs may give oc fools to overlook the wisdom of the desig had as great a foresight, as strong a judg clear an apprehension of men and thin man more. He had rather a firm in than a great memory, yet he was for nothing but injuries. His own integri him credulous of other men's, till reason perience convinced him, and as unapt t cautions which could not be received entertaining ill opinions of men, yet he dom enough never to commit himself to though he was once wickedly betrayed b whom necessity and not mistake forced trust*. He was as ready to hear as counsel, and never pertinacious in his v his reason was convinced. There was n which he was most settled in, either co divine or human things, but he would and impartially hear it debated. In m faith his reason always submitted to the God, and what he could not comprehend believe because it was written, but in things, the greatest names in the wor never lead him without reason: he woul rate when there was time, but never opportunity of anything that was to be tedious dispute. He would hear as well and yet never spoke impertinently or u ably. He very well understood himself advantages, natural parts, gifts, and acqui yet so as neither to glory of them to ot over-value himself for them, for he ha cellent virtuous modesty, which shut out of mind, and yet admitted that true under of himself which was requisite for the provement of all his talents; he no les stood and was more heedful to remark hi imperfections, and disadvantages, but only to excite his circumspection co them, not to damp his spirit in any not prise. He had a noble spirit of governm in civil, military, and domestic admini which forced even from unwilling subjec and reverence of him, and endeared hi souls of those rejoiced to be governed He had a native majesty that struck a him into the hearts of men, and a sweet that commanded love. He had a clear d of men's spirits, and knew how to give e their just weight, he contemned none t not wicked, in whatever low degree of r fortune they were otherwise: whereve wisdom, learning, or other virtues in honoured them highly, and admired them full rate, but never gave himself blin the conduct of the greatest master. L which was as powerful in his as in any so

* It is not known what peculiar transaction to, though it may be conjectured to refer t protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Coop Restoration; whom he and many others tru against their will.

quickened than blinded the eyes of his judgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most dear to him. His soul ever reigned as king in the internal throne, and never was captive to his sense; religion and reason, its two favoured counsellors, took order that all the passions kept within their own just bounds, there did him good service, and furthered the public weal. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisdom that he enjoyed, as he was a great lover of that which advanced it, learning and the arts, which he not only honoured in others, but had by his industry arrived to be himself a far greater scholar than is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainments, but he no less evidenced his wisdom in knowing how to rank and use them, than in gaining them. He had wit enough to have been subtile and cunning, but he so abhorred dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatness of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him from any, to retire into the shadow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant virtue in him, as which is so in its own nature. He was as excellent in justice as in wisdom—the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world, could not prevail on him to pervert justice even to an enemy. He never professed the thing he intended not, nor promised what he believed out of his own power, nor failed the performance of anything that was in his power to fulfil. Never fearing anything he could suffer for the truth, he never at any time would refrain a true or give a false witness; he loved truth so much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries. He was so just to his own honour that he many times forbore things lawful and delightful to him, rather than he would give any one occasion of scandal. Of all lies he most hated hypocrisy in religion, either to comply with changing governments or persons, without a real persuasion of conscience, or to practise holy things to get the applause of men or any advantage.—As in religion so in friendship, he never professed love when he had it not, nor disguised hate or aversion, which indeed he never had to any party or person, but to their sins: and loved even his bitterest enemies so well, that I am witness how his soul mourned for them, and how heartily he desired their conversion. If he were defective in any part of justice, it was when it was in his power to punish those who had injured him, whom I have so often known him to recompense with favours instead of revenge, that his friends used to tell him if they had any occasion to make him favourably partial to them they would provoke him by an injury. He was as faithful and constant to his friends as merciful to his enemies: nothing grieved him more than to be obliged, where he could not hope to return it. He that was a rock to all assaults of might and violence, was the gentlest easy soul to kindness, that the least warm spark of that melted him into anything that was not sinful. There never was a man more exactly just in the performance of duties to all relations and all persons. Honour, obedience, and love to his father, were so natural and so lasting in him, that it is impossible to imagine a better son than he was, and whoever would pray for a blessing in children to any one, could but wish them such a son as he*. He never repined at his father's will in anything, how much soever it were to his prejudice, nor would endure to hear any one say his father was not so kind to him as he might have been, but to his dying day preserved his father's memory with such tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children she brought his father, as he could not have been more dearly concerned in all their interest if she had been his own mother—which, all things considered, although they were deserving persons, was an example of piety and goodness that will not easily be matched. For conjugal affection to his wife, it was such in him, as whosoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindness, and religion, to be practised in that estate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteem of a wife, yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that just rule which it was her honour to obey, but managed the reins of government with such prudence and affection that she who would not delight in such an honourable and advantageable subjection, must have wanted a reasonable soul; he governed by persuasion, which he never employed but to things honourable and profitable for herself: he loved her soul and her honour more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fools: if he esteemed her at a higher rate than she in herself could have deserved, he was the author of that virtue he doted on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shadow. So liberal was he to her and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of severed purses: his estate being so much at her disposal that he never would receive an account of anything she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceased to be young and lovely, he began to show most fondness, he loved her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot express, yet even this, which was the highest love he or any man could have, was yet bounded by a superior; he loved her in the Lord as his fellow creature, not his idol, but in such a manner as showed that an affection bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He loved God above her and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glory cheerfully resigned them. He was as kind a father, as dear a brother, as good a master, and as faithful a friend, as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevailed on him to indulge vice in any the dearest person; but the more dear any was to him, the more was he offended at anything that might take off the lustre of their glory. As he had great severity against errors and follies pertinaciously pursued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spirit that can be imagined to those who

* This we shall find called in question by his mother-in-law, and will be discussed in the course of the history.

became sensible of their errors and frailties, although they had been never so injurious to himself.

Nor was his soul less shining in honour than in love. Piety being still the bond of all his other virtues, there was nothing he durst not do or suffer, but sin against God; and therefore as he never regarded his life in any noble and just enterprise, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surprised, amazed, nor confounded with great difficulties or dangers, which rather served to animate than distract his spirits: he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixed his purpose to entertain both honourably, so that no accident ever dismayed him, but he rather rejoiced in such troublesome conflicts as might signalise his generosity. A truer or more lively valour there never was in any man, but in all his actions it ever marched in the same file with wisdom. He understood well, and as well performed when he undertook it, the military art in all parts of it; he naturally loved the employment, as it suited with his active temper more than any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that loved his conduct: and when he commanded soldiers, never was man more loved and reverenced by all that were under him, for he would never condescend to them in anything they mutinously sought, nor suffer them to seek what it was fit for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercised his authority no way but in keeping them to their just duty, they joyed as much in his commands as he in their obedience. He was very liberal to them, but ever chose just times and occasions to exercise it. I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or less proud; he never disdained the meanest person nor flattered the greatest; he had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest, and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers, but still so ordering his familiarity as it never raised them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him. He ever preserved himself in his own rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that just decorum which his honour obliged him to keep up. He was as far from envy of superiors as from contemning them that were under him: he was above the ambition of vain titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevailed upon him to advance one step that way; he loved substantial not airy honour; as he was above seeking or delighting in empty titles for himself, so he neither denied nor envied any man's due precedency, but pitied those that took a glory in that which had no foundation of virtue. As little did he seek after popular applause, or pride himself in it, if at any time it cried up his just deserts; he more delighted to do well than to be praised, and never set vulgar commendations at such a rate as to act contrary to his own conscience or reason for the obtaining them, nor would forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever looked on things as they were in themselves, not through the dim spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was far from a vain affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that just care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as careful to avoid the appearances of evil as evil itself; but if he were evil spoken of for truth or righteousness' sake, he rejoiced in taking up the reproach, which all good men that dare bear their testimony against an evil generation must suffer. Though his zeal for truth and virtue caused the wicked, with the sharp edges of their malicious tongues, to attempt to shave off the glories from his head, yet his honour springing from the fast root of virtue did but grow the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cut it off *. He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankful heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compass for the exercise of his great heart. He loved hospitality as much as he hated riot; he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he took very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of mere pleasure, he loved not to aim at that he could not attain; he would rather wear clothes absolutely plain, than pretending to gallantry, and would rather choose to have none than mean jewels or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity: he would rather give nothing than a base reward or present, and upon that score lived very much retired, though his nature were very sociable, and delighted in going into and receiving company, because his fortune would not allow him to do it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous, that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride or vain glory, nor diminish a general affability, courtesy, and civility, that he had always to all persons. When he was most exalted, he was most merciful and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquished any enemy, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertained thoughts of love and kindness as soon as he ceased to be in a posture of opposition. He was as far from meanness as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and showed his noble spirit more in adversity than in his prosperous condition. He vanquished all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast upon him were their, not his, shame.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoyed, and herein his temperance was more excellent than in others, in whom it is not so much a virtue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure: in him it was a true, wise, and religious government of the desire and delight he took in the things he enjoyed. He had a certain activity of spirit which could never endure idleness either in himself or others, and that made him eager for the time he indulged it as well in pleasure as in business: indeed, though in his youth he exercised innocent sports a little while, yet, afterwards, his business was his pleasure; but how intent soever he were in anything, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to

* Samson and Delilah.

something else. He had as much modesty as could consist with a true virtuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. Neither in youth nor riper age could the most fair or enticing women ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familiarity or vain converse or dallianee with them, yet he despised nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandal or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorred, and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet that which was mixed with impurity he never would endure. The heat of his youth a little inclined him to the passion of anger, and the goodness of his nature to those of love and grief; but reason was never dethroned by them, but continued governess and moderator in his soul*.

THE
LIFE OF JOHN HUTCHINSON, OF OWTHORP,
IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

He was the eldest surviving son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and the lady Margaret his first wife, one of the daughters of Sir John Biron, of Newsted, in the same county, two persons so eminently virtuous and pious in their generations, that to descend from them was to set up in the world upon a good stock of honour, which obliged their posterity to improve it, as much as it was their privilege to inherit their parents' glories. Sir Thomas was he that removed his dwelling to Owthorpe; his father, though he was possessor of that lordship, having dwelt at Cropwell, another town, within two miles wherein he had an inheritance, which, if I mistake not, was the place where those of the family that began to settle the name in this county first fixed their habitation. The family, for many generations past, have been of good repute in Yorkshire, and there is yet a gentleman in that county, descendant of the elder house, that possesses a fair estate and reputation in his father's ancient inheritance.† They have been in Nottinghamshire for generations; wherein I observe that, as if there had been an agrarian law in the family, as soon as they arrived to any considerable fortune beyond his who was first transplanted hither, they began other houses, of which one is soon decayed and worn out in an unworthy branch (he of Basford), another begins to flourish, and long may it prosper.‡ It is further observable in their descent, that though none of them before Sir Thomas Hutchinson advanced beyond an esquire, yet they successively matched into all the most eminent and noble families in the country, which shows that it was the unambitious genius of the family, rather than their want of merit, which made them keep upon so even a ground, after their first achievements had set them on a stage elevated enough from the vulgar, to perform any honourable and virtuous actions. I spoke with one old man who had known five generations of them in these parts, where their hospitality, their love to their country, their plain and honest conversation with all men, their generous and unambitious inclinations, had made the family continue as well beloved and reputed as any of the prouder houses in the country.§ Although they changed not their titles, yet every succession increased the real honour of their house. One disadvantage they had, that few of them were so long lived as to prevent their sons from the bondage of wardship, whereby they fell into the hands of wicked guardians, that defaced instead of cultivating their seats, and made every heir a new planter. Sir Thomas Hutchinson, as I have heard, was not above eight years of age when his father died, and his wardship fell into the hands of an unworthy person, Sir Germaine Poole, who did him so many injuries, that he was fain, after he came of age, to have suits with him. This so raised the malice of the wicked man, that he watched an opportunity to assassinate him unawares, and as Sir Thomas was landing out of a boat at the Temple-stairs, in London, Poole, having on a private coat, with some wicked assistants, before he was aware, gave him some cuts on the head and his left hand that was upon the boat; but he full of courage drew his sword, ran at Poole and broke his weapon, which could not enter his false armour, whereupon he ran in to him, resolved not be murdered without leaving some mark on the villain; he bit off his nose, and then, by the assistance God sent him, of an honest waterman, being rescued, he was carried away, so sorely wounded that his life was in some danger: but the fact being made public, his honourable carriage in it procured him a great deal of glory, and his adversary carried the mark of his shame to his grave.‖ After this, returning into

* In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, "All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another assay." And accordingly she proceeds to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characteristic*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written, "This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp." J. H.

(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

† At Wykeham Abbey, in the county of York, where it is believed they still reside.

‡ It stood only two generations; the last possessor, who was the great-grandson of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, directing by his will the estate to be sold, and the produce given to strangers.

§ Sir Thomas Hutchinson's son and grandson fell no way short of him in this.

‖ This is a singular tale, and savours almost too much of the ridiculous for the gravity of an historian: however Rushworth recites a story of this same man not a little resembling it. In the appendix to his second volume, "Sir German Poole vowed revenge against a Mr. Bright-

the country, he there lived with very much love, honour, and repute; but having been tossed up and down in his youth, and interrupted in his studies, he grew into such an excessive humour of books, that he wholly addicted himself to them; and deeply engaging in school divinity, spent even his hours of meat and sleep among his books, with such eagerness, that though he himself attained a high reputation of learning thereby, and indeed a great improvement in wisdom and piety, yet he too much deprived his dear friends and relations of his conversation. When he was entered into this studious life, God took from him his dear wife, who left him only two weak children; and then being extremely afflicted for so deplorable a loss, he entertained his melancholy among the old fathers and schoolmen, instead of diverting it, and having furnished himself with the choicest library in that part of England, it drew to him all the learned and religious men thereabouts, who found better resolutions from him than from any of his books. Living constantly in the country, he could not be exempted from administering justice among them, which he did with such equity and wisdom, and was such a defender of the country's interest, that, without affecting it at all, he grew the most popular and most beloved man in the country, even to the envy of those prouder great ones that despised the common interest. What others sought, he could not shun, being still sought by the whole county, to be their representative, to which he was several times elected,* and ever faithful to his trust and his country's interest, though never approving violence and faction. He was a man of a most moderate and wise spirit, but still so inclined to favour the oppressed saints and honest people of those times, that, though he conformed to the government, the licentious and profane encroachers upon common native rights branded him with the reproach of the world, though the glory of good men, Puritanism; yet notwithstanding he continued constant to the best interest, and died at London, in the year 1643, a sitting member of that glorious parliament that so generously attempted, and had almost effected, England's perfect liberty. He was a person of great beauty and comeliness in all ages,† of a bounteous and noble nature, of clear courage, sweet and affable conversation, of a public spirit, of great prudence and reputation, a true lover of all pious learned persons, and no less of honest plain people, of a most tender conscience, and therefore declaring much for and endeavouring moderation, if it had been possible in the beginning of our wars that the greatest wisdom could have cast on any drops of healing counsel, to have allayed the furious rage of both parties. Though never man was a deeper nor truer mourner than he for his first wife, yet that long dropping grief did but soften his heart for the impression of a second love, which he conceived for a very honourable and beautiful lady, who was Katherine, the youngest daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston, a noble family in Derbyshire, by whom he had a son and two daughters surviving him, not unworthy of their family.

Mr. John Hutchinson, the eldest of his surviving sons, by his first wife, was born at Nottingham in the month of September, in the year 1616. That year there had been a great drought, by reason of which the country would not afford his father any provision for his stables, so that he was forced to remove from Owthorpe, to winter in the town of Nottingham, somewhat before his lady's time of account. She being in the coach on her way thither, and seeing her husband in some danger by reason of a mettled horse he rode upon, took a fright, and was brought to bed the next day, as they imagined some three weeks before her time, and they were confirmed in that opinion by the weakness of the child, which continued all his infancy. When he was born there was an elder brother in the family, but he died a child. Two years and a half after this was Mr. George Hutchinson, his younger brother, born at Owthorpe, and half a year after his birth the two children lost their mother, who died of a cold she had taken, and was buried at Owthorpe. She was a lady of a noble family as any in the county, of an incomparable shape and beauty, embellished with the best education those days afforded, and above all had such a generous virtue joined with attractive sweetness, that she captivated the hearts of all that knew her: she was pious, liberal, courteous, patient, kind above an ordinary degree, ingenious in all things she would apply herself to, and notwithstanding she had had her education at court, was delighted in her own country habitation, and managed all her family affairs better than any of the homespun housewifes, that had been brought up to nothing else: she was a most affectionate wife, a great lover of her father's house, showing that true honour to parents is the leading virtue, which seldom wants the concomitancy of all the rest of honour's train. She was a wise and bountiful mistress in her family, a blessing to her tenants and neighbourhood, and had an indulgent tenderness to her infants; but death veiled all her mortal glories in the 26th year of her age. The stories I have received of her have been but scanty epitaphs of those things which were worthy a large chronicle, and a better recorder than I can be; I shall therefore draw again the sable curtain before that image which I have ventured to look at a little, but dare not undertake to discover to others. One that was present at her death told me that she had an admirable voice, and skill to manage it, and that she went away singing a psalm, which this maid apprehended she sung with so much

house, shot two pistols at him out of a window, set two servants on him with swords, who ran him through the cloak between the arm and body, but killed him not, he defending himself effectually till Sir German came on, who wounded him, and for which he and another were committed to the Fleet, fined 1100*l.*" &c. This does not seem to have cured him; perhaps the mark set on him by Sir Thomas H. succeeded better.

* He was omitted only in that parliament which was chosen at a time when he and other patriots were imprisoned to prevent their being re-elected. See note, page 18.

† His picture remained at Owthorpe, and very well justified this description, and is now in the editor's possession in high preservation. For the bounty and nobleness of his nature, take this instance from Thoroton's History of Notts. "Henry Sacheverell, Esq., being dissatisfied with his only daughter for an improper marriage, left his whole estate at Ratcliff upon Soar, to Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his sister's son, who willingly divided it with the disinherited lady." His moiety came afterwards to Alderman Ireton, being sacrificed to him through necessity by Col. Hutchinson, as will hereafter be shown.

more than usual sweetness, as if her soul had been already ascended into the celestial quire.

There is a story of her father and mother so memorable, that though it be not altogether pertinent to their grandchild's affairs, which I only intend, yet I shall here put it in, since the third generation, for whom I make this collection, is not altogether unconcerned in the great-grandfather. He (the great-grandfather) was not the eldest son of his father Sir John Biron, but had an elder brother that had married a private gentleman's daughter in the country, and so displeased his father in that match, that he intended an equal part of his estate to this Sir John Biron, his younger son, and thereupon married him to a young lady who was one of the daughters of my lord Fitzwilliam, that had been deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and lived as a prince in that country *. This daughter of his having an honourable aspiring to all things excellent, and being assisted by the great education her father gave her, attained to a high degree of learning and language, to such an excellency in music and poetry that she made rare compositions in both kinds; and there was not any of those extraordinary qualities, which are therefore more glorious, because more rare in the female sex, but she was excellent in them; and besides all these ornaments of soul, she had a body of as admirable form and beauty, which justly made her husband so infinitely enamoured of her as never man was more. She could not set too high a value on herself if she compared herself with other women of those times, yet it was an alloy to her glories that she was a little grieved that a less woman, the elder brother's wife, was superior to her in regard of her husband, though inferior in regard of her birth and person; but that grief was soon removed by a sad accident. That marriage, wherein the father had not been obeyed, was fruitless, and the young gentleman himself being given to youthful vanity, as he was one day to go out hunting with his father, had commanded something should be put under the saddle of a young serving-man, that was to go out with them, to make sport at his affright, when his horse should prove unquiet. The thing succeeded as it was designed, and made them such sport, that the young gentleman, in the passion of laughter, died, and turned their mirth into mourning: leaving a sad caveat by his example, to take heed of hazarding men's precious lives for a little sport. The younger brother by this means became the heir of the family, and was father of a numerous and hopeful issue. But while the incomparable mother shined in all the human glory she wished, and had the crown of all outward felicity to the full, in the enjoyment of the mutual love of her most beloved husband, God in one moment took it away, and alienated her most excellent understanding in a difficult childbirth, wherein she brought forth two daughters, which lived to be married, and one more, that died, I think, as soon or before it was born †: but after that, all the art of the best physicians in England could never restore her understanding: yet she was not frantic, but had such a pretty deliration, that her ravings were more delightful than other women's most rational conversations. Upon this occasion her husband gave himself up to live retired with her, as became her condition, and made haste to marry his son, which he did so young, that I have heard say when the first child was born, the father, mother, and child, could not make one-and-thirty years old. The daughters and the rest of the children, as soon as they grew up, were married and dispersed. I think I have heard she had some children after that childbirth which distempered her, and then my lady Hutchinson must have been one of them, for she was the youngest daughter, and at nine years old so taking, and of such an amiable conversation, that the lady Arabella ‡ would needs take her from her parents along with her to the court, where she minded nothing but her lady, and grew up so intimate in all her counsels, that the princess was more delighted in her than in any of the women about her, but when she (the princess) was carried away from them to prison, my lady's brother fetched her home to his house; and there, although his wife, a most prudent and virtuous lady, laboured to comfort her with all imaginable kindness, yet so constant was her friendship to the unfortunate princess, I have heard her servants say, even after her marriage, she would steal many melancholy hours to sit and weep in remembrance of her. Meanwhile her parents were driving on their age, in no less constancy of love to each other, when even that distemper which had estranged her mind in all things else, had left her love and obedience entire to her husband, and he retained the same fondness and respect for her after she was distempered, as when she was the glory of her age. He had two beds in one chamber, and she being a little sick, two women watched by her some time before she died. It was his custom, as soon as ever he unclosed his eyes, to ask how she did; but one night, he being as they thought in a deep sleep, she quietly departed towards the morning. He was that day to have gone hunting, his usual exercise for his health, and it was his custom to have his chaplain pray with him before he went out: the women, fearful to surprise him with the ill news, knowing his dear affection to her, had stolen out and acquainted the chaplain, desiring him to inform him of it. Sir John waking, did not on that day, as was his custom, ask for her, but called the chaplain to prayers, and joining with him, in the midst of the prayer, expired, and both of them were buried together in the same grave. Whether

* By mistake Mrs. Hutchinson calls him lord. The person here meant was Sir William Fitzwilliam, appointed governor of Ireland seven times, with the different titles of Lord Justice and Lord Deputy, by that distinguishing and judicious princess. A sufficient eulogy! From him descends in a direct line the present Earl Fitzwilliam. *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.* The reader will most likely find this episode too beautiful and affecting to think it needs the apology the writer makes.

† The twins, here mentioned as daughters, are said by Thoroton to have been sons, viz. Sir John, presently herein spoken of as the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Nicholas, who served Charles the First with the same zeal as the rest of that family.

‡ By the lady Arabella is here meant the lady Arabella Stuart, whose romantic and melancholy story is told by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 161 and 189, in the reign of James the First. That mean-souled tyrant shut her up in the Tower, where she died, not without suspicion of poison.

he perceived her death, and would not take notice, or whether some strange sympathy in love or nature, tied up their lives in one, or whether God was pleased to exercise an unusual providence towards them, preventing them both from that bitter sorrow which such separations cause, it can be but conjectured; but the thing being not ordinary, and having received it from the relation of one of his daughters and his grandchild, I thought it not impertinent here to insert. I shall now proceed to our own story.

As soon as my lady Hutchinson was dead, her brother, Sir John Biron, came over, and found the most desolate afflicted widower that ever was beheld, and one of his sisters, the lady Radcliffe, who was the dear sister of the dead lady, scarce alive for sorrow; and indeed such a universal lamentation in the house and neighbourhood, that the protraction of their griefs for such a funeral as was intended her, might possibly have made them all as she: Sir John therefore, the next morning, privately, unknown to her husband, with only her own family, carried her to the church, which was but the next door, and interred her without further ceremony. It booted not Sir Thomas to be angry at her friend's care of him, who pursued it so far, that the next day he carried away Sir Thomas, lady Radcliffe, and Mr. John Hutchinson, towards his own house at Bulwell, leaving Mr. George at his nurse's. But the horses of the coach being mettled, in the halfway between Owthorpe and Nottingham, ran away, overthrew it, and slightly hurt all that were in the coach; who all got out, one by one, except the maid that had the child in her arms, and she stayed as long as there was any hope of preventing the coach from being torn to pieces; but when she saw no stop could be given to the mad horses, she lapped him as close as she could in the mantle, and flung him as far as she could from the coach into the ploughed lands, whose furrows were at that time very soft, and by the good providence of God, the child, reserved to a more glorious death, had no apparent hurt. He was taken up and carried to Bulwell, where his aunt had such a motherly tenderness for him that he grew and prospered in her care. As the fresh memory and excessive love they bore the mother endeared the young child to all her relations at the first, so as he grew, he discovered so much growing wisdom, agility, and pretty spritefulness, had such a natural gravity without sullenness, and such sweet innocence, that every child of the family loved him better than their own brothers and sisters, and Sir John Biron and my lady were not half so fond of any of their own. When it was time for them to go to school, both the brothers were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the master of the free-school at Nottingham, who was an excellent scholar, but having no children, some wealth, and a little living that kept his house, first grew lazy, and after left off his school. Sir Thomas then removed his sons to the free school at Lincoln, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clark, but he was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantic forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very little there. At this place it was that God began early to exercise him with affliction and temptation; he was deprived of the attendance and care he had been used to, and met with many inconveniences, unsuitable to his tender and nice constitution; but this was little, for he had such discretion in his childhood that he understood what was fit for him to require, and governed wherever he lived; for he would not be denied reasonable, and would not ask other things. He was as a father over his brother, and having some advantage of years, took upon him to be the guide of his youth, yet with such love, that never were children more commendable and happy in mutual affections: but it pleased God to strike his brother with a sad disease, the falling sickness, wherein Mr. Hutchinson most carefully attended him while he continued at Lincoln, which his father permitted him to do, for the opportunity of Dr. Pridgeon, one of the best physicians in those parts. When he had in vain exercised all his art on the young gentleman, and that he found no success in it, he advised he should return to his father's house, and be entertained with all the sports that could be found to delight his mind or exercise his body. Accordingly he was carried home, and had a pack of hounds, huntsmen, and horses, kept for him, and was something recreated, but not cured thereby, till afterward it pleased God to effect that cure by a young practitioner, which the ablest physicians of the country could not work. The separation from his brother to whom he had such an entire affection, considered with the sad occasion of it, was a great affliction to the elder brother, who remained in a place where he had little to delight him, having an aversion to his austere pedantic master, and that increased by an opinion that his severity had been the cause of his dear brother's distemper.

The great encouragement Sir Thomas had to trust his sons in this town, was because, at that time, a gentleman inhabited there who had married his uncle's widow, and had been his fellow-sufferer in a confinement in Kent, when King Charles the First had broken up a parliament to the disgust of the people, and durst not trust those gentlemen that had been most faithful defenders of their country's interests, to return for some time to their own countries, for which they served *. Of these worthy patriots Sir Thomas Hutchinson and Sir Thomas Grantham, the gentleman of whom I am speaking, were confined from Nottingham and Lincolnshire to the house of one Sir Adam Newton in Kent: the good father little thinking then, that in that fatal country his son should suffer an imprisonment, upon the same account, to the destruction of his life and family. Sir Thomas Grantham was a gentleman of great repute in his country, and kept up all his life the old hospitality of England, having a great retinue and a noble table, and a resort of all the nobility and gentry in those parts. He had only two sons, whereof the eldest was a fine gentleman, bred beyond the seas, according to the best education

* This piece of history is mentioned by Rapin; Sir Thomas Grantham is named, but Sir Thomas Hutchinson and many others not named. It appears, in Thoroton's History of Nottingham, edited by Throsby, that this confinement so far answered the purpose of Charles the First, that it caused another to be chosen instead of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, Knight of the Shire; but as soon as Sir Thomas got free he was again chosen, and continued to represent the county till his death.

of those times; the other was a foolish youth, schoolfellow with Mr. Hutchinson, who every Saturday night was fetched from school to Sir Thomas Grantham's, and returned again the Monday morning. Upon the intimate friendship between Sir Thomas Hutchinson and this gentleman, Sir Thomas Hutchinson had a lodging always kept for him at Lincoln, and was very often there. My Lady Grantham had with her a very pretty young gentlewoman, whom she brought with her out of Kent, the daughter of Sir Adam Newton; my lady's design was to begin an early acquaintance, which might after draw on a marriage between her and Mr. Hutchinson, and it took such effect that there was a great inclination in the young gentlewoman to him; and so much good-nature on his side, as amounted to a mutual respect, and such a friendship as their youth was capable of, which the parents and others that wished so, interpreted to be a passion of love; but if it were, death quenched the flame, and ravished the young lady from him in the sweet blooming of her youth. That night she died, he lay in his father's chamber, and by accident being very sick, it was imputed to that cause, but he himself least perceived he had any more of love for her than gratitude for her kindness to him, upon which account her death was an affliction to him, and made that house which had been his relief from his hated school less pleasant to him: especially when he met there continual solicitations to sin by the travelled gentleman, who living in all seeming sobriety before his father, was in his own chamber not only vicious himself, but full of endeavour to corrupt Mr. Hutchinson, who by the grace of God resisted and detested his frequent temptations of all kinds. The advantage he had at this school, there being very many gentlemen's sons there, an old Low-country soldier was entertained to train them in arms, and they all bought themselves weapons, and instead of childish sports, when they were not at their books, were exercised in all their military postures, and in assaults and defences; which instruction was not useless, in a few years after, to some of them: Col. Thornhagh, who was now trained in this sportive militia, with Col. Hutchinson, afterwards was his fellow-soldier in earnest, when the great cause of God's and England's rights came to be disputed with swords against encroaching princes. Sir Thomas Grantham dying, Mr. Hutchinson was removed from Lincoln to the free-school at Nottingham, where his father married a second wife, and for a while went up to London with her, leaving his son at board in a very religious house, where new superstitious and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnats and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was awhile a stumbling-block in his way of purer profession, when he saw among professors such unsuitable miscarriages. There was now a change in the condition and contentment of his life; he was old enough to be sensible that his father's second love and marriage to a person of such quality, as required a settlement for her son, must needs be a lessening to his expectation, but he was so affectionate to his father that he received it very contentedly, and rejoiced in his remove, coming from a supercilious pedant to a very honest man, who using him with respect, advanced him more in one month than the other did in a year. This tied him to no observation, nor restrained him from no pleasure, nor needed not, for he was so moderate when he was left at his liberty that he needed no regulation. The familiar kindness of his master made him now begin to love that which the other's austerity made him loath; and in a year's time he advanced exceedingly in learning, and was sent to Cambridge. He was made a fellow-commoner of Peter House, under the tuition of one Mr. Norwich, an admirable scholar, who by his civil demeanour to him won so much upon his good-nature, that he loved and reverenced him as a father, and betook himself with such delight to his studies that he attained to a great height of learning, performed public exercises in his college with much applause, and upon their importunity took a degree in the university, whereof he was at that time the grace, there not being any gentleman in the town that lived with such regularity in himself, and such general love and good esteem of all persons, as he did. He kept not company with any of the vain young persons, but with the graver men, and those by whose conversation he might gain improvement. He was constant at their chapel, where he began to take notice of their stretching superstition to idolatry; and was courted much into a more solemn practice of it than he could admit, though yet he considered not the emptiness and carnality, to say no more, of that public service which was then in use. For his exercise he practised tennis, and played admirably well at it; for his diversion, he chose music, and got a very good hand, which afterwards he improved to a great mastery on the viol; there were masters that taught to dance and vault, whom he practised with, being very agile and apt for all such becoming exercises: his father stinted not his expense, which the bounty of his mind made pretty large, for he was very liberal to his tutors and servitors, and to the meaner officers of the house. He was enticed to bow to their great idol, learning, and had a higher veneration for it a long time than can strictly be allowed, yet he then looked upon it as a handmaid to devotion, and as the great improver of natural reason. His tutor, and the masters that governed the college while he was there, were of Arminian principles, and that college was noted above all for popish superstitious practices, yet through the grace of God, notwithstanding the mutual kindness the whole household had for him and he for them, he came away, after five years' study there, untainted with those principles or practices, though not yet enlightened to discern the spring of them in the rites and usages of the English church.

When he came from the university, he was about twenty years of age, and returned to his father's house, who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham; but he there enjoyed no great delight, another brood of children springing up in the house, and the servants endeavouring with tales and flatteries to sow dissension on both sides. Therefore, having a great reverence for his father, and being not willing to disturb him with complaints, as soon as he could obtain his leave he went to London. In the mean time, the best company the town afforded him, was a gentleman of as exquisite breeding and parts as England's court ever enjoyed, one that was now married,

and retired into this town, one of such admirable power of language and persuasion as was not anywhere else to be found; but after all this, discontents, or the debaucheries of the times, had so infected him, that he would not only debauch himself, but make a delight to corrupt others for his sport: some he would commend into such a vainglorious humour, that they became pleasantly ridiculous; some he would teach apish postures and make them believe themselves rare men, some he would encourage to be poets and laugh at their ridiculous rhymes, some young preachers he would make stage-players in their pulpits, and several ways sported himself with the follies of most of the young men that he conversed with. There was not any way which he left unpractised upon Mr. Hutchinson; but when, with all his art and industry, he found he could not prevail, then he turned seriously to give him such excellent advice and instructions for living in the world, as were not afterward unuseful to him*. There was, besides this gentleman, a young physician, who was a good scholar and had a great deal of wit, but withal a professed atheist, and so proud, insolent, scurrilous a fellow, daring to abuse all persons how much soever above him, that he was thrown out of familiarity with the great people of the country, though his excellency in his profession made him to be taken in again. There was also an old man, who had been Mr. Hutchinson's first schoolmaster, a person once of great learning, but afterwards becoming a cynic, yet so pleasantly maintaining that kind of humour, that his conversation was sometimes a good diversion. These were Mr. Hutchinson's companions, yet, through the grace of God, had not power to infect him, who, like a bee, sucked a great deal of honey from these bitter flowers. At that time, there was in the town a young maid, beautiful, and esteemed to be very rich, but of base parentage and penurious education, though else ingenuous enough: she was the grandchild of an old physician, and from her childhood, having been acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, who used to visit her grandmother, she had conceived a kindness for him, which though he civilly resented†, his great heart could never stoop to think of marrying into so mean a stock; yet by reason of some liking he shewed of her company, and the melancholy he had, with some discontents at home, she was willing to flatter herself that it was love for her, wherein, when she discovered her mistake, it was a great grief. However, she was, without much love on either side, married to an earl's son, and both of them, wanting the ground of happiness in marriage, mutual love, enjoyed but little felicity, either in their great fortunes or in one another‡.

In the house with Mr. Hutchinson, there was a young gentlewoman, of such admirable tempting beauty, and such excellent good-nature, as would have thawed a rock of ice, yet even she could never get an acquaintance with him: wealth and beauty thus in vain tempted him, for it was not yet his time of love: but it was not far off. He was now sent to London, and admitted of Lincoln's Inn, where he was soon coveted into the acquaintance of some gentlemen of the house, but found them so frothy and so vain, and could so ill centre with them in their delights, that the town began to be tedious to him, who was neither taken with wine, nor game, nor the converse of wicked or vain women, to all which he wanted not powerful tempters, had not the power of God's grace in him been above them. He tried a little the study of the law, but finding it unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague that spring beginning to drive people out of the town, he began to think of leaving it, but had no inclination to return home, finding his father's heart so set upon his second family, that his presence was but disturbance: yet his father was wonderfully free and noble to him in allowance, at all places, as large as any of his quality had made to them, and it was very well bestowed on him, who consumed nothing in vain expense, but lived to the honour of his friends and family. For his diversion, he exercised himself in those qualities he had not had so good opportunities for in the country, as dancing, fencing, and music, wherein he had great aptness and address, and entertaining the best tutors, was at some expense that way, and loth to leave them off before he had perfected himself. However, many things putting him into the thoughts of quitting the town, while he was in deliberation how to dispose of himself, and had some reflections upon travel, a cousin-german of his, a French merchant, came to visit him one morning, and told him, he was immediately going into France, and understanding Mr. Hutchinson had some such inclination, had almost persuaded him to go along with him. The only obstacle in the way was, that his father could not be acquainted with it time enough to receive his answer before they went. While he was in this deliberation, his music-master came in, to whom he communicated his thoughts, and the man told him, it was better to go into France at the latter end than the beginning of summer, and that if he pleased, in the mean time, to go to Richmond, where the prince's court was, he had a house there, where he might be accommodated, and there was very good company and recreations, the king's hawks being kept near the place, and several other conveniences. Mr. Hutchinson considering this, resolved to accept his offer; and that day telling a gentleman of the house whither he was going, the gentleman bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatal for love, that never any young disengaged person went thither, who returned again free. Mr. Hutchinson laughed at him, but he, to confirm it, told him a very true story of a gentleman, who not long before had come for some time to lodge there, and found all

* Who the first gentleman was does nowhere appear. The physician here meant, is Dr. Plumptre, of whom much more will be said in this work.

† Resent, in English, seldom used but in a bad sense; in French, *ressentir* is used to signify a reciprocal sentiment of kindness as well as unkindness.

‡ It is written in the margin by Julius Hutchinson, Esq., probably from the information given him by Lady Catharine Hutchinson, that this lady's name was Martin, and the gentleman who married her Mr. Pierrepont. It would not have been thought worth while to inform the reader of these minute particulars in a note, but for the sake of pointing out the accuracy with which Mr. Julius Hutchinson read and remarked upon this history, and the full knowledge he had of all the circumstances of Col. Hutchinson's life.

the people he came in company with bewailing the death of a gentlewoman that had lived there. Hearing her so much deplored he made inquiry after her, and grew so in love with the description, that no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholy, and would go to a mount where the print of her foot was cut, and lie there pining and kissing of it all the day long, till at length death in some months' space concluded his languishment. This story was very true; but Mr. Hutchinson was neither easy to believe it, nor frighted at the example; thinking himself not likely to make another. He therefore went to Richmond, where he found a great deal of good young company, and many ingenuous persons, that by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertained themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house where Mr. Hutchinson tabled: the man being a skilful composer in music, the rest of the king's musicians often met at his house to practise new airs, and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with music came thither to hear; others, that were not, took that pretence to entertain themselves with the company. Mr. Hutchinson was soon courted into their acquaintance and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated, with all the attractive arts that young women and their parents use to procure them lovers, but though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, witty, well qualified, all of them set out with all the gaiety and bravery that vain women put on to set themselves off, yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares, but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome raillery reproved their pride and vanity as made them ashamed of their glory, and vexed that he alone, of all the young gentlemen that belonged to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms. In the same house with him, there was a younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieutenant of the Tower, tabled for the practice of her lute, till the return of her mother, who was gone into Wiltshire, for the accomplishment of a treaty that had been made some progress in, about the marriage of her elder daughter with a gentleman of that country, out of which my lady herself came, and where her brothers, Sir John St. John, and Sir Edward Hungerford, living in great honour and reputation, had invited her to a visit of them. This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr. Hutchinson, was a very child, her elder sister being at that time scarcely past it, but a child of such pleasantness, and vivacity of spirit, and ingenuity in the quality she practised, that Mr. Hutchinson took pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She having the keys of her mother's house, some half a mile distant, would sometimes ask Mr. Hutchinson, when she went over, to walk along with her: one day when he was there, looking upon an odd by-shelf, in her sister's closet, he found a few Latin books; asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's, whereupon inquiring more after her, he began first to be sorry she was gone before he had seen her, and gone upon such an account that he was not likely to see her; then he grew to love to hear mention of her, and the other gentlewomen who had been her companions used to talk much to him of her, telling him how reserved and studious she was, and other things which they esteemed no advantage; but it so much inflamed Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himself that his heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of womenkind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord, (though he perceived it not,) who had ordained him, through so many various providences, to be yoked with her in whom he found so much satisfaction. There scarcely passed any day but some accident or some discourse still kept alive his desire of seeing this gentlewoman, although the mention of her, for the most part, was inquiries whether she had yet accomplished the marriage that was in treaty. One day there was a great deal of company met at Mr. Coleman's, the gentleman's house where he tabled, to hear the music, and a certain song was sung, which had been lately set, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and, upon some of their desires, read: a gentleman saying it was believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it, it was presently inquired who? whereupon a gentleman, then present, who had made the first song, said there were but two women that could be guilty of it, whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Mrs. Apsley. Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnet beyond the customary reach of a she-wit, although, to speak truth, it signified very little, addressed himself to the gentleman, and told him, he could scarcely believe it was a woman's; whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspired with some passion for her himself, which made him regard all her perfections through a multiplying glass, told Mr. Hutchinson that though, for civility to the rest, he entitled another lady to the song, yet he was confident it was Mrs. Apsley's only, for she had sense above all the rest; and fell into such high praises of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathy in nature had before produced: another gentleman, that sat by, seconded this commendation, with such additions of praise as he would not have given if he had known her. Mr. Hutchinson hearing all this, said to the first gentleman, I cannot be at rest till this lady's return, that I may be acquainted with her; the gentleman replied, "Sir, you must not expect that, for she is of a humour she will not be acquainted with any of mankind, and however this song is stolen forth, she is the nicest creature in the world of suffering her perfections to be known; she shuns the converse of men as the plague, she only lives in the enjoyment of herself, and has not the humanity to communicate that happiness to any of our sex." "Well," said Mr. Hutchinson, "but I will be acquainted with her;" and indeed the information of this reserved humour pleased him more than all else he had heard, and filled him now with thoughts how he should attain the sight and knowledge of her. While he was exercised in this, many days passed not, but a

footboy of my lady her mother's came to young Mrs. Apsley as they were at dinner, bringing news that her mother and sister would in a few days return; and when they inquired of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married, having before been instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pulled out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens; and carried the matter so, that all the company believed she had been married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and felt a fainting to seize his spirits in that extraordinary manner, that finding himself ready to sink at table, he was fain to pretend something had offended his stomach, and to retire from the table into the garden, where the gentleman of the house going with him, it was not necessary for him to feign sickness, for the distemper of his mind had infected his body with a cold sweat, and such a dispersion of spirit, that all the courage he could at present recollect was little enough to keep him alive. His host was very troublesome to him, and to be quit of him he went to his chamber, saying he would lie down. Little did any of the company suspect the true cause of his sudden qualm, and they were all so troubled at it, that the boy then passed without further examination. When Mr. Hutchinson was alone, he began to recollect his wisdom and his reason, and to wonder at himself, why he should be so concerned in an unknown person; he then remembered the story was told him when he came down, and began to believe there was some magic in the place, which enchanted men out of their right senses; but it booted him not to be angry at himself, nor to set wisdom in her reproving chair, nor reason in her throne of council, the sick heart could not be chid nor advised into health; this anxiety of mind affected him so, that it sent him to his bed that afternoon, which indeed he took to entertain his thoughts alone that night, and having fortified himself with resolution, he got up the next day, but yet could not quit himself of an extravagant perplexity of soul, concerning this unknown gentlewoman, which had not been admirable in another light person, but in him, who was from his childhood so serious and so rational in all his considerations, it was the effect of a miraculous power of Providence, leading him to her that was destined to make his future joy. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy again, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleased himself in the hopes of her speedy return, when one day, having been invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood to a noble treatment at Sion Garden, which a courtier, that was her servant, had made for her and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter, were of the party, and having spent the day in several pleasant divertisements, at evening they were at supper, when a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson, pretending civility to conduct her home, made her stay till the supper was ended, of which he ate no more, now only longing for that sight, which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obtained; but his heart, being prepossessed with his own fancy, was not free to discern how little there was in her to answer so great an expectation. She was not ugly, in a careless riding-habit, she had a melancholy negligence both of herself and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor took notice of anything before her; yet, spite of all her indifference, she was surprised with some unusual liking in her soul, when she saw this gentleman, who had hair, eyes, shape, and countenance enough to beget love in any one at the first, and these set off with a graceful and generous mien, which promised an extraordinary person; he was at that time, and indeed always, very neatly habited, for he wore good and rich clothes, and had variety of them, and had them well suited, and every way answerable, in that little thing showing both good judgment and great generosity, he equally becoming them, and they him, which he wore with such unaffectedness and such neatness as do not often meet in one. Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desired, and that at disadvantage enough for her, yet the prevailing sympathy of his soul made him think all his pains well paid, and this first did whet his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his joy found she was wholly disengaged from that treaty which he so much feared had been accomplished; he found withal, that though she was modest, she was accostable and willing to entertain his acquaintance. This soon passed into a mutual friendship between them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet was she glad to have acquired such a friend, who had wisdom and virtue enough to be trusted with her counsels, for she was then much perplexed in mind; her mother and friends had a great desire she should marry, and were displeased that she refused many offers which they thought advantageous enough; she was obedient, loath to displease them, but more herself, in marrying such as she could find no inclination to. The troublesome pretensions of some of the courtiers, had made her willing to try whether she could bring her heart to her mother's desire, but being by a secret working, which she then understood not, averted, she was troubled to return, lest some might believe it was a secret liking of them which had caused her dislike of others, and being a little disturbed with these things and melancholy, Mr. Hutchinson, appearing, as he was, a person of virtue and honour, who might be safely and advantageably conversed with, she thought God had sent her a happy relief. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, having been told, and seeing how she shunned all other men, and how civilly she entertained him, believed that a secret power had wrought a mutual inclination between them, and daily frequented her mother's house, and had the opportunity of conversing with her in those pleasant walks which, at that sweet season of the spring, invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seek their joys; where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opportunity for converse with each other, which the rest shared not in, while every one minded their own delights.

They had not six weeks enjoyed this peace, but

the young men and women, who saw them allow each other that kindness which they did not afford commonly to others, first began to grow jealous and envious at it, and after to use all the malicious practices they could invent to break the friendship. Among the rest, that gentleman who at the first had so highly commended her to Mr. Hutchinson, now began to caution him against her, and to disparage her, with such subtle insinuations, as would have ruined any love, less constant and honourable than his. The women, with witty spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dress and habit, and all womanish ornaments, giving herself wholly up to study and writing. Mr. Hutchinson, who had a very sharp and pleasant wit, retorted all their malice with such just reproofs of their idleness and vanity, as made them hate her who, without affecting it, had so engaged such a person in her protection, as they with all their arts could not catch. He in the meanwhile prosecuted his love, with so much discretion, duty, and honour, that at the length, through many difficulties, he accomplished his design. I shall pass by all the little amorous relations, which if I would take the pains to relate, would make a true history of a more handsome management of love than the best romances describe: for these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy mention among the greater transactions of his life. There is this only to be recorded, that never was there a passion more ardent and less idolatrous; he loved her better than his life, with inexpressible tenderness and kindness, had a most high obliging esteem of her, yet still considered honour, religion, and duty, above her, nor ever suffered the intrusion of such a dotage as should blind him from marking her imperfections: these he looked upon with such an indulgent eye, as did not abate his love and esteem of her, while it augmented his care to blot out all those spots which might make her appear less worthy of that respect he paid her; and thus indeed he soon made her more equal to him than he found her; for she was a very faithful mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimly, his own glories upon him, so long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a fair figure, when he was removed, was only filled with a dark mist, and never could again take in any delightful object, nor return any shining representation. The greatest excellency she had was the power of apprehending and the virtue of loving his: so as his shadow, she waited on him everywhere, till he was taken into that region of light, which admits of none, and then she vanished into nothing. 'Twas not her face he loved, her honour and her virtue were his mistresses, and these (like Pygmalion's) images of his own making, for he polished and gave form to what he found with all the roughness of the quarry about it; but meeting with a compliant subject for his own wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities. That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small-pox, which was many ways a great trial upon him; first her life was almost in desperate hazard, and then the disease, for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be seen, for a great while after she recovered; yet he was nothing troubled at it, but married her as soon as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to look on her: but God recompensed his justice and constancy, by restoring her, though she was longer than ordinary before she recovered, as well as before. One thing is very observable, and worthy imitation in him; although he had as strong and violent affections for her as ever any man had, yet he declared it not to her till he had acquainted first his father, and after never would make any engagement but what his love and honour bound him in, wherein he was more firm and just than all the promissory oaths and ties in the world could have made him, notwithstanding many powerful temptations of wealth and beauty, and other interests, that were laid before him; for his father had concluded another treaty, before he knew his son's inclinations were this way fixed, with a party in many things much more advantageable for his family, and more worthy of his liking: but his father was no less honourably indulgent to his son's affection, than the son was strict in the observance of his duty, and at length, to the full content of all, the thing was accomplished, and on the third day of July, in the year 1638, he was married to Mrs. Lucy Apsley, the second daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieutenant of the Tower of London, at St. Andrew's church in Holborn. He lived some time in this neighbourhood with her mother, but four months were scarce past after their marriage, before he was in great danger to have lost her, when she lost two children she had conceived by him. Soon after conceiving again, she grew so sickly, that her indulgent mother and husband, for the advantage of her health, removed their dwelling out of the city, to a house they took in Enfield chace, called the Blew House, where, upon the third of September, 1639, she was brought to bed of two sons, whereof the elder he named after his own father, Thomas, the younger was called Edward, who both survived him. September 1641, she brought him another son, called by his own name, John, who lived scarce six years, and was a very hopeful child, full of his father's vigour and spirit, but death soon nipped that blossom.

Mr. Hutchinson, after about fourteen months' various exercise of his mind, in the pursuit of his love, being now at rest in the enjoyment of his wife, his next design was to draw her into his own country, but he would not set upon it too roughly, and therefore let her rest awhile, when he had drawn her ten miles nearer it, out of the city where she had had her birth and education, and where all her relations were most conversant, and which she could not suddenly resolve to quit for altogether, to betake herself to the north, which was a formidable name among the London ladies. While she was weaning from the friends and places she had so long conversed in, Mr. Hutchinson employed his time in making an entrance upon the study of school divinity, wherein his father was the most eminent scholar of any gentleman in England, and had a most choice library*, valued

* This is spoken of in the preface, and did in fact remain at Owthorpe, but probably was placed there by Charles, the son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife: it was of excessively small value when taken possession of in the year 1776. It is apparent, from Sir Thomas Hutchinson

at a thousand pounds; which Mr. Hutchinson mistakingly expecting to be part of his inheritance, thought it would be very inglorious for him not to understand how to make use of his father's books. Having therefore gotten into the house with him an excellent scholar in that kind of learning, he for two years made it the whole employment of his time. The gentleman that assisted him he converted to a right belief in that great point of predestination, he having been before of the Arminian judgment, till, upon the serious examination of both principles, and comparing them with the Scriptures, Mr. Hutchinson convinced him of the truth, and grew so well instructed in this principle, that he was able to maintain it against any man. At that time, this great doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embraced by all religious and holy persons in the land. Mr. Hutchinson, being desirous to inform himself thoroughly of it, when he was able to manage the question, offered it to his father, but Sir Thomas would not declare himself in the point to him, nor indeed in any other, as we conceived, lest a father's authority should sway against his children's light, who he thought ought to discern things with their own eyes, and not with his. Mr. Hutchinson, taking delight in the study of divinity, presently left off all foolish nice points that tended to nothing but vain brangling, and employed his whole study in laying a foundation of sound and necessary principles, among which he gave the first place to this of God's absolute decrees. This was so far from producing a carelessness of life in him, a thing generally objected against this faith, that, on the other side, it excited him to a more strict and holy walking in thankfulness to God, who had been pleased to choose him out of the corrupted mass of lost mankind, to fix his love upon him, and give him the knowledge of himself by his ever-blessed Son. This principle of love and life in God, which had been given him when he discerned not what it was in himself, had from a child preserved him from wallowing in the mire of sin and wickedness, wherein most of the gentry of those times were miserably plunged, except a few, that were therefore the scorn of mankind; and but few of those few, that had not natural and superstitious follies, that were in some kind justly ridiculous and contemptible. It was a remarkable providence of God in his life, that must not be passed over without special notice, that he gave him these two years' leisure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noise of war and tumult came upon him. Yet about the year 1639, the thunder was heard afar off, rattling in the troubled air, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadful storm which the next year was more apparent; but Mr. Hutchinson was not yet awakened till it pleased God to deliver him from a danger into which he had run himself, had not mercy prevented him. His wife having already two sons, and being again with child, considered that it would be necessary to seek an augmentation of revenue, or retire into a cheaper country; and more inclining to the first, than to leave at once her mother, and all the rest of her dear relations, had propounded to him to buy an office, which he was not of himself very inclinable to, but, to give her and her mother satisfaction, he hearkened to a motion that was made him in that kind. Sir William Pennyman, who had married his cousin-german, a very worthy gentleman, who had great respect both for and from his father, had purchased the chief office in the Star-chamber; the gentleman who held the next to him was careless and debauched, and thereby a great hindrance of Sir William's profits, who apprehended if he could get an honest man into that place, that they might mutually much advantage each other: whereupon he persuaded Mr. Hutchinson to buy the place, and offered him any terms, to go any share with him, or any way he could desire. Mr. Hutchinson treated with the gentleman, came to a conclusion, went down into the country, provided the money, and came up again, thinking presently to enter into the office; but the gentleman that should have sold it, being of an uncertain humour, thought to make the benefit of another term, before he sold his place; and it pleased God in the mean time that arbitrary court was, by the parliament then sitting, taken away. Mr. Hutchinson was very sensible of a peculiar providence to him herein, and resolved to adventure no more such hazards, but to retire to that place whither God seemed to have called him by giving him so good an interest there, and to study how he was to improve that talent. His wife, convinced by this kind check which God had given to her desires, that she ought to follow her husband where the Lord seemed to call him, went along with him, and about October, 1641, they came to their house at Owthorpe. Here Mr. George Hutchinson (Sir Thomas being then chosen knight for Nottinghamshire, and sitting in the parliament at London) came and gave a glad entertainment of his brother and sister into the country, by his good company, and they were for a few months peaceful and happy in their own house, till the kingdom began to blaze out with the long-conceived flame of civil war. But here I must make a short digression from our particular actions, to sum up the state of the kingdom at that time, which though I cannot do exactly, yet I can truly relate what I was then able to take notice of, and if any one have a desire of more particular information, there were so many books then written, as will sufficiently give it them: and although those of our enemies are all fraught with abominable lies, yet if all ours were suppressed, even their own writings impartially considered would be a sufficient chronicle of their injustice and oppression; but I shall only mention what is necessary to be remembered, for the better carrying on of my purpose.

When the dawn of the gospel began to break upon this isle, after the dark midnight of papacy, the morning was more cloudy here than in other places by reason of the state interest, which was mixing and working itself into the interest of religion, and which, in the end, quite wrought it out. King Henry the Eighth, who, by his royal authority, cast out the pope, did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression, but only change their foreign yoke for homebred fetters, dividing the pope's spoils between himself

being upon all the committees for religion, as may be seen in Rushworth's collection, that he was in repute for this kind of knowledge.

and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enjoyed their patrimony and their honours here under another head: so that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honour of the reformation. But even then there wanted not many who discerned the corruptions that were retained in the church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obtain a purer reformation, against whom those who saw no need of further reformation, through excess of joy for that which was already brought forth, or else through a secret love of superstition rooted in their hearts, thought this too much, were bitterly incensed, and hating that light which reproved their darkness, everywhere stirred up spirits of envy and persecution against them. Upon the great revolution which took place at the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, the nation became divided into three great factions, the papist, the state protestant, and the more religious zealots, who afterward were branded with the name of Puritan. In vain it was for these to address to the queen and the parliament; for the bishops, under the specious pretences of uniformity and obedience, procured severe punishments to be inflicted on such as durst gainsay their determinations in all things concerning worship, whereupon some, even in those godly days, lost their lives.

The papists had a most inveterate hatred to all the protestants, but especially to those who were godly, and they again, many of them, suffered their zeal to run out into bitter personal hate. Between these two extremes, the common protestant was in the middle, though I cannot reckon them as a virtuous medium; for of them the more profane and ignorant only left popery because it grew out of fashion, but in their hearts inclined that way; these who were peaceable, conscientious, or moral persons, inclined to the puritan; of whom there were many that unwillingly bore the burden of the ceremonies, for quietness' sake, and through false doctrine of their unfaithful teachers, as well as some that discerned the base and carnal minds of these seducers, and would not be persuaded by them to defile their consciences: the former sort of these, in zeal to reduce the whole land from their idolatrous practices, procured laws and invented oaths to suppress popery, which they little thought, but we now sadly find, are the bitterest engines to batter down the pure worship and destroy the pure worshippers of God; which I have often looked upon as an evidence that God is not pleased with the conversions that are enforced by men's laws. We have spiritual weapons given us for spiritual combats, and those who go about to conquer subjects for Christ with swords of steel, shall find the base metal break to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully fly in their own faces.

About the time of the reformation, there was a great change in the civil interest of all that part of the world which had long lain under the bondage of the Roman prelate and his tyrannical clergy. These had by degrees so encroached upon all the secular princes, that they were nothing but vassals and hangmen to the proud insolent priest. Obtaining his empire by fraud, false doctrine, lies, and hypocrisy, he maintained it by blood and rapine, till it pleased God to cause that light to break forth about Luther's time, which hath ever since been increasing, and, notwithstanding all the attempts of Satan and his ministers, will, in the end, grow up to a glorious flame, and quite devour that bloody city. When the wrath of princes and priests was in vain at first blown up against the professors of the gospel, and their blood and ashes became fruitful seed in God's field, then the old fox comes into the fold as a lamb, and seduces some of them that saw the approach of Christ's kingdom, to set it up irregularly, and indeed (though I know not whether they perceived their own delusion) to set up themselves in Christ's throne, casting down the thrones of all other magistrates, and destroying the properties of men, and ruling by their own arbitrary lust, which they brought forth in the name of God's law *. This example was so threatening to all mankind, that the gospel itself, by the adversaries thereof, suffered much reproach upon this miscarriage; whereupon the protestants, in all places, to clear themselves from the just aspersions, which the Munster anabaptists and others had occasioned, fell into an error on the other hand, not much less hurtful in the consequence; for to flatter the princes of the world, whether popish or protestant, they invested them with God's prerogative, and preached to them and the people such doctrines as only changed the idol, but left the idolatry still in practice.

The popes of Rome had for many ages challenged and practised a power to disthrone princes, to give away their realms, to interdict whole kingdoms and provinces and devote them to slaughter, to loose subjects from all bonds and oaths of allegiance to their sovereigns, and to stir up both princes and people to the mutual murder of each other, which abominable courses had been justly cast upon them as reproach, they pretending to do all these things for the propagation of the true worship and the advance of God's glory. This reproach they retorted when some protestants, upon the same pretence, did maintain that idolatrous princes were to be removed, and such magistrates set up as feared God, who were guardians of both tables, and bound to compel all their people to the right religion. This confusion was there among the sons of darkness at the first appearance of gospel light.

About this time in the kingdom of Scotland there was a wicked queen, daughter of a mother that came out of the bloody house of Guise †, and brought up in the popish religion, which she zealously persevered in, as most suitable to her bloody lustful temper; she being guilty of murders and adulteries, and hateful for them to the honestest of the people, was deposed, imprisoned, and forced to fly for her life; but her son was received into the throne, and educated after the strictest way of the protestant religion, according to Calvin's form. Those who were chiefly active and instrumental in the justice executed on this wicked queen, were the reformers of religion in Scotland, which made the neighbouring idolatrous princes to fear them of the same faith. About the same time, likewise, the provinces of the Netherlands united themselves in a resistance of the King

* A description of the principles of the most extravagant of those whom in history they call Fifth-Monarchy men, from their affecting to set up the empire of Christ as the fifth; the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, being the first four.

† Mary, Queen of Scots.

of Spain, and cast off that yoke wherewith he had most barbarously galled them. The King of France, persecuting his protestant subjects with much inhuman violence, forced them to defend themselves against his unsanctified league, and much blood was shed in those civil wars, till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence in delivering them from their cruel princes, were persuaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawn into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred*. Now, although religion were the main ground of those bloody quarrels, yet there were, in all these countries, many disputes of civil right, which, for the most part, bore the face of the wars, whereat I have only hinted in this survey of the condition of other states, and their interests in those days and since, which is something necessary to be known for the better understanding of our own, with which I shall now proceed.

The civil government of England, from the time called the Conquest, had been administered by a King, Lords, and Commons, in a way of Parliaments; the Parliament entrusted with the legislative, and the King with the executive power; but several of the kings, not satisfied with their bounded monarchy, made attempts to convert it into an absolute sovereignty—attempts fatal both to themselves and their people, and ever unsuccessful; for the generous people of England, as they were the most free and obsequious subjects in the world to those princes that managed them with a kind and tender hand, commanding them as freemen, not as slaves, so were they the most untameable, invincible people, in defence of their freedoms against all those usurping lords, that scorned to allow them liberty. The nobility of the realm, having at first the great balance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honourable virtue, for which they were exalted above the vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence, and curbed the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduced to moderation, and sometimes deposed for their mis-governments, till at length the kings, eager to break this yoke, had insensibly worn out the interest of the nobility, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the great estates of some, others were destroyed by confiscations in divers civil wars, and others otherways mouldered with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had been such a check to their exorbitances, they perceived not the growing of another more dangerous to them, and that when the nobility shrunk into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more but a little puff of wind to bear it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it. The interest of the people, which had been many years growing, made an extraordinary progress in the days of King Henry the Eighth, who returning the vast revenues of the church into the body of the people, cast the balance clear on their side, and left them now only to expect† an opportunity to resume their power into their own hands, and had not differences in religion divided them among themselves, and thereby prolonged the last gasps of expiring monarchy, they had long since exercised it in a free commonwealth.

England was not an idle spectator of the great contest between the papist and protestant, in which all christendom seemed to be engaged. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the protestant interest, being her peculiar interest, that princess became not only glorious in the defence of her own realm, but in the protection she gave to the whole protestant cause, in all the neighbouring kingdoms; wherefore, as if it had been devolved upon her person, the pope shot all his arrows at her head, and set on many desperate assassinations against her, which, by the good providence of God, were all frustrated, and she not only miraculously delivered from those wretches, but renowned at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subjects in England and Ireland, and for the assistance of her distressed neighbours: but above all for the mercy which it pleased God to afford her and this realm in the year 1588, when the invading Spaniard had devoured us in his proud hopes, and by the mighty hand of God was scattered as a mist before the morning beams. That which kept alive the hopes of the papists, most part of her reign, was the expectation of the Queen of Scots, who, entering into confederacy with them, lost her head for the forfeit, wherein the Duke of Norfolk suffered also for her the loss of his. The Queen of England was very loath to execute this necessary justice; but the true-hearted protestants of her council, foreseeing the sad effects that might be expected, if ever she arrived to the crown, urged it on ‡, and after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the wiser of them much opposed the admission of her son: but he, dissembling the resentment of his mother's death, by bribes and greater promises, managed a faction in the court of the declining queen, which prevailed on her dotage to destroy the Earl of Essex, who only had courage to have kept out him they thought dangerous to let in §. So subtilely brought they their purpose about, that wise counsel was in vain to a blinded and betrayed people. The antiprelatical party, hoping that, with a king bred up among the Calvinists, they should now be freed from the episcopal yoke, were greedy of entertaining him, but soon cured of their mistake, when immediately after his entry into the kingdom, himself being moderator at a dispute between both parties, the

* The famous massacre on St. Bartholomew's day at Paris.

† Expect, a Latinism; expectare, to wait for; or Italian, ttare, *id.*

‡ The signing and expediting the warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots is an enigma which has employed the wits of many to solve—perhaps this may be the true solution of it; it is at least clear that it thus appeared to well-informed persons, living in times when the thing was recent, and accounts for it more naturally than the mean jealousy attributed to Queen Elizabeth, which would in fact have been a better reason for putting her to death many years sooner.

§ In Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, it is said that the Earl of Essex was much courted by the puritans, and in return caressed them; that a title to the crown was drawn out for him and he began to look up to it; that he encouraged an opinion, that inferior magistrates might curb and control their sovereign; that he was outwitted and brought to the scaffold by Cecil and Raleigh, very opportunely for King James, whose entrance might have been opposed and his title questioned.

non-conformists were cast out of doors, the offensive ceremonies, instead of being removed, were more strictly imposed, the penalties against papists relaxed, many of them taken into favour, those families who suffered for his mother graced and restored as far as the times would bear, and those who consented any way to the justice done upon her disfavoured. A progress was made suitable to this beginning, the protestant interest abroad was deserted and betrayed, the prelates at home daily exalted in pride and pomp, and declining in virtue and godliness. Arminianism * crept in, to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they had the impudence to forbid preaching of those great and necessary truths, concerning the decrees of God; secret treaties were entertained with the court of Rome †, and notwithstanding that hellish powder plot, the papists lost not their credit at court, where they now wrought no longer by open and direct ways, but humouring the king and queen in their lusts and excesses, found the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the gospel, was to debauch the professors. The court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance; he had brought in with him a company of poor Scots, who, coming into this plentiful kingdom, surfeited with riot and debaucheries, and got all the riches of the land only to cast away. The honour, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queen Elizabeth left it, were soon prodigally wasted by this thriftless heir, the nobility of the land utterly debased by setting honours to public sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor merit fit to wear, nor estates to bear up their titles, but were fain to invent projects to pill ‡ the people, and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdness. The generality of the gentry of the land soon learned the court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleanness. To keep the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtook them, they were entertained with masks, stage plays, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no concealed, but countenanced, vices; because they held such conformity with the court example. Next to this, a great cause of these abominations was the mixed marriages of papist and protestant families, which, no question, was a design of the popish party to compass and procure, and so successful that I have observed that there was not one house of ten, where such a marriage was made, but the better party was corrupted, the children's souls were sacrificed to devils, the worship of God was laid aside in that family, for fear of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants, and neighbours, either quite turned from it, or cooled in their zeal for religion. As the fire is most fervent in a frosty season, so the general apostacy from holiness, if I may so call it, and defection to lewdness, stirred up sorrow, indignation, and fear, in all that retained any love of God in the land, whether ministers or people: the ministers warned the people of the approaching judgments of God, which could not be expected but to follow such high provocations; God, in his mercy, sent his prophets into all corners of the land to preach repentance and cry out against the ingratitude of England, who thus requited so many rich mercies as no nation could ever boast of more; and by these a few were everywhere converted and established in faith and holiness; but at court these were hated, disgraced, and reviled, and in scorn had the name of Puritan fixed upon them. And now the ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godliness, under that name; so that their pulpits might justly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flattered them in their vices and told the poor king that he was Solomon, that his sloth and cowardice, by which he betrayed the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospel meekness and peaceableness, for which they raised him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning, and this they called the spirit of wisdom, and so magnified him, so falsely flattered him, that he could not endure the words of truth and soundness, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithful fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heaved them up above a human height: with their pride their envy swelled against the people of God, whom they began to project how they might root out of the land; and when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadful to the king that they fixed upon the puritan, which, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hypocrite.

The king had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harboured a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employed a wicked cunning he was master of, and called king-craft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose, the true religion; this was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so linked together, that 'twas impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyal to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civil obedience to the king and the laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject by a thousand ways, invented to maintain the riots of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scots the king had brought in, to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a puritan: if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a puritan, however he conformed to their superstitious worship: if any showed favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a puritan: if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a puritan: in short, all that crossed the views of the

* James, however, professed himself a great enemy to it.
† The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers is half filled with them.
‡ Pill—pillage, plunder.

needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good, all these were puritans; and if puritans, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdom; such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation*; as such, they made them not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a more solemn sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belched forth profane scoffs upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, all fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those days grew up to great heights and enmities, one against the other, while the papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals between them, and was so successful that, unless the mercy of God confound them by their own imaginations, we may justly fear they will at last obtain their full wish.

But to deal impartially, we must, with sadness enough confess, that the wolf came into the fold in a sheep's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs, than he could have done in his own skin; for it is true that many of wit and parts, discontented, when they could not obtain the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of the puritan party, and such were either bought off, or, if the adversary would not give their price, seduced their devout hearers, sometimes into indiscreet opposition, to work out their own revenge; others that had neither learning, nor friends, nor opportunities to arrive to any preferments, would put on a form of godliness, finding devout people that way so liberal to them, that they could not hope to enrich themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gain to be made of the simple devotion of men and women, applied their wits to it, and collected great sums for the advancement of the religious interest, of which they converted much to their own private uses. Such as these tempted the people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in human policies, and found out ways by bribes, and other not less indirect courses, to procure patrons at court, and to set up against the prelates with countermines and other engines, which being of man's framing, were all at last broken.

The puritan party, being weak and oppressed, had not faith enough to disown all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it required more than human wisdom to discern at the least all of them, wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or incline towards them; and their enemies through envy at them augmented much their party, while, with injuries and reproaches, they drove many, that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counterworking, the treasure of the kingdom being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments called to resupply the royal coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retained so much of the English spirit, as to represent the public grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account; but the king, grudging that his people should dare to gainsay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernment, in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their privileges, imprisoned their members for things spoken in the House, and grew disaffected to them, and entertained projects of supply by other grievances of the people. The prelates, in the mean time, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them†; and now there was no more endeavour in their public sermons, to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation: the king, to bring it about, was deluded into the treaty of a match for his son with the Infanta of Spain; and the prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, privately sent into Spain, from whence he difficultly came back, but to the great rejoicing of the whole people in general, who were much afflicted at his going thither. During this treaty, the papists got many advantages of the king, to the prejudice of the protestant interest at home and abroad, and the hearts of all but the papists were very much saddened, and the people, loath to lay the miscarriages of things at the king's own door, began to entertain a universal hatred of the Duke of Buckingham, raised from a knight's fourth son to that pitch of glory, and enjoying great possessions, acquired by the favour of the king, upon no merit but that of his beauty and his prostitution. The parliament had drawn up a charge against him, and though the king seemed to protect him, yet knowing the fearfulness of his nature, and doubting his constancy, it was believed he added some help to an ague that killed that king; however, the king died, and the duke continued as high in the favour of the next succeeding as of the deceased prince: whereupon one, not unaptly, says of him, "he seemed as an unhappy exhalation, drawn up from the earth, not only to cloud the setting, but the rising sun."

The face of the court was much changed in the change of the king; for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the king, to retire into corners to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteem, and received encouragement from the king; who was a most excellent judge, and a great lover of paint-

* Such is the idea entertained of them in general even at this day; whoever shall read these memoirs will be well convinced that not one of these qualities needs or does by any natural consequence accompany the character. It is a great misfortune that many of the zealous professors of piety should give it so austere an aspect, and this can never be better contrasted than by the cheerful and amiable one this professed puritan gives it.

† The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers abounds with instances.

ings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit, which was the only exercise of the other court. But as in the primitive times, it is observed that the best emperors were some of them stirred up by Satan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this king was a worse encroacher upon the civil and spiritual liberties of his people, by far, than his father. He married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this means the court was replenished with papists, and many, who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion; all the papists in the kingdom were favoured, and, by the king's example, matched into the best families; the puritans more than ever discountenanced and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreign soil or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enjoy the free exercise of God's worship; such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops' courts, fined, whipped, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient sufferance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduced to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himself no monarch, so long as his will was confined to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreign force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it served his turn; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved either to be such a king or none. His firm adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more than another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be saved in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopal government in the church, and therefore as the bishops flattered him with preaching up his sovereign prerogative, and inveighing against the puritans as factious and disloyal, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practices, against all the godly and sober people of the land. In the first parliament after he came to the crown, the Duke of Buckingham was impeached concerning the death of King James, and other misdemeanours, but the present king, who had received him into the same degree of favour that he was with the former, would not endure the question of his favourite, and, to deliver him from it, broke up the parliament, which gave too just a suspicion that he favoured the practice; for it is true that the duke's mother, without the consent of the physicians, had made an application to the wrists of the king for his ague, after which he died in his next fit. Some other parliaments there were, but still abruptly broken up, when they put forth any endeavour to redress grievances. The protestants abroad were all looked upon as puritans, and their interest, instead of being protected, sadly betrayed; ships let out to the French king to serve against them; all the flower of the English gentry lost in an ill-managed expedition to the Isle of Rhee, under pretence of helping them, but so ordered that it proved the loss of Rochelle, the strong fort and best defence of all the protestants in France. Those in Germany were no less neglected in all treaties, although his own sister and her children were so highly concerned. The whole people were sadly grieved at these misgovernments, and, loth to impute them to the king, cast all the odium upon the Duke of Buckingham, whom at length a discontented person stabbed, believing he did God and his country good service by it. All the kingdom, except the duke's own dependents and kindred, rejoiced in the death of this duke, but they found little cause, for after it the king still persisted in his design of enslaving them, and found other ministers, ready to serve his self-willed ambition, such as were Noy his attorney-general, who set on foot that hateful tax of ship-money, and many more illegal exactions; and ten of the judges who perverted judgment in the cause of those who refused the illegal imposition; although there were even in that time found two honest judges, who durst judge rightly against the king, although he had changed the words usual in their commissions, which were Quamdiu bene se gesserint,* into another form, Durante bene placito. Besides these, and a great rascally company of flatterers and projectors, there were all the corrupted tottering bishops and others of the proud profane clergy of the land, who, by their insolencies, grown odious to the people, bent their strong endeavours to disaffect the prince to his honest godly subjects, and to get a pretence of power from him, to afflict those who would not submit to their insolent dominion. But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evil counsellors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of mean extraction and arrogant pride, and the Earl of Strafford, who as much outstripped all the rest in favour as he did in abilities, being a man of deep policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeal to keep up the glory of his own greatness. In the beginning of this king's reign, this man had been a strong asserter of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gained himself an honourable reputation, and was dreadful to the court party, who thereupon strewed snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soul was that way entered and captivated. He was advanced first to be lord president of the council in the north, to be a baron, after an earl, then deputy of Ireland; the nearest to a favourite of any man since the death of the Duke of Buckingham, who was raised by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personal worth or any deserving abilities in him, but only upon violent and private inclinations of the princes; but the Earl of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desired in the most serviceable minister of state: besides, he having made himself odious to the people, by his revolt from their interest to that of

* "Quamdiu bene se gesserint," during good behaviour, as long as they act right. "Durante bene placito," during the king's good pleasure.

the oppressive court, he was now obliged to keep up his own interest with his new party, by all the malicious practices that pride and revenge could inspire him with. But above all these the king had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the queen, who, grown out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vain extravagancies she lived in at first, to that which did less become her, and was more fatal to the kingdom, which never is in any place happy, where the hands which were made only for distaffs affect the management of sceptres.—If any one object the fresh example of Queen Elizabeth, let them remember that the felicity of her reign was the effect of her submission to her masculine and wise councillors; but wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer women of foreign birth and different religions to intermeddle with the affairs of state, it is always found to produce sad desolations; and it hath been observed that a French queen never brought any happiness to England: some kind of fatality, too, the English imagined to be in her name of Marie, which, 'tis said, the king rather chose to have her called by than her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had been more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a great prince, to control destiny. This lady being by her priests affected with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her great wit and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs. Those brought her into a very good correspondency with the archbishop and his prelatical crew, both joining in the cruel design of rooting the godly out of the land. The foolish protestants were meditating reconciliations with the church of Rome, who embraced them as far as they would go, carrying them in hand, as if there had been a possibility of bringing such a thing to pass: meanwhile they carried on their design by them, and had so ripened it, that nothing but the mercy of God prevented the utter subversion of protestantism in the three kingdoms.—But how much soever their designs were framed in the dark, God revealed them to his servants, and most miraculously ordered providences for their preservation. About the year 1639, the Scots, having the English service-book obtruded upon them violently, refused it, and took a national covenant against it, and entered England with a great army, to bring their complaints to the king, which his unfaithful ministers did much, as they supposed, misreport. The king himself levied an army against them, wherein he was assisted by the nobility and gentry, but most of all by the prelates, insomuch that the war got the name of bellum episcopale*; but the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loth to oppose a people that came only to claim their just liberties. When the king was at York, the chief of the Scotch covenanters came, under a pretence of treating with the king, but their chief intent was to disabuse the nobility of England, and to take off their edge against them by remonstrating those grievances and oppressions from the prelatical innovators, which had forced them thus to defend their religion and liberties. This they did so effectually, that the hearts of the English were much moved towards them, and the king perceiving it, by their mediations, consented to a dissembled peace for that time, and returned home. But the Scots, unsatisfied in the performance of their articles, made preparation for a second return into England; whereupon the king, in his anger and necessity, was forced to have recourse to the long-neglected remedy of parliaments, and assembled one at Westminster, the 13th of April, 1640, which he suffered to sit but twenty-one days, and broke it up again, apprehending that if he had suffered them to sit a day longer, they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute.

The bishops at that time devised, as an anti-covenant, in their convocation house, that execrable oath known by the name of the *et cætera*, wherein all ministers were required to swear to uphold the government of the church of England by archbishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After this the Scots enter England, the king makes a second expedition into the north against them, and sends part of his army to keep the passes upon the river Tyne: but the soldiers being raw and heartless to this war, and the commanders themselves inexperienced, they were vanquished, and the Scots forced their way, after they had been refused to pass quietly by, with their petitions in their hands, and thus possessed themselves of Newcastle and Durham. At that time the Scots had put forth a declaration, wherein they had affirmed their intentions not to lay down arms till the reformed religion were settled in both nations upon sure grounds, and the causers of these present troubles brought to public justice, and that in a parliament. This was so plausible to the English, that the king, finding both the hearts and hands of his people fail him on this occasion, was induced to grant the petition of twelve noble lords, who at that time interposed, and calling together all his lords at York, agreed upon a parliament at London, to convene the third of November following. In the mean time there was a treaty condescended to of sixteen lords of each side, Scotch and English, who agreed upon a cessation between both armies for the present, in order to a peace, to be concluded at London with the parliament, who met as appointed in November.

They began with throwing down monopolies, and then impeached the Earl of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemn trial and hot disputes on both sides, was at length attainted of treason, and the king, against his own mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to death †. The archbishop of Canterbury was also made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffered; Wren, bishop of Norwich, was likewise

* The bishops' war.

† Whoever has read the propositions delivered to his majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for bridling of parliaments and increase of his revenue, which is preserved in the third volume of Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 322, ingenious, bold, and dangerous beyond example, will think him richly to have deserved his fate, but not at the hand of Charles, who herein acted so treacherously by his friends, that their very adversaries are shocked at it, and fixed on his reputation a deep and indelible stain; accordingly he seems all his life long to have borne in mind an incessant regret of this crime.

committed to the Tower; several other prelatical preachers were questioned for popish and treasonable doctrines; the Star-chamber, an unjust and arbitrary court, was taken away, and the high-commission court; an act was procured for a triennial parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their own consent. There were great necessities for money, by reason of the two armies that were then maintained in England, and the people would give the king no money without some ease of grievances, which forced him against his inclination to grant those bills, which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his own hands*, and therefore privately encouraged plots that were in those times contrived against the parliament. One of them was to have rescued the Earl of Strafford out of prison, and put him at the head of eight thousand Irish, which the king would not consent to disband, when the parliament had some time before moved him to it; then the English army in the north should have been brought up and engaged against the parliament itself upon a pretence of maintaining the king's prerogative, episcopacy, and some other such things. This plot was managed by Percy, Germyn, Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Suckling, O'Neale, and others, of whom some confessed and impeached their fellows, others fled, others were put in prison. While this parliament was sitting, the king would needs, contrary to their desires, take a journey to Scotland, and passed by the two disbanding armies in his journey, where some report that he secretly attempted to urge the Scotch army against the parliament, which then succeeded not. The houses had rejourned for some time, and left a standing committee of fifty to prepare businesses. About that time a plot was discovered to them from Scotland, against the lives of some of the greatest peers of that kingdom; the committee, fearing the like attempts from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the city of London. The king's design in going to Scotland was variously conjectured, but this was a certain effect of it, that it retarded all the affairs of the government of England, which the king had put into such disorder that it was not an easy task to reform what was amiss, and redress the real grievances of the people; but yet the parliament showed such a wonderful respect to the king, that they never mentioned him, as he was, the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evil councillors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have been used to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evil councillors and ministers of state, which flattery I fear they have to answer for; I am sure they have thereby exposed themselves to much scandal†. While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above two hundred thousand were massacred in two months' space, being surprised, and many of them most inhumanly butchered and tormented; and besides the slain, abundance of poor families stripped and sent naked away, out of all their possessions; and had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprise of Dublin castle, the night it should have been seized, there had not been any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. As soon as this sad news came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the work of relieving them, but then the king returned from Scotland, and being sumptuously welcomed home by the city, took courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all their proceedings for the effectual relief of Ireland. Long was he before he could be drawn to proclaim these murderers rebels, and when he did, by special command, there were but forty proclamations printed, and care taken that they should not be much dispersed; which courses afflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirmed that the rebellion in Ireland received countenance from the king and queen of England. The parliament, beset with so many difficulties, were forced for their own vindication to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, wherein they spared him as much as truth would bear, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answered with another declaration of his; and upon several occasions the parliament being enforced to justify their proceedings publicly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedy. The city declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observed to entertain an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poor unarmed men that passed by his house at Whitehall, and the parliament, conceiving themselves not safe, desired a guard might be allowed them under the command of the Earl of Essex; but he refused it, with an assurance that he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be reponsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as dear to him as that of his own person and children. Yet the very next day after this false message he came to the house of commons, attended with his extraordinary guard of about four hundred gentlemen and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols, and there demanded five of their members, whom not finding there (for a great lady at court had before informed one of them of his coming, and the house ordered them to retire) he returned, leaving the house under a high sense of this breach of their privilege. At this time the people began in great numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament, to beg a more cheerful concurrence between them for the relief of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honourable endeavours for the relief

* This act for perpetuating the parliament was in fact that which gave them a clear ascendancy over the king. The proposing this, as it showed the ingenuity and judgment of Mr. Pierrepont, to whom Mrs. Hutchinson attributes it, so does it the weakness of the king and his counsellors, who having granted this, had no longer any power of refusal left.—For extraordinary evils, extraordinary remedies are often sought, but this, as it soon proved too strong for the king, so was it at last thought too strong for the people. The omnipotence of parliament would be indeed dreadful alike to both if, instead of being annovable, it was permanent.

† This is an oversight of Mrs. Hutchinson's, of which she is seldom guilty. Good policy required then, as it does now, that the king should be held incapable of wrong, and the criminality fixed on ministers, who are amenable to the law. If the patriots of that day were the inventors of this maxim, we are highly obliged to them.

of both kingdoms. The king was offended at this, and retired first to Hampton-court, then went with the queen to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into Holland with her daughter, lately married to the prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her own court, but really to manage his business abroad, and procure arms to be employed against the parliament, by the sale of the crown jewels, which she carried over with her. After her departure, the king, taking the prince and the duke of York with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to return to his parliament and abide near London, and that he would not carry the prince away with him, and that he would grant the militia of the kingdom to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in; all which he denied, and went immediately to Newmarket, and from thence to York; all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the relief of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poor people of England into blood and ruin.

In conducting the state of England in those days, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part in this great tragedy, I have been too long for that I intended, and too short to give a clear understanding of the righteousness of the parliament's cause *; which I shall desire you to inform yourselves better of by their own printed papers, and Mr. May's history, which I find to be impartially true, so far as he hath carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his own judgment, and misinformations which some vain people gave of the state, and more indulgence to the king's guilt than can justly be allowed.

To take up my discourse of Mr. Hutchinson where I left it, he was now come to his own house at Owthorpe, about the time when the Irish massacre was acted, and finding humours begin to be very stirring, he applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth between the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience, of the righteousness of the parliament's cause, in point of civil right; and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce † popery, and subvert the true protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not think that so clear a ground of the war, as the defence of the just English liberties; and although he was clearly swayed by his own judgment and reason to the parliament, he, thinking he had no warrantable call at that time to do anything more, contented himself with praying for peace. At that time Mr. Henry Ireton was in the country, and being a kinsman of Mr. Hutchinson's, and one that had received so much advantage to himself and his family in the country, by Sir Thomas Hutchinson's countenance and protection, that he seemed a kind of dependant upon him, being besides a very grave, serious, religious person, there was a great league of kindness and good-will between them‡. Mr. Ireton, being very active in promoting the parliament, and the godly interest in the country, found great opposition by some projectors and others of corrupt interest that were in commission of the peace, whereupon making complaint at the parliament, he procured some of them to be put out of the commission, and others, better affected, to be put into their rooms, of which Mr. Hutchinson was one; but he then forbore to take his oath, as not willing to launch out rashly into public employments while such a storm hung threatening over-head; yet his good affections to godliness and the interest of his country being a glory that could not be concealed, many of his honest neighbours made applications to him, and endeavoured to gain his conduct, which he at first in modesty and prudence would not too hastily rush into§. The parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches: within two miles of his house there was a church,

* Probably few people will think Mrs. Hutchinson has been too prolix, many will that she has been too concise. Mr. May's history comes down only to September, 1643, which is much to be regretted, as he may justly be called an impartial and clear historian, but is little read, probably because his history finishes before that period which was the most interesting.

† Reduce, Latin *reducere*, to bring back, restore, revive.

‡ As it will be seen in the sequel that Mr. Hutchinson reposed a very great confidence in Ireton, and even allowed to the information he received from him such weight in forming his judgment as he did to that of no one else, it may be well to examine how far the one was deserving, and the other discerning, in this.

The question will be probably decided to general satisfaction upon the testimony of Whitelock and Ludlow, men of very different dispositions, but both of great good sense and knowledge of their subject. Whitelock, in speaking of some reforms proposed in the election and composition of the House of Commons, says, "Ireton was chiefly employed in them, having learned some grounds of law, and having a laborious and working brain and fancy." When he comes to speak of the reforms of the law which Ireton likewise meditated, he says, "he was a man full of invention and industry, who had a little knowledge of the law, which led him into the more errors." But when by his death the jealousy lest he should bring about those reforms which Whitelock and most of the lawyers were averse to, had ceased, he says of him, page 516, "this gentleman was a person very active, industrious, and stiff in his ways and purposes; he was of good abilities for council as well as action, made much use of his pen, and was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein his having been bred a lawyer was a great help to him. He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in councils; exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so far, as Ireton could." But Ludlow, who viewed him more constantly and closely in a post of great power and temptation, that of deputy of Ireland, being himself next in command to him, gives the following account of his conduct in one instance, which will render all others superfluous: "The parliament also ordered an act to be brought in for settling two thousand per annum on the lord-deputy Ireton, the news of which being brought over was so unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure."

§ Mr. Hutchinson, being born in the latter end of the year 1616, was only about three-and-twenty years old at this period, when some may think this modesty became him. It was not the fashion of those times to arrive at the perfection of wisdom and judgment so early as in our days.

where Christ upon the cross, the Virgin, and John, had been fairly set up in a window over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings of the priest's own ordering were drawn upon the walls. When the order for razing out those reliques of superstition came, the priest only took down the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closet, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desired him that he would take the pains to come and view their church, which he did, and upon discourse with the parson, persuaded him to blot out all the superstitious paintings, and break the images in the glass, which he consented to; but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of Puritan.

At that time most of the gentry of the country, were disaffected to the parliament; most of the middle sort, the able substantial freeholders, and the other commons, who had not their dependence upon the malignant nobility and gentry, adhered to the parliament. Those, when the king was at York, made a petition to him to return to the parliament, which, upon their earnest entreaty, Mr. Hutchinson went, with some others, and presented at* York, where, meeting his cousins the Birons, they were extremely troubled to see him there, on that account. After his return, Sir John Biron being likewise come to his house at Newsted, Mr. Hutchinson went to visit him there, and not finding him, returned to Nottingham, five miles short of his own house. There, going to the mayor to hear some news, he met with such as he expected not, for as soon as he came in, the mayor's wife told him, that the sheriff of the county was come to fetch away the magazine that belonged to the trained bands of the county, which was left in her husband's trust, and that her husband had sent for the country to acquaint them, but she feared it would be gone before they could come in, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, taking his brother from his lodgings along with him, presently went to the town's-hall, and going up to my Lord Newark†, lord lieutenant, told him, that

* Persons of the description which now bears the name of Yeomanry, seem to have been passed over by Charles and his advisers as of little consequence, and perhaps this was the real ground of the grand error they were in of supposing they had all or most of the strength of the nation with them, because they had most of the nobility and richer gentry: whereas it was found, when a general movement took place, that the great bulk of the people was against them, and, like an overwhelming tide, bore down all before it. Yet he and they had abundant warnings by this and such-like petitions, and by associations which began very early to be entered into; or still earlier in the expedition against the Scots, wherein the averseness of the common soldiers to the war was so evident, that it compelled the patching up a peace. "And, astonishing as it might be, (says May, p. 64,) it was seen that the common people were sensible of public interest and religion, when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be." It is true that the mass of the people, having little time for contemplation, are content to let those to whom affluence gives leisure, think for them; but when they do think for themselves, and strongly adopt a sentiment, he is a bold man, and ought to have astonishing resources, who contravenes it. That will be generally, if not always, found the wiser government which informs itself well as to the real bent of the public mind: and, if it is misled by a faction, takes the way of candour and frankness to dispel the mist of error or prejudice, but avoids to do violence to the general opinion. The editor of this work is proud of being the first person who, two years before its adoption, suggested an appeal to the sense and spirit of the nation by the association of armed volunteers.

† Eldest son of the Earl of Kingston, and brother of two Mr. Pierreponts mentioned in this work; this nobleman was afterwards created Marquis of Dorchester, and will be spoken of under that title in the sequel.—In the diary mentioned in the first page of the preface, the dialogue between Lord Newark and Mr. Hutchinson is set down at full length, and as it may be an object of curiosity to some of our readers it is here inserted in a smaller type.

Mr. Hutchinson asking who were above, he was told that the lord lieutenant, my Lord Newark, was there, to whom he sent his name and desired to speak with him: and being come up, found in the room, where the powder was weighing, my Lord Newark, the sheriff Sir John Digby, and two or three captains: Mr. Hutchinson, addressing himself to my lord only, spoke to him—

H. My lord, hearing that there was some question, concerning the county's powder, I am come to kiss your lordship's hands, and to beseech you that I may know what your desires and intents are concerning it?

N. Cousin, the king desires to borrow it of the country to supply his great necessities.

H. I beseech your lordship, what commission have you to demand this?

N. Upon my honour, I have a commission from his Majesty, but it is left behind me: but I will engage my honour it shall be repaid the country.

H. Your lordship's honour is an engagement, would be accepted for more than I am worth; but in such an occasion as this, the greatest man's engagement in the kingdom, cannot be a satisfaction to the country.

N. The king's intents are only to borrow it, and if the country will not lend it, he will pay for it.

H. My Lord, 'tis not the value of the powder we endeavour to preserve, but in times of danger, as these are, those things which serve for our defence are not valuable at any price, should you give us as many barrels of gold as you take barrels of powder.

N. Upon my faith and honour, cousin, it shall be restored in ten days.

H. My lord, such is the danger of the times, that for aught we know, we may in less than four days be ruined for want of it; and I beseech your lordship to consider, how sad a thing it is, in these times of war, to leave a poor country and the people in it, naked and open to the injury of every passenger; for if you take our powder, you may as well take our arms, without which we are unable to make use of them, and I hope your lordship will not disarm the country.

N. Why, who should the country fear? I am their lord lieutenant and engaged with my life and honour to defend them! what danger are they in?

H. Danger, yes, my lord, great danger; there is a troop of horse now in the town, and it hath often happened so that they have committed great outrages and insolencies, calling divers honest men puritans and rogues, with divers other provoking terms and carriages; I myself was abused by some of them, as I passed on the road: I chanced to meet some of these gentlemen, who, as soon as I was past, inquired my name, and being told it, gave me another, saying among themselves, that I was a puritan and a traitor; as two or three honest men that came behind told me. Besides your lordship may be far of, and we ruined before you can come to us, being unarmed and not able to defend ourselves from any body, and this country being a road through which, under the name of soldiers, rude people daily pass from the north to south, and terrify the country; which if they knew to be naked and unarmed, they would thereby be encouraged to greater insolencies and mischiefs.

N. The king's occasions are such and so urgent as I cannot dispense with it for any reasons, but must needs have it.

hearing some dispute concerning the country's powder, he was come to wait on his Lordship, to know his desires and intents concerning it. My Lord answered him, that the king, having great

H. I hope your lordship will not deny that the country hath a right, interest, and property in it.

N. I do not deny it.

H. Then, my lord, I hope his Majesty will not command it from them.

N. No, he doth but desire to borrow it.

H. Then, I hope, if he do but desire to borrow it, his Majesty hath signified his request to those that have interest in it, under his hand.

N. Upon my honour he hath, but I left it behind me.

H. I beseech your lordship then, that you would not take it away, till you have acquainted the country with it, who only have power to lend it; and if your lordship be pleased to do this, I will engage myself that by to-morrow at twelve of the clock, that part of the country who have interest in the powder, shall all wait on your lordship and give you their resolutions.

N. The king's occasions cannot admit of that delay.

H. I beseech of your lordship, yet be pleased to consider the dangerous consequence of taking it without the country's consent, and be pleased but to stay 'till they can come in.

N. That time is more than his Majesty's necessities can dispense withal.

With that Mr. Hutchinson went down stairs, where by that time a good company of the country were gathered together, to whom Mr. Hutchinson told what my lord had said to him, and they desired him that he would but stand to them, and they would part with every drop of blood out of their bodies before he should have it; and said besides, that they would go up and break my lord's neck and the sheriff's out of the windows; but Mr. Hutchinson desired them to stay below, till he had once more spoken to my lord, and then, taking only one or two more with him, went up and spoke to my lord

H. My lord, I am again, at the request of the country, that are below, come to your lordship, and do once more humbly beseech you to consider the business you are about, before you proceed further in it, for it may prove of dangerous consequence if you go on.

N. Cousin, I am confident it cannot, for the country will not deny this to the king.

H. It's very probable they will not, if your lordship please to have patience, till they can be called in, that they may be acquainted with his Majesty's desires.

N. His Majesty is very well assured of the willingness and cheerfulness of the greater part of the country to it.

H. My lord, I do not know what assurance his Majesty hath of it, but if you please to look out of this window, (pointing to the countrymen below in the streets,) you will see no inconsiderable number gathered, who I fear will not be willing to part with it.

N. Those are but some few factious men, not to be considered.—

H. My lord, we have been happy yet, in these unhappy differences, to have had no blood shed, and I am confident your lordship is so noble and tender of your country, that it would very much trouble you, to have a hand in the first man's blood that should be spent in this quarrel.

N. Cousin, it cannot come to that, fear it not, (this was spoken very slightly and contemptuously,) his Majesty's occasions are urgent and must be served.

(With that, the country came very fast up, which when the cavalier captains saw, they slunk down).

H. Why then, my lord, I must plainly tell you, not one here but will lose every drop of blood in his body, before he will part with one corn of it, without your lordship can show either a command or a request for it under his Majesty's hand and seal, or that the country be called together to give their free consent to it, for we have all property and interest in it, being members of this county, and it being bought with our money, for the particular defence and safety of the same.

My lord desired to borrow part of it, but that being denied, he turned to Sir John Digby and took him to the window, where, after he had whispered with him a while, Sir John Digby laid down his pen, ink, and paper, with which he had been taking an account of the powder, match, and bullet. The countrymen desired my lord aloud, that he would not take away their powder, out of the country; upon which, turning to them, he thus spoke—

"Gentlemen, his Majesty was assured by some of the cheerfulness of this country's affections to him, which I am very sorry to see so much failing in, and that the country should come so much short of this town, which hath cheerfully lent his Majesty one barrel of powder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you do not repent this carriage of yours towards his Majesty, which he must be acquainted withal."

A countryman, standing forth, asked his lordship this question, "Whether, if he were to take a journey into a place where probably he might be set upon by thieves and robbers, and having a charge about him, if any friend should ask him to lend his sword, he would part with it and go himself without?" My lord, the case is ours, our wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this country's safety; and how can it be safe in these dangerous times, when so many troops and companies pass through and commit outrages and abuses among us, if we have not arms and powder wherewith to defend us?

My lord made no reply, but bade the men whom he had employed to weigh up the powder desist; and so went down the stairs. Mr. Hutchinson followed him, and as he went, an ancient gentleman, who was with my lord, whose face and name were both unknown to him, came to him and said these words:—"Stand to it, I'll warrand you, gentlemen, it is well done." And as they passed through a low room, my lord took Mr. Hutchinson aside and said,

N. Cousin, I must acquaint the king with this!

H. My lord, it's very likely you must, being employed upon his Majesty's service, give him an account.

N. Nay cousin, (smiling) I mean not so, but I must acquaint him, and I am sorry I must, that you are the head and ringleader of a faction, whereby you hinder his Majesty's service

H. My lord, I do not conceive how this can be a faction, I speaking only out of the noble respect and honour I bear your lordship, in private to you, to prevent a mischief, the sense of these men, who I perceived were come to know by what authority, and why, their powder, which is their proper goods, and only means of safety, in these times of danger, should be taken from them; and if it were a faction, I am not the head of it: I, accidentally coming to town from Sir John Biron's last night, and neither knowing nor imagining any of this business, was this morning importuned to wait on your lordship, at the town's hall by many countrymen, who informed me you were taking away their powder out of the country.

N. Cousin, if you can answer it, I shall be glad of it: but I'll assure you I must let his Majesty know.

H. If his Majesty must know it, I am very happy I spoke to none but your lordship; who, I am confident, is so noble that you will neither add nor diminish anything to my prejudice, and then I am confident the justness and reasonableness of what I have said, with my own innocency in speaking it, will bear me out.

N. Aye, cousin, but your name is up already.

H. It may be so, my lord; and I believe those that set it up had no good wishes to me, and as it rose, so, in the name of God, let it fall; for I know my own clearness and innocency in any thing that can be objected against me.

N. Well, cousin, well; I am glad of your good resolution.

And so my lord left him. The gentlemen of the country that were there, upon consideration, what they should do with their powder, determined to return my lord thanks for sparing it, and to lock it up with two locks, whereof the sheriff should have one key, and the mayor another: which accordingly was done; but Mr. Hutchinson came no more at my lord.

ies, desired to borrow it of the country. tchinson asked my lord what commission from his Majesty. My lord told him he , but he had left it behind. Mr. Hutchin- ied, that my lord's affirmation was satis- to him, but the country would not be o part with their powder in so dangerous without an absolute command: my lord hat he would restore it in ten days, Mr. son replied, they might have need of it nd he hoped my lord would not disarm his in such a time of danger: my lord con- the mention of danger, and asked what ld fear while he was their lord lieutenant ly to serve them with his life: Mr. Hut- told him of some grounds to apprehend by reason of the daily passing of armed ough the country, whereof there was now p in the town, and that before they could o my lord they might be destroyed in his , and withal urged to him examples of solence; but my lord replied to all the of the king's occasions for it, which were t he could not dispense with it. It was to argue with him the property the country it, being bought with their money, and e not to be taken without their consent: d declared himself positively resolved to hereupon Mr. Hutchinson left him. There the room with him Sir John Digby, the riff of the county, who was setting down ght of the powder and match, and two or ptains and others, that were busy weighing der. By that time Mr. Hutchinson came a good company of the country were d together; whom Mr. Hutchinson ac- d what had passed between him and my d they desired him that he would but o stand to them, and they would part with r blood before he should have a corn of said moreover they would go up and tumble and the sheriff out of the windows. Mr. son, seeing them so resolved, desired them below while he went yet once again up to , which they did, and he told my lord f the country were come in, at whose he was again come to beseech his lordship t from his design, which pursued might langerous consequence. My lord replied, not be, for the king was very well assured heerful compliance of the greatest part of ntry with his service. Mr. Hutchinson n, whatever assurance his Majesty might his lordship pleased to look out, he might inconsiderable number below that would ingly part with it. My lord replied they ut a few factious men, whereupon Mr. son told him, since it was yet the happi- these unhappy times that no blood had ilt, he should be sorry the first should d upon my lord's occasion in his own . My lord scornfully replied, Fear it not, ot come to that, the king's occasions are and must be served. Whereupon Mr. son looking out at the countrymen, they ery fast up the stairs, and Mr. Hutchinson m however he slighted it, not one there uld part with every drop of their blood they would part with it, except he could command or request for it under the king's hand, or would stay till the country were called in to give their consents, for it was their property, and all had interest in it, as bought with their money for the particular defence of the county. Then my lord fell to entreaties to borrow part of it, but that being also denied, he took the sheriff aside, and, after a little conference, they put up their books and left the powder, when my lord, turning to the people, said to them, "Gentlemen, his Majesty was by some assured of the cheerfulness of this country's affections to him, whereof I am sorry to see so much failing, and that the county should fall so much short of the town, who have cheerfully lent his Majesty one barrel of powder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you do not repent this carriage of yours towards his Majesty, which he must be acquainted withal." A bold countryman then stepping forth, by way of reply asked my lord, whether if he were to take a journey with a charge into a place where probably he should be set upon by thieves, if any friend should ask to borrow a sword, he would part with it: my lord, said he, the case is ours, our lives, wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this country's safety, and how can it be safe in these dangerous times, when so many rude armed people pass daily through it, if we be altogether disarmed? My lord made no reply, but bade the men who were weighing the powder desist, and went down. Mr. Hutchinson followed him down the stairs, when an ancient gentleman that was sitting with my lord, came, and whispering him commended his and the country's zeal, and bade them stand to it and they would not be foiled. As they passed through a long room below, my lord told Mr. Hutchinson he was sorry to find him in the head of a faction: Mr. Hutchinson replied, he could not tell how his lordship could call that a faction which was so accidental as his being at that time in the town, where hearing what was in hand, out of respect to his lordship, he only came to prevent mischief and danger, which he saw likely to ensue. My lord replied he must inform the king, and told him his name was already up, to which Mr. Hutchinson answered that he was glad, if the king must receive an information of him, it must be from so honourable a person; and for his name, as it rose, so in the name of God let it fall: and so took his leave and went home. The rest of the country that were there determined to give my lord thanks for sparing their ammunition, and locked it up with two locks, whereof the key of the one was entrusted with the mayor of Nottingham, the other with the sheriff of the county, which accordingly was done *.

In the mean time, at York, the king had sent the parliament a message, that he intended to go in person to Ireland, and to raise a guard for his own person, about West Chester, which he would arm out of his magazine at Hull. But the parliament, having before intercepted a letter of the Lord Digby's, sent to the queen from Middleburg in

* How my lord may have reported this matter to the king signifies little; but he probably remembered as a kindness Mr. Hutchinson's interposition between him and the more rough arguments of the countrymen; for there appears to have existed, on all suitable occasions, an intercourse of friendship during the remainder of their lives.

Zealand, wherein he intimated, that, if the king would retire to some safe place, and declare himself, he should be able to wait upon him from thence, &c. Upon this letter and other presumptions, they suspected that the chief end of the king's going northward, was to seize the magazine at Hull, and arm himself from thence, against them; wherefore they sent a petition, for leave to remove that magazine to the tower of London, and accordingly had sent Sir John Hotham thither to do it. Sir John prevented the Earl of Newcastle, whom the king had sent for the same purpose, to seize the magazine, and kept him out; at which the king was much incensed, and on the 23rd of April, 1642, went himself to Hull, attended with some noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, and demanded entrance; but the gates were shut, and Hotham, kneeling upon the wall, intreated the king not to command that, which, without breach of trust, he could not obey.

In conclusion, the king not getting entrance, proclaimed Hotham traitor, and sent a complaint of the affront to the parliament. The parliament justified Hotham, many declarations about it were published on both sides, many cross-commands, the parliament authorizing Hotham to issue out warrants to constables and other officers, to come in armed, to the defence of Hull, the king forbidding it. The king meanwhile in the north, summoned divers of the nobility and gentry to attend him, and made speeches to them, to desire a guard for his person, pretending danger from the parliament. He then began to entertain soldiers, and was much encouraged by the defection of divers lords and many of the commons' house, who forsook their trust and came to him at York; whereupon he called those who remained only a faction, a pretended parliament, and such names; but they continued still petitioning to him, and the well-affected and godly, in all countries, did the like, that he would return to his parliament. The papists all over England were high partakers with him and promoters of his designs, and all the debauched nobility and gentry, and their dependents, and the lewder rout of people; yet even of these some there were, that had English hearts, who came in to the parliament; but finding afterwards that the advance of liberty and righteousness could not consist with riot and ungodliness, they forsook their party, and were content to be the king's slaves, rather than divorce themselves from those lusts which found countenance from both priests and princes on one side; and on the other were preached down by the ministers, and punished by the magistrates*.

Towards the end of May, the parliament sent the king word, that if he would not disband his forces, and rely upon the laws and affections of his people, for his security, as all good princes before him had done, they held themselves bound in duty to God and the people's trust : them, and by the fundamental laws, to em utmost care and power, for securing t ment and preserving the kingdom's peac upon they voted, "That it seems the kin by wicked counsel, intends a war agains liament, &c.

"That whensoever the king makes the parliament, it is a breach of the tru in him by the people, contrary to his tending to the dissolution of this govern

"That whosoever shall assist him in a are traitors, by the fundamental laws of dom, and have been so adjudged, in t parliament, 11 Richard II., and 1 H and that such persons ought to suffer as

Hereupon nine of the lords, that firs the king, were summoned to return; who letter of denial, were, by the whole hous sentenced to be incapable of ever sitt as members of that house, or of benefit o of parliament, and to suffer imprisonme pleasure. Then the lord keeper, who had firm to the parliament, and voted with settling the militia by ordinance of parlia away to the king, after he had deliver seal, the day before, to one the king s The king, having this, issued out many tions, and among the rest, one that no m obey the parliament's warrants, about s militia. The parliament on the other s ordinances forbidding all men to raise warrant from the king, without authori liament. And now they began to settle dom's militia, both by land and sea, and Earl of Warwick admiral, which place had conferred upon Sir John Penningt room of the Earl of Northumberland, manded my lord of Warwick to resign chose to obey the parliament, and got t length wholly into his hands, and took a ammunition coming to the king out of The parliament now, despairing of t return, made an ordinance for money an be brought in, for raising arms for t which came in, in great abundance, up faith, and likewise horses and arms for t The king, who had received money, a ammunition, which the queen had pr Holland, by pawning the crown jewels commissions of array, to arm the people i ties, and mocked the parliament, using words, wherein they invited men to arm defence of the protestant religion, the king dignity, and authority, the laws of the peace of the kingdom, and privilege of pa and thus deceived many people, and g butions of plate, money, and arms, in th While these things were in transaction made a solemn protestation before the l the presence of God, declaring that he engage them in any war, against the pa but only for his necessary defence; that was to maintain the protestant religion, ties of the subject, and privilege of pa but the next day, he did some action, so to this protestation, that two of the lo not stay with him, but returned to the pa and one of them coming back through hamshire, acquainted Mr. Hutchinson

* Whatever may be said at this day of the hypocrisy of the religionists of those times, the most that can possibly be allowed, is that their professions might somewhat outgo their practice; but this must in some degree befal every Christian. No one can deny that, instead of captivating vulgar minds by breaking the bonds of morality, as modern demagogues have done, the forefathers of our liberties set the pattern of a religious and decent conduct, and caused the same to be observed in their armies with an exactness that surprises us, and of which rigour many striking examples are to be found in Whitelock's Memorials.

and sense he had, discovering that falsehood in the king.

Now had the king raised an army of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse, with which he went to Beverley, in order to besiege Hull. When he was within two hours' march of the place, Sir John Hotham floated the country about it, and Sir John Meldrum, sallying out of the town, with five hundred townsmen, made the king's party retreat to Beverley: but however they beleagured the town, into which the parliament sent a relief of five hundred men by water, with whom Meldrum made another sally, routed the leaguer-soldiers, killed some, made others prisoners, took the magazine of arms and ammunition, which was in a barn, with their fire-balls, and fired the barn. Hereupon the king's counsel of war broke up the siege, from whence the king went back to York, and about the middle of August came to Nottingham, where he set up his standard royal, and hither his two nephews, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, came to him, and were put into commands. The king, marching through Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, called together the trained bands as to attend him, disarmed those counties, and marched to Shrewsbury, and there set up a mint, and coined the plate that had been brought in to him. Here a great many men came in to him, with whom, marching into Warwickshire, he there fought his first battle at a village called Keynton*; it not being yet agreed who gained the victory that day.

As the king on his part, made this progress, so the parliament, on theirs, upon the twelfth of July, voted an army to be raised, and the Earl of Essex to be general of it. Divers of the lords, and several members of the house of commons, took commissions, and raised regiments and companies under his command, who marched with his army of about fourteen thousand horse and foot to his rendezvous at Northampton, whither the parliament sent a petition to him, to be delivered to the king, in a safe and honourable way; the sum of which was, to beseech him to forsake those wicked people with whom he was, and not to mix his danger with theirs, but to return to his parliament, &c. The king, intending to make Worcester a garrison, sent Prince Rupert thither; the Earl of Essex, to prevent him, sent other forces, between whom there was some skirmish, but the prince left the town at their approach. My lord of Essex left a garrison in Northampton, put others into Coventry and Warwick, and went to Worcester. Here he made some stay, till the king, marching from Shrewsbury, there was some apprehension of his going up to London, for which cause my lord left part of his artillery behind him, and followed the king's motions, which the king perceiving, took an opportunity, before his artillery and the foot left with it were come up to him, and resolved to give him battle; which was not declined on the other side, but fought with doubtful success, the circumstances whereof may be read at large in the stories of those things. The king's general was slain, his standard was taken, though not kept; but on the other side also there were many brave men slain and prisoners. My lord of Essex marched to Coventry; the king to take up his winter quarters at Oxford, from whence Prince Rupert flew about the countries with his body of horse, plundered and did many barbarous things; insomuch that London, growing into apprehensions of the king's army, the parliament called back the Earl of Essex to quarter about London; and he being returned thither, the king was advanced as far as Colebrook, where he was presented with a petition from the parliament for accommodation, to which he answered, with a protestation to God, how much he was grieved for his subjects' sufferings, and, in order to peace, was willing to reside near London, to receive their propositions, and to treat with them. As soon as ever the commissioners were gone, the king advanced with his horse and artillery towards London, and, taking the advantage of a great mist, fell upon a broken regiment of Col. Hollis's quartered at Brainford, and killed many of them, and had destroyed them all, but that Brooke's and Hampden's regiments, by Providence, came seasonably to their rescue; and then so many forces flocked with the general, out of London, that the king was enclosed, and the war had been ended, but that, I know not how, three thousand of the parliament's forces were called away by their procurement who designed the continuance of the war; and so the king had a way of retreat left open, by which he got back to Oxford, and the parliament's general was sent out again with their army; whose proceedings I shall take up again in their due places, so far as is necessary to be remembered, for the story I most particularly intend.

Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimnies, the smoke ascended in every country; the king had sent forth commissions of array, and the parliament had given out commissions for their militia, and sent off their members into all counties to put them in execution. Between these in many places there were fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first; for in the progress every county had the civil war, more or less, within itself. Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament, that the king's interest appeared not in them; some so wholly for the king, that the godly, for those generally were the parliament's friends, were forced to forsake their habitations, and seek other shelters: of this sort was Nottinghamshire. All the nobility and gentry, and their dependents, were generally for the king, the chief of whose names I shall sum up here, because I shall often have occasion to mention them. The greatest family was the Earl of Newcastle's†, a lord so much once beloved in his country that, when the first expedition was against the Scots, the gentlemen of the country set him forth two troops, one all of gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the north at their own charges. He had indeed, through his great estate, his liberal hospitality, and constant residence in his country, so endeared them to him, that no man was a greater

* Commonly called Edge-hill fight. Both king and parliament claimed the victory, but our authoress shows rather more candour than either. The king's main design of marching to London was however frustrated, and therefore the parliament might be most properly termed gainers.

† This title was at that time in the family of Cavendish, of which this line ceased with the nobleman here mentioned.

prince than he in all that northern quarter, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himself much in debt, to purchase neglects of the king and queen, and scorns of the proud courtiers. Next to him was the Earl of Kingston, a man of vast estate, and not less covetousness, who divided his sons between both parties, and concealed himself, till at length his fate drew him to declare himself absolutely on the king's side, wherein he behaved himself honourably, and died remarkably. His eldest son* was lord lieutenant of the county, and at that time no nobleman had a greater reputation in the court for learning and generosity than he, who was so high of the king's party, that the parliament was very much incensed against him. Lord Chesterfield and all his family were highly of the royal party: so was the Lord Chaworth; and the Earl of Clare was very often of both parties, and I think never advantaged either. All the popish gentry were wholly for the king, whereof one Mr. Golding, next neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson, had been a private collector of the catholics' contributions to the Irish rebellion, and for that was by the queen's procurement made a knight and baronet. Sir John Biron, afterwards Lord Biron, and all his brothers bred up in arms, and valiant men in their own persons, were all passionately the king's. Sir John Savill, a man of vast estate, was the like: so were Sir Gervas Lyrc, Sir John Digby, Sir Matthew Palmer, Sir Thomas Williamson, Sir Roger Cowper, Sir W. Hickman, Sir Hugh Cartwright, Sir. T. Willoughby, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Blackwell, Markham, Perkins, Tevery, Pearce, Palmes, Wood, Sanderson, Moore, Mellish, Butler, with divers others.—Of the parliament men, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, and Sir Gervas Clifton, forsook the parliament, went to the king, and executed his commission of array. Mr. William Stanhope left the parliament, and came home disaffected to them, whose eldest son was after slain in the king's service. Mr. William Pierrepont†, second son of the Earl of Kingston, was of the parliament, though he served not for his own country, to which notwithstanding he was an ornament, being one of the wisest counsellors and excellent speakers in the house, and by him was that bill promoted and carried on which passed for the continuation of this parliament. He had a younger brother living at Nottingham, who coldly owned the parliament. Sir Thomas Hutchinson continued with the parliament, was firm to their cause, but infinitely desirous the difference might rather have been composed by accommodation, than ended by conquest; and therefore did not improve his interest to engage the country in the quarrel, which, if he could have prevented, he would not have had come to a war. He was, however, clearly on the parliament side, and never discouraged his two sons, who thought this prudential tardiness in their father was the declension of that vigour which they derived from him, and which better became their youth. It is true they were the foremost in point of time and in degree, except a piece of a nobleman that was after drawn in, who owned the parliament's interest in their country. Mr. Henry Ireton, their cousin, was elder than they, and having had an education in the strictest way of godliness, and being a very grave and solid person, a man of good learning, great understanding, and other abilities, to which was joined a willing and zealous heart to the cause and his country; he was the chief promoter of the parliament's interest in the country; but finding it generally disaffected, all he could do, when the king approached it, was to gather a troop of those godly people which the cavaliers drove out, and with them he went into my lord of Essex his army; which he being a single person, might the better do: Mr Hutchinson was not willing so soon to quit his house to which he was so lately come, if he could have been suffered to live quietly in it, but his affections to the parliament being taken notice of, he became an object of envy to the other party.

Sir Thomas Hutchinson, a little before the standard was set up, was come to Nottingham where his house was, to see his children and refresh himself, when, hearing of the king's intentions to come to the town, he, some days before his coming, went over to Owthorpe, his son's house, to remain there till he could fit himself to return to the parliament. One day, as Mr. Hutchinson was at dinner, the mayor of Nottingham sent him word that the high sheriff had broken open the lock of the country's ammunition, which was left in his trust, and was about to take it away. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went in all haste to prevent it, but before he came to the town it was gone, and some of the king's soldiers were already come to town, and were plundering all the honest men of their arms. As one of them had taken a musket, seeing Mr. Hutchinson go by, he wished it loaded for his sake, and said he hoped the day would shortly come when all such roundheads would be fair marks for them. This name of roundhead coming so opportunely in, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When puritanism grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which, had it been a real declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had been most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things, when

* Lord Newark, before spoken of. In Collins's Peerage, under the title of Duke of Kingston, there are cited singular proofs of this nobleman's learning.

† From this gentleman the late Duke of Kingston and the present Earl Manvers are lineally descended. His wisdom as a politician is sufficiently evinced by this masterly stroke, which decided the fate of the king and the parliament: of his moderation Whitelock speaks repeatedly: of his eloquence there are preserved by Rushworth some specimens, from one of which is extracted this, as a singular trait of candour and delicacy. "It is pleasing to the nature of man that others should obey his will, and well-framed dispositions of princes may easily be persuaded their power is unlimited, when they are also put in mind that they have therefore more cause to do well, and for doing well are more renowned: for the most oppressive designs we have suffered under, the pretences to his Majesty have been the good of his subjects: his is the sin, who is to judge by the laws, who knows the laws are to the contrary, yet puts and confirms such thoughts in his prince. He that incites another to arbitrary government usually doth it for self-ends, and when they are compassed, hates him for taking that power he himself persuaded him unto." This will be found an elegant solution of the paradox which appears in the character given by Mrs. Hutchinson of Charles the First, "that so good a man should make so bad a prince."

they were where they would be, showed that they either never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Cry after them, begins,

With hair in characters and laggs in text, &c.

From this custom of wearing their hair, that name of roundhead became the scornful term given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marched out so, but as if they had been sent out only till their hair was grown: two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them, would have inquired the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who, having naturally a very fine thickset head of hair, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a great ornament to him, although the godly of those days, when he embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase, nor such little formalities altogether fitted to their humour, who were, many of them, so weak as to esteem rather for such insignificant circumstances, than for solid wisdom, piety, and courage, which brought real aid and honour to their party: but as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they served, and the truth and righteousness they defended, so did not their weaknesses, censure, ingratitude, and discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercised all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adhered to just and honourable principles or practices, but when they apostatized from these, none cast them off with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that gilt, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb, which only held the carcass of religion. Instead of digressing, I shall ramble into an inextricable wilderness, if I pursue this sad remembrance: to return therefore to his actions at that time.

When he found the powder gone, and saw the soldiers taking up quarters in the town, and heard their threats and revilings, he went to his father's house in the town, where he had not been long but an uncivil fellow stepped into the house, with a carbine in his hand: Mr. Hutchinson asked what he would have; the man replied, he came to take possession of the house; Mr. Hutchinson told him, he had the possession of it, and would know on what right it was demanded from him; the man said, he came to quarter the general there; Mr. Hutchinson told him, except his father and mother, and their children, were turned out of doors, there was no room: the quarter-master, upon this, growing insolent, Mr. Hutchinson thrust him out of the house, and shut the doors upon him. Immediately my lord of Lindsey came himself, in a great chafe, and asked who it was that denied him quarter! Mr. Hutchinson told him, he that came to take it up for him deserved the usage he had, for his uncivil demeanour, and those who had quartered his lordship there had much abused him, the house being no ways fit to receive a person of his quality, which, if he pleased to take a view of it, he would soon perceive; whereupon my lord, having seen the rooms, was very angry they had made no better provision for him, and would not have lain in the house, but they told him the town was so full that it was impossible to get him room any where else. Hereupon he told Mr. Hutchinson, if they would only allow him one room, he would have no more; and when he came upon terms of civility, Mr. Hutchinson was as civil to him, and my lord only employed one room; staying there with all civility to those that were in the house. As soon as my lord was gone, Mr. Hutchinson was informed by a friend, that the man he had turned out of doors was the quarter-master-general, who, upon his complaint, had procured a warrant to seize his person; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, with his brother, went immediately home to his own house at Owthorpe. About four or five days after, a troop of cavaliers, under the command of Sr. Lewis Dives, came to Stanton, near Owthorpe, and searched Mr. Needham's house, who was a noted puritan in those days, and a colonel in the parliament's service, and governor of Leicester: they found not him, for he hid himself in the gorse, and so escaped them; his house being lightly plundered, they went to Hickling and plundered another puritan house there, and were coming to Owthorpe, of which Mr. Hutchinson having notice, went away to Leicestershire; but they, though they had orders to seize Mr. Hutchinson, came not at that time because the night grew on; but some days after he was gone another company came and searched for him, and for arms and plate, of which finding none, they took nothing else.

Two days after Mr. Hutchinson was in Leicestershire he sent for his wife, who was then big with child, to come thither to him, where she had not been a day, but a letter was brought him from Nottingham, to give him notice that there was a warrant sent to the sheriff of Leicestershire to seize his person. Upon this he determined to go the next day into Northamptonshire, but at five of the clock that evening the sound of their trumpets told him a troop was coming into the town; he stayed not to see them, but went out at the other end as they came in, who, by a good providence for his wife, (somewhat afflicted to be so left alone in a strange place,) proved to be commanded by her own brother, Sir Allen Apsley, who quartered in the next house to that where she was, till about two or three days before all the king's horse that were thereabouts marched away, being commanded upon some service to go before the rest.

Mr. Hutchinson in the mean time, was carried by a servant that waited on him to the house of a substantial honest yeoman, who was bailiff to the lord of the town* of Kelmarsh, in Northamptonshire; this man and his wife, being godly, gave Mr. Hutchinson very kind entertainment, and prevailed with him to be acquainted with their master, who had just then made ready plate and horses to go in to the king, that had now set up his standard at Nottingham; but Mr. Hutchinson diverted him, and persuaded him and another gentleman of quality, to carry in those aids, they

* It is customary, in Nottinghamshire, to call every village of any size a town.

had provided for the king, to my lord general Essex, who was then at Northampton, where Mr. Hutchinson visited him, and could gladly at that time have engaged with him, but that he did not then find a clear call from the Lord; and therefore, intelligence being brought of the king's remove, he was now returning to his wife, when unawares he came into a town where one of prince Rupert's troops was, which he narrowly escaped, and returning to his former honest host, sent a letter to his wife, to acquaint her what hazard he was in, by attempting to come to her, but that as soon as the horse were marched away, he would be with her. This letter was intercepted, at Prince Rupert's quarters, and opened and sent her. There was with prince Rupert, at that time, one captain Welch, who, having used to come to captain Apsley, and seen Mrs. Hutchinson with him, made a pretence of civility to visit her, that day that all the prince's horse marched away. They marched by the door of the house where she was, and all the household were gone out to see them, and had left her alone in the house, with Mr. George Hutchinson, who was in her chamber, when captain Welch came in, and she went down into the parlour to receive him. He taking occasion to tell her of her husband's letter, by way of compliment, said it was a pity she should have a husband so unworthy of her, as to enter into any faction, which should make him not dare to be seen with her; whereat she being piqued, and thinking they were all marched away, told him he was mistaken, she had not a husband that would at any time hide himself from him, or that durst not show his face where any honest man durst appear; and to confirm you, said she, he shall now come to you; with that she called down her brother, who, upon a private hint, owned the name of husband she gave him, and received a compliment from Welch, that in any other place he had been obliged to make him a prisoner, but here he was in sanctuary; and so, after some little discourse, went away. When the gentleman of the house and the rest of the family, that had been seeing the march, were returned, and while they sat laughing together, at those that went to see the prince, telling how some of the neighbouring ladies were gone along with him, and Mrs. Hutchinson telling how she had abused the captain, with Mr. Hutchinson instead of her husband, the captain came back, bringing another gentleman with him, and told Mr. Hutchinson, that his horse having lost a shoe, he must be his prisoner, till the smith released him; but they had not sat long, ere a boy came in with two pistols, and whispered the captain, who desiring Mr. Hutchinson and the gentleman of the house to walk into the next room, seized Mr. George, in the name of Mr. John Hutchinson. It booted not for them both to endeavour to undeceive him, by telling him Mr. John was still at Northampton, for he would not, at least would seem not, to believe them, and carried him away, to be revenged of Mrs. Hutchinson, at whom he was vexed for having deluded him: so, full of wicked joy, to have found an innocent gentleman, whom he knew the bloodhounds were after, he went and informed the prince, and made it of such moment, as if they had taken a much more considerable person. The prince had sent back a troop of dragoons to guard him to them, which troop had beset the house and town, before Welch came in to them the second time, when, notwithstanding all informations of his error, he carried away Mr. Hutchinson, and put his sister into affright and distemper with it; which when the women about her saw, they railed at him for his treachery and baseness, but to no purpose. As soon as he overtook the body of horse, with his prisoner, there was a shout from one end to the other of the soldiers. Mr. Hutchinson, being brought to the prince, told him he was the younger brother, and not the person he sent for, which three or four of the Birons, his cousin-germans, acknowledged to be so, yet Welch outswore them all, that it was Mr. John Hutchinson. The lord viscount Grandison, a cousin-german of Mrs. Hutchinson's, was then in the king's army, to whom she immediately dispatched a messenger, to entreat him to oblige her, by the procurement of her brother's liberty, who, upon her imprudence, had been brought into that trouble: my lord sent her word, that, for the present, he could not obtain it, but he would endeavour it afterwards, and in the mean time gave her notice that it was not safe for her husband to return, there being forty men left to lie close in the country, and watch his coming to her. So Mr. George Hutchinson was carried to Derby, and there, with some difficulty, his liberty obtained, by the interposition of my Lord Grandison and the Birons. They would have had him to have given them an engagement, that he would not take arms with the parliament; but he refused, telling them, he lived peaceably at home, and should make no engagement to do any thing, but what his conscience led him to, that if they pleased, they might detain him, but it would be no advantage to them, nor loss to the other side; upon which considerations, they were persuaded to let him go. Immediately after his release, he went to London to his father, where his elder brother was before him; for as soon as he understood from his wife what his brother suffered in his name, he took post to London, to procure his release, and there they both stayed till they received assurance, that the king's forces were quite drawn out of the country, and then they together returned to Leicestershire, where Mrs. Hutchinson, within a few days after her brother was taken, was brought to bed of her eldest daughter, which, by reason of the mother's and the nurse's griefs and frights, in those troublesome times, was so weak a child that it lived not four years, dying afterwards in Nottingham castle. When Mr. Hutchinson came to his wife, he carried her and her children, and his brother, back again to his house, about the time that the battle was fought at Edge Hill. After this, the two brothers, going to Nottingham, met there most of the godly people, who had been driven away by the rudeness of the king's army, and plundered upon the account of godliness, who were now returned to their families, and desirous to live in peace with them, but having, by experience, found they could not do so, unless the parliament interest were maintained, they were consulting how to raise some recruits for the Earl of Essex, to assist in which Mr. Hutchinson had provided his plate and horses ready to send in.

About this time Sir John Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, who had been sheriff of the county, at

that time when the illegal tax of ship-money was exacted, and so violent in the prosecution of it, that he starved Sir John Stanhope's cattle in the pound, and would not suffer any one to relieve them there, because that worthy gentleman stood out against that unjust payment, and who had by many aggravating circumstances, not only concerning his prosecution of Sir John Stanhope, but others, so highly misdemeaned himself, that he looked for punishment from the parliament, to prevent it, very early put himself, into their service, and after the king was gone out of these countries, prevented the cavalier gentry from seizing the town of Derby, and fortified it, and raised a regiment of foot. These were good, stout, fighting men, but the most licentious ungovernable wretches, that belonged to the parliament. He himself, no man knows for what reason he chose that side; for he had not understanding enough to judge the equity of the cause, nor piety or holiness, being a foul adulterer all that time he served the parliament, and so unjust, that, without any remorse, he suffered his men indifferently to plunder both honest men and cavaliers; so revengeful, that he pursued his malice to Sir John Stanhope, upon the forementioned account, with such barbarism after his death, that he, pretending to search for arms and plate, came into the church and defaced his monument that cost six hundred pounds, breaking off the nose and other parts of it; he digged up a garden of flowers, the only delight of his widow, upon the same pretence; and thus wooed that widow, who was by all the world believed to be the most prudent and affectionate of womankind, but, deluded by his hypocrisies, consented to marry him, and found that was the utmost point to which he could carry his revenge, his future carriage making it apparent he sought her for nothing else but to destroy the glory of her husband and his house. This man kept the journal makers * in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties, against the enemy, was attributed to him; and thus he hath indirectly purchased himself a name in story, which he never merited; he was a very bad man, to sum up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the parliament in those parts. I thought it necessary to insert this little account of him here, because there will be often occasion to mention him in my following discourse; and because, although there never was any personal acquaintance between him and Mr. Hutchinson, yet that natural antipathy which is between good and evil, rendered him a very bad neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson's garrison, and one that, under the name of a friend and assistant, spoiled our country, as much as our enemies. He indeed gave his men leave to commit all insolencies, without any restraint, whereas Mr. Hutchinson took up arms to defend the country as much as was possible from being a prey to rude soldiers, and did oftentimes preserve it both from his and other rude troops†, which stirred up in him envy, hate, and ill-will against his neighbour. He was not wise in ordering the scouts and spies he kept out, and so had the worst intelligence in the world. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, employed ingenuous persons, and was better informed of the true state of things, and so, often times communicated those informations, to the chief commanders, which convinced the falsehood of his; and that was another cause of envy Some that knew him well, said he was not valiant, though his men once held him up, among a stand of pikes, while they obtained a glorious victory, when the Earl of Northampton was slain; certain it is he was never by his good-will in a fight, but either by chance or necessity; and that which made his courage the more questioned was, the care he took, and the expense he was at, to get it weekly mentioned in the diurnals, so that when they had nothing else to renown him for, they once put in that the troops of that valiant commander Sir John Gell took a dragoon with a plush doublet. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, that did well for virtue's sake, and not for the vainglory of it, never would give anything to buy the flatteries of those scribblers, and when one of them had once, while he was in town, made mention of something done at Nottingham, with falsehood, and given Gell the glory of an action wherein he was not concerned, Mr. Hutchinson rebuked him for it, whereupon the man begged his pardon, and told him he would write as much for him the next week; but Mr. Hutchinson told him he scorned his mercenary pen, only warned him not to dare to lie in any of his concernments, whereupon the fellow was awed, and he had no more abuse of that kind.

But to turn out of this digression into another, not altogether impertinent to the story which I would carry on. In Nottinghamshire, upon the edge of Derbyshire, there dwelt a man, who was of mean birth and low fortunes, yet had kept company with the underling gentry of his neighbourhood: this man had the most factious, ambitious, vainglorious, envious, and malicious nature that is imaginable; but he was the greatest dissembler, flatterer, traitor, and hypocrite that ever was, and herein had a kind of wicked policy, knowing himself to be inferior to all gentlemen, he put on a vizard of godliness and humility, and courted the common people with all plausibility and flattery that could be practised; all this while he was addicted to many lusts, especially to that of women, but practised them so secretly, that they were not vulgarly taken notice of, though God, to shame him, gave him up to marry a wench out of one of the alehouses he frequented; but to keep up a fame of godliness, he gave large contributions to puritan

* Sir John Gell succeeded so far as to get some of this puffing intelligence introduced even into his Memorials by Whitelock; who, p. 186, talks of an expedition where he killed five of the enemy! He likewise gives him the honour of taking Shelford Manor, at least two years before it was really taken by Colonel Hutchinson. It is very much to be wondered at, that Mrs. Hutchinson no where speaks of his trial and condemnation for misprision of treason, which Whitelock notes in the year 1650 during the time of Mr. Hutchinson's being in the second council of state. He is said to have been convicted on the full evidence of Bernard and Titus. Col. Andrews, who was condemned along with him, gave an attestation on his behalf a little before his death. Whitelock does not say what this treason consisted in, but he was pardoned by the third council, just before Cromwell's usurpation: and was among those members of parliament who opposed him boldly.

† To the interposition of such men as Colonel Hutchinson we must attribute the proportionably small quantity of mischief that was suffered by this nation, in so long and sharp a civil war as this was.

preachers, who had the art to stop the people's mouths, from speaking ill of their benefactors. By a thousand arts this fellow became popular, and insinuated himself so, into all the gentlemen that owned the parliament's party, that till he was discovered some years after, they believed him a most true-hearted, faithful, vigilant, active man for the godly interest; but he could never climb higher than a presbyterian persecutor, and in the end fell quite off to a declared cavalier. In Sir George Booth's business, thinking he could sway the scales of a country, he raised a troop, and brought them into Derby, and published a declaration of his own for the king, then ran away to Nottingham, and lost all his troop in the rout there, and hid himself till the king* came in, when he was rewarded for his revolt with an office, which he enjoyed not many months, his wife and he, and some of his children, dying altogether in a few days of a fever little less than the plague. This man, called Charles White, at the beginning of the civil war got a troop of dragoons, who armed and mounted themselves out of devotion to the parliament's cause, and being of his neighbourhood, marched forth in his conduct, he having procured a commission to be their captain, and they, having stocks and families, were not willing to march as far as the army, but joined themselves to those who were already in arms at Derby.

After the battle at Edge-hill, Sir John Digby, the high sheriff of Nottinghamshire, returned from the king, and had a design of securing the county against the parliament, whereupon he sent out summons to all the gent' men resident in the country to meet him at Newark. Mr. Hutchinson was at the house of Mr. Francis Pierrepont, the Earl of Kingston's third son, when the letter was delivered him, and another of the same to Mr. Pierrepont, and while they were reading them, and considering what might be the meaning of this summons, an honest man, of the sheriff's neighbourhood, came and gave them notice, that the sheriff had some design in agitation, for he had assembled and armed about fourscore of his neighbours, to go out with them to Newark, and, as they heard, from thence to Southwell, and from thence to Nottingham, through which town many armed men marched day and night, to their great terror. Mr. Hutchinson, upon this intimation, went home, and instead of going to meet the sheriff, sent an excuse, by an intelligent person, well acquainted with all the country, who had orders to find out their design, which he did so well, that he assured Mr. Hutchinson if he and some others had gone in, they would have been made prisoners: for the sheriff came into Newark with a troop of eighty men, with whom he was gone to Southwell, and was to go the next day to Nottingham, to secure those places for the king. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went with his brother and acquainted them at Nottingham with his intelligence, which they had likewise received from other hands. Although the town was generally more malignants than well affected, yet they cared not much to have cavalier soldiers quarter with them, and therefore agreed to defend themselves against any force which should come against them, and being called hastily together, as the exigence required, about seven hundred listed themselves, and chose Mr. George Hutchinson for their captain, who having lived among them, was very much loved and esteemed by them. The sheriff, hearing this, came not to Nottingham, but those who were now there thus became engaged to prosecute the defence of themselves, the town, and country, as far as they could. They were but few, and these not very considerable, and some of them not very hearty; but it pleased God here, as in other places, to carry on his work by weak and unworthy instruments. There were seven aldermen in the town, and of these only alderman James, then mayor, owned the parliament. He was a very honest, bold man, but had no more than a burgher's discretion; he was yet very well assisted by his wife, a woman of great zeal and courage, and more understanding than women of her rank usually have. All the devout people of the town were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and families, but there was not the half of the town that consisted of these; the ordinary civil sort of people coldly adhered to the better, but all the debauched, and such as had lived upon the bishops' persecuting courts, and been the lacqueys of projectors and monopolisers, and the like, they were all bitterly malignant: yet God awed them, that they could not at that time hinder his people, whom he overruled some of their greatest enemies to assist, such as were one Chadwick and Plumptre, two who, at the first, put themselves most forward into the business. Plumptre was a doctor of physic, an inhabitant of Nottingham, who had learning, natural parts, and understanding enough to discern between natural civil righteousness and injustice, but he was a horrible atheist, and had such an intolerable pride, that he brooked no superiors, and having some wit, took the boldness to exercise it, in the abuse of all the gentlemen wherever he came†. Sir Thomas Hutchinson first brought him into credit and practice in the country, it having pleased God to make him instrumental in the cure of Mr. George Hutchinson, who had in vain tried the skill of the best doctors in England, for an epileptic disease, under which he laboured some years. Upon this occasion, Sir Thomas, and both his sons, gave him much respect, and this cure gave him reputation, and introduced him into practice, in all gentlemen's houses in the country, which he soon lost again by his most abusive tongue and other ill carriages, and was even got out of favour with Sir Thomas Hutchinson himself, for some abusive scoffs given out against his lady: but Mr. Hutchinson and his brother, in pity to him, and in remembrance of what God had done through him, still owned him, and protected him a little against the bitter zealots, though it was impossible for his darkness and their light long to continue mixed. This man had sense enough to approve the parliament's cause, in point of civil right, and pride enough to desire to break the bonds of slavery, whereby the king endeavoured to chain up a free people, and upon these scores

* By the king is here meant Charles the Second.

† It is said of him, in Thoroton's history of Notts, "he was a person eminent in his profession, of great note for wit and learning, as he had formerly been for poetry, when he printed a book of epigrams:" a species of composition which the more it pleases the reader, the less it renders the author beloved. This inclination to sport with the failings of others was not at all likely to recommend him to Mr. Hutchinson, nor make him a good associate in weighty and serious business.

; high for the parliament's interest, he was into the consultations of those who were ing the country into a posture of defence. : was a fellow of a most pragmatical nd, to say truth, had strangely wrought ato a station unfit for him. He was at oy that scraped trenchers in the house the poorest justices in the county, but a one as had a great deal of formality rstanding of the statute law, from whom oicked such ends of law, that he became justice's, then a lawyer's clerk; then, I how, got to be a parcel-judge in Ireland, over to his own country swelled with the n of it, and set on foot a base, obsolete, court there, which the Conqueror of old n to one Peverel, his bastard, which entitling my lord Goring unto, executed under him, to the great abuse of the

At the beginning of the parliament, prosecuted him for it, but that my Lord begged of Sir Thomas Hutchinson to ı, and promised to lay it down for ever; the beginning of the parliament he ex- ıt that office, but, having an insinuating tongue, procured himself to be deputy- of Nottingham, my lord of Clare being When the king was in town a little his man so insinuated into the court, that, o kiss the king's hand, the king told vas a very honest man; yet by flatteries mulations he kept up his credit with the tting his hair, and taking up a form of , the better to deceive. In some of the imes he had purchased the honour of a , though he had neither law nor learning, d a voluble tongue, and was crafty; and ost incredible that one of his mean educa- poverty should arrive to such things as ed: he was very poor, although he got e of money by a thousand cheats, and e ways, wherein he exercised all his life, as as great a prodigal in spending as getting, and, among other villanies which tly practised, was a libidinous goat, for s wife, they say, paid him with making uckold; yet were there not two persons nd that pretended more sanctity than he who had a tongue no less glavering and n his. This baseness he had, that all the ouches in the world could not move him, would fawn upon any man that told him llanies to his face, even at the very time. as a truer Judas since Iscariot's time for he would kiss the man he had in his kill; he naturally delighted in mischief chery, and was so exquisite a villain, that yed those designs he might have thriven overlaying them with fresh knaveries. I n a little tedious in these descriptions, spoken very little in comparison of what would bear; indeed such assistants as re enough to disgrace the best cause by ning of it, but the truth of God, being e testimony of men, could neither receive om the good, nor discredit from the worst t they were not all such, who first offered es to carry on the Lord's work with him we chiefly treat. There was then dwell- Nottingham a third son of the Earl of Kingston, a man of good natural parts, but not of education according to his quality, who was in the main well affected to honest men, and to righteous liberty; a man of a very excellent good nature, and full of love to all men; but that his goodness received a little allay by a vainglorious pride, which could not well brook any other should outstrip him in virtue and estimation *. Mr. Francis Thornhagh, the eldest son of Sir Francis Thornhagh, was a man of a most upright faithful heart to God and God's people, and to his country's true interest, comprehended in the parliament's cause; a man of greater valour or more noble daring fought not for them, nor indeed ever drew sword in any cause; he was of a most excellent good nature to all men, and zealous for his friend; he wanted counsel and deliberation, and was sometimes too facile to flatterers, but had judgment enough to discern his errors when they were represented to him, and worth enough not to persist in an injurious mistake because he had once entertained it †. Mr Pigott was a very religious, serious, wise gentleman, true-hearted to God and his country, of a generous and liberal nature, and that thought nothing too dear to expose, nor too difficult to undertake, for his friend; one that delighted not in the ruin of his neighbours, but could endure it rather than the destruction of religion, law, and liberty; one that wanted not courage, yet chose rather to venture himself as a single person than a leader in arms, and to serve his country in counsel than in action; there was no man in his nature, and his whole deportment, showed himself more a gentleman than he ‡. There was one Mr. Widmerpoole, a man of good extraction, but reduced to a small fortune, had declined all the splendour of an old house, and sunk into the way of the middle men of the country; yet had a perfect honest heart to God, his country, and his friend; he had a good discretion, and though he were older than all the

* Mr. Francis Pierrepont, who will frequently be mentioned again in the course of the story, when it will be clearly seen that Mrs. Hutchinson here speaks with candour, or rather favour of him, though he was her husband's opponent.

† Col. Thornhagh is often mentioned by other writers, and always with praise in his military capacity, in which only he was known to the public. Mrs. Hutchinson here delineates with a masterly hand a frank, open, unsuspecting, amiable soldier. The family of Col. Thornhagh continued to flourish in the county of Nottingham so late as the year 1750, at which time one of them represented the county; they are believed to be now extinct in the male line, and their possessions to have centered in a female who was the lady of Francis Ferrand Foljambe, Esq.

‡ Mr. Pigott survived Col. Hutchinson about five years. He was summoned to parliament by Cromwell, but it is very uncertain whether he condescended to sit or no. Thoroton, in his History of Notts, says of him, that "he was a person of great parts, natural and acquired: he was sheriff of the county in 1669, and died presently after the summer assizes; at which time being in mourning for his daughter Mary, wife of Robert, eldest son of Sir Francis Burdett, of Formark, he gave his attendants black liveries with silver trimmings, which served for his own funeral. His sobriety, ingenuity, generosity, piety, and other virtues, few of his rank will ever exceed, if any equal."

It is thought necessary to take more particular notice of what may appertain to Ireton, Col. Thornhagh, and Mr Pigott, because they are the three persons who enjoyed the greatest share in the friendship and esteem of Col. Hutchinson, and made him a due return.

rest, yet was so humble, to be content to come in the rear of them all, having, through the declining of his family, the slenderness of his estate, and the parsimony of his nature, less interest in the country*. To yoke with him, there was a very honest man, who could not be reckoned among the gentry, though he were called by the name of Mr. Lomax; he was in the strength and perfection of his age, a stout and an understanding man, plain and blunt, but withal godly, faithful to his country, and honest to all men. There lived at Nottingham a man called Mr. Salusbury, who had very good abilities with his pen, upon which he was taken in to be their secretary, but he proved ambitious and froward, and being poor, when he was after made treasurer, fell into some temptation; but he carried at first a fair colour of religion and honesty. These were they whom Mr. Hutchinson was first mated with, whose characters it was necessary thus far to hint at, for the better carrying on of his story.

Sir John Digby, having notice that they had prevented him, by getting arms in their hands before, came not to Nottingham, where, now they had taken up the sword, it was not safe to lay it down again, and hold a naked throat to their enemy's whetted knives. Wherefore, upon the parliament's commission for settling the militia, sometime before, there having been three colonels nominated; viz. Sir Francis Thornhagh, Sir Francis Molineux, and Mr. Francis Pierrepont; they propounded to them to raise their regiments. Sir Francis Molineux altogether declined, Sir Francis Thornhagh appointed his son for his lieutenant-colonel, and he began to raise a regiment of horse, with whom many of the honest men, that first listed themselves with Mr. George Hutchinson, became troopers. Mr. John Hutchinson and his brother were persuaded to be lieutenant-colonel and major, to Col. Pierrepont's regiment of foot; and accordingly Mr. George Hutchinson had immediately a very good standing company of foot, formed out of those townsmen who first came in to list under him. Mr. John Hutchinson had a full company of very honest godly men, who came for love of him and the cause, out of the country. It was six weeks before the colonel would be persuaded to put on a sword, or to list any men, which at length he did, of substantial honest townsmen, and Mr. Poulton, a nephew of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, a stout young gentleman, who had seen some service abroad, was his captain-lieutenant: there were two companies more raised, one under Capt. Lomax, and another under one Capt. Scrimpshire. The first thing these gentlemen did, was to call Capt. White, with his dragoons, raised in Nottinghamshire, home to the service of his own country, for Sir John Gell, at Derby, had received from Hull a regiment of grey coats, who were at first sent down from London, for the assistance of that place, when the king attempted it. They also sent to the Earl of Essex, to desire that Capt. Ireton, with a troop of horse, which he had carried out of the country into his excellency's army, might be commanded back, for the present service of his country, till it were put into a posture of defence, which accordingly he was, and was major of the horse regiment. They sent also to the parliament, and received from them a commission, with instructions, whereby they were empowered to levy forces, and to raise contributions for the maintaining them, with all authority of seizing delinquents, sequestering, and the like. The committee appointed were the parliament men that served for the county, Mr. Francis Pierrepont, Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Francis Thornhagh, Mr. Gervas Pigott, Mr. Henry Ireton, Mr. George Hutchinson, Mr. Joseph Widmerpoole, Mr. Gervas Lomax, Dr. Plumptre, the mayor of Nottingham, Mr. James Chadwick, and Mr. Thomas Salusbury. Then did neighbouring counties every where associate, for the mutual assistance of each other; and the parliament commissioned major-generals, to command in chief, and give out commissions, to the several commanders of the regiments. Nottinghamshire was put into the association with Leicestershire and other counties, whereof Lord Grey of Grooby, eldest son to the Earl of Stamford, was commander-in-chief, and from him the gentlemen of Nottingham took their first commissions.

The high sheriff and the malignant gentry, finding an opposition they expected not, writ a letter to Mr. Francis Pierrepont, and Mr. John Hutchinson, excusing the sheriff's force, that he brought with him, and desiring a meeting with them, to consult for the peace of the country, security of their estates, and such-like fair pretences; which letter was civilly answered them again, and the treaty kept on foot some fourteen days, by letters signed by the Lord Chaworth, Sir Thomas Williamson, Mr. Sutton, Sir Gervas Eyre, Sir John Digby, Sir Roger Cooper, Mr. Palmer, Mr. John Millington: at length a meeting was appointed, at a village in the country, on the forest side, where Mr. Sutton should have met Mr. John Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson came to the place, but found not Mr. Sutton there, only the Lord Chaworth came in and called for sack, and treated Mr. Hutchinson very kindly; when Mr. Hutchinson, telling my lord he was come according to appointment, to conclude the treaty which had been between Nottingham and Newark, my lord told him, he knew nothing of it; whereupon, Mr. Hutchinson, being informed that some of my Lord Newcastle's forces were to be in that town that night, and that Mr. Sutton was gone to meet them, and conduct them into the country, returned to Nottingham, where he received a kind of lame excuse from Mr. Sutton for his disappointing of him, and for their bringing in strange soldiers into Newark, which they pretended was to save the town from the plunder of some Lincolnshire forces: but Mr. Hutchinson, seeing all their treaties were but a snare for him, would no longer amuse himself about them; but being certainly informed, that Henderson who commanded the soldiers at Newark, if he were not himself a papist, had many Irish papists in his troops, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, sent notice, to all the towns about Nottingham, desiring the well-affected to come in to their assistance, which the ministers pressing them to, upon Christmas day 1642, many came in to them, and stayed with them, till they had put themselves in some posture of defence.

* The pedigree of the family of Widmerpoole in Thoroton, shows him to have been of very ancient and good descent; his ancestor represented the town of Nottingham in the reign of Edward the Third.

As soon as these strange soldiers were come into Newark, they presently began to block up and fortify that town, as, on the other side, they at Nottingham began works about that town, but neither of them being yet strong enough to assault each other, contented themselves to stand upon their own defence. The Earl of Chesterfield had raised some horse for the king, and was in the vale of Belvoir with them, where he had plundered some houses near Mr. Hutchinson's; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson sent a troop of horse in the night, for they were not strong enough to march in the day, and fetch away his wife and children to Nottingham.

The preservation of this town was a special service to the parliament, being a considerable pass into the north, which, if the enemy had first possessed themselves of, the parliament had been cut off of all intercourse between the north and south, especially in the winter time, when the river Trent is not fordable, and only to be passed over by the bridges of Nottingham and Newark, and up higher at a place called Wilden Ferry, where the enemy also had a garrison*. The attempting to preserve this place, in the midst of so many potent enemies, was a work of no small difficulty, and nothing but an invincible courage, and a passionate zeal for the interest of God and his country, could have engaged Mr. Hutchinson, who did not, through youthful inconsideration and improvidence, want a foresight of those dangers and travails he then undertook: he knew well enough that the town was more than half disaffected to the parliament; that had they been all otherwise, they were not half enough to defend it against any unequal force; that they were far from the parliament and their armies, and could not expect any timely relief or assistance from them; that he himself was the forlorn hope of those who were engaged with him, and had then the best stake among them; that the gentlemen who were on horseback, when they could no longer defend their country, might at least save their lives, by a handsome retreat to the army; but he must stand victorious, or fall, tying himself to an indefensible town. Although his colonel might seem to be in the same hazard, yet he was wise enough to content himself with the name, and leave Mr. Hutchinson to act all things, the glory of which, if they succeeded, he hoped to assume; if they failed, he thought he had a retreat; but Mr. Hutchinson, though he knew all this, yet was he so well persuaded in his conscience, of the cause, and of God's calling him to undertake the defence of it, that he cast by all other considerations, and cheerfully resigned up his life, and all other particular interests, to God's dispose, though in all human probability, he was more like to lose than to save them.

He and his brother were so suddenly called in to this work, that they had not time beforehand to consult their father; but they sent to him to buy their armour and useful swords, which he did, giving them no discouragement, but promoting all their desires to the parliament very effectually†.

By reason of the coldness of the colonel, the affairs of the war at Nottingham went more tardily on than else they would have done; but the gentlemen there, thinking it would be easier to prevent Newark from being made a fortified garrison, than to take it when it was so, sent over to Lincoln and Derby, to propound the business to them. At length it was, about Candlemas, agreed and appointed that the forces of Nottingham and Derby should come on their side of the town, and those of Lincoln on the other. All the disaffected gentry of both those countries, were, at that time, gone into Newark, and one Ballard, a gentleman, who, decayed in his family, and owing his education to many of them, had been bred up in the wars abroad, was commander-in-chief for the parliament in Lincolnshire. Much ado had the gentlemen of that county to engage him in the design against Newark; but when he could not divert them, he was resolved to cast them away, rather than ruin his old benefactors. He had appointed the forces of Nottingham and Derby to come to a rendezvous within a mile of Newark upon Saturday, upon which day, all the persuasions the Lincolnshire gentlemen could use, could not prevail with him to march out, according to appointment; which those at Newark had notice of, and had prepared an ambuscade to have cut off all those forces if they had then come to the place; but by providence of an extraordinary stormy season, they marched not till the next day, and so were preserved from that danger, which no doubt was treacherously contrived. As soon as they came, who were about a thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, the Lincolnshire commanders informed ours of the sloth and untoward carriage of Ballard, and told them how, that day, he had played his ordnance, at a mile's distance from the town, and how, when the Newark horse came out to face them, upon the Beacon Hill, he would not suffer a man of the Lincolnshire troops to fall upon them, though the Lincoln horse were many more in number than they, and in all probability might have beaten them. The next day, notwithstanding Mr. Hutchinson went to him, to give him an account of the forces they had brought, and to receive orders, he could have none, but a careless answer to stand at such a side of the town and fall on as they saw occasion. Accordingly they did, and beat the enemy from their works, with the loss of only four or five men, and entrenched themselves; when, the night coming on upon them, they provided straw to have lodged in their trenches, all the night. On the other side of the town, Captain King of Lincolnshire had taken a street, cut up a chain, and placed a‡ drake in a house; whereupon the Newark gentlemen were almost resolved to yield up the town, and some of them began to fly out of it, but Ballard would not suffer the horse to pursue them, only one captain

* In the place of Wilden Ferry has been substituted in modern days a very beautiful bridge, called Cavendish Bridge, with a good and firm road of considerable length at each end to approach it: it is about midway on the high road between Loughborough and Derby. There is near to it a place called Sawley Ferry, little used, and hardly at all practicable in winter.

† The reader is desired to bear this in mind, as it tends much to invalidate the credibility of an assertion made by the stepmother of these gentlemen, which will be noticed in its proper place. It is said, in a note by Julius Hutchinson, Esq., that Sir Thomas Hutchinson bought his two sons armour, though he knew not of their accepting commissions against the king. What was the armour for? Was it to serve the king against the parliament?

‡ Drake, a piece of cannon so called.

went out without his leave and took fifty horses, and turned back Mr. Sutton and many others that were flying out of the town. At length, when he could no other way preserve his old patrons, but by betraying his friends, he ordered Captain King to retreat; whereupon the whole force of Newark fell upon the forces of Nottingham and Derby, in their trenches, where they fought very resolutely, till a Lincolnshire trooper came and bade them fly for their lives, for else they were all lost men. At this two hundred Lincolnshire men, whom Ballard, with much entreaty, had sent to relieve them, first ran away, and then Sir John Gell's grey coats made their retreat after them; Major Hutchinson and Capt. White, all this while, kept their trenches, and commanded their Nottingham men not to stir, who accordingly shot there, till all their powder was spent. The lieutenant-colonel in vain importuned Ballard to send them ammunition and relief, but could obtain neither, and so they were forced, unwillingly, to retreat, which they did in so good order, the men first, and then their captains, that they lost not a man in coming off. The town was sallying upon them, but they discharged a drake and beat them back. The next day all the captains importuned Ballard they might fall on again, but he would neither consent nor give any reason of his denial, so that the Nottingham forces returned with great dissatisfaction, though Ballard, to stop their mouths, gave them two pieces of ordnance.

It being necessary to carry on the main story, for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheels that moved within the great orb, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdom, while these affairs I relate were transacted at Nottingham. After the retreat from Brainford fight, a treaty was ineffectually carried on between the king and parliament from the 31st of January 1642, to the 17th of April 1643, after which my Lord of Essex marched to Reading, where the king had a garrison, and besieged it. The king's horse came to relieve it, and had an encounter with my lord's army, wherein many gentlemen of quality fell on the king's side, the king himself being in a place where he saw them. In a few days after, Reading was yielded upon composition to the Earl of Essex, whose soldiers having been promised their pay and a gratuity to spare the plunder of the town, fell into a mutiny upon the failing of the performance, and many of them disbanded. Among those who remained there was a great mortality, occasioned by the infected air in the town of Reading; insomuch that my lord was forced to return and quarter his sick and weak army about Kingston and those towns near London. And now were all the countries in England no longer idle spectators, but several stages, whereon the tragedy of the civil war was acted, except the eastern association, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his diligence, prevented the designs of the royal party, which were so successful the first year in all other places, that the parliament's condition appeared so desperate, as many of their members, of both houses, ran away to Oxford to the king, and others sat among them conspiring against them. One plot, conducted by Mr. Waller, and carried on among many disaffected persons, in the city, was near taking effect, to the utter subversion of the parliament and people; but that God, by his providence, brought it timely to light, and the authors were condemned, and some of them executed; but Waller, for being more a knave then the rest, and 'peaching his complices, was permitted to buy his life for ten thousand pounds. This summer all the west was reduced by the king, the Earl of Stamford yielding up Exeter, and Col. Fiennes Bristol. Sir William Waller had lost all his army, which had been victorious in many encounters. The king was master of all or most part of Wales, and the parliament had no army left in the field, so that had he taken the opportunity to have gone immediately to London, that summer, he had accomplished his design: but being denied the town of Gloucester, and taking it in disdain, that that town, in the heart of the land, should make a resistance when the greater cities were yielded to him, he stopped his course to take in that place, where he stayed to turn the tide of his good fortune, as his general my Lord of Newcastle did, at the siege of Hull*. My Lord Newcastle was general of the north, and master of all the strong places, to the very borders of Scotland, and formidable to all the neighbouring counties. Only the Lord Fairfax, with his son Sir Thomas, headed all the religious, honest Englishmen, they could raise, in those parts, and with a far inferior force, kept him in play, and in several skirmishes came off conquerors. But as the fortune of the parliament declined in other places, so those who had not principles strong enough to hold them fast to a just, though falling cause, sought early to secure their lives by treasons, which destroyed them. The Earl of Newcastle's army was judged to be about eight thousand, horse and foot, my Lord Fairfax had not above two thousand one hundred foot, and seven troops of horse. After this there was a great accession of strength to my Lord Newcastle, by the coming, first of the Lord Goring, with many old commanders; then of General King, with six thousand arms, from beyond the seas; then of the queen herself, who, in February 1642, landed near Sunderland, coming out of Holland, with large provisions of arms, ammunition, and commanders of note, with which she was convoyed, by the Earl of Newcastle, to York, and thither came to her the Earl of Montrose, out of Scotland, with a hundred and twenty horse: then Sir Hugh Cholmly, governor of Scarborough, revolted from the parliament, whereof he was a member, and came to the queen, with three hundred men. Browne Bushell also, who was left in charge with

* The impolicy of this measure is more fully noticed and explained, and the cause of it set down, by Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 260. "One or the like council in both quarters, north and west, blasted the prosperity in each place, for the king pitcht upon that fatal resolution, recommended to him by Lord Culpeper, of besieging Glocester, thinking it a good policy not to leave a strong town behind him: but the counsel proved fatal, for had the king at that time resolved in himself to have struck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to have joined with him; humanly speaking, he had raised such confusion among the two houses and the Londoners, that they had either sent him his own terms, or if they had fought him most probably he had been victorious. But the king fixes on Glocester and the Earl of Newcastle on Hull, upon the advice of his Lieut. General King, who was suspected."

n, yielded it up. Then had the queen's
s wrought so upon the two Hothams, that
reason was not altogether undiscerned;
lord Fairfax, having only strong presump-
ıd no power to secure them, while they
strong town of Hull in their hands, it
he could do to be vigilant and silent, till
ould give opportunity to secure that great

My Lord of Newcastle had given the
in the north commissions to arm in the
efence*, and now the queen was prepar-
arch up, with the assistance she had got-
the king. Those countries through which
to pass, could not but be sensible of their
especially the gentlemen at Nottingham,
re but a few young men, environed with
ns of the enemy, and scarcely firm among
ves, and hopeless of relief from above,
the parliament, struggling for life, had not
to bind up a cut finger. But God was
m in these difficulties, and gave an unex-
ssue.

Earl of Kingston a few months stood neuter,
ld not declare himself of either party, and
man of great wealth and dependencies,
eople hung in suspense by his example;
pon the gentlemen of Nottingham often
his son to persuade his father to declare
; but he told them he knew his father's
ns were firm to the parliament, that he had
ged him to join with them, and promised
ney to carry it on, and such-like things,
e continually assured them, till the colonel's
haviour, and some other passages, made
t length, those at least who were firm to
se, jealous both of the father and the son.
on when the danger grew more imminent,
r lord lay out a brave prey to the enemy,
nt captain Lomax, one of the committee, to
and his affections from himself, and to press
declare for the parliament, in that so need-
son. My lord professing himself to him
desirous of peace, and fully resolved not to
either side, made a serious imprecation on
in these words: "When," said he, "I
ms with the king against the parliament,
the parliament against the king, let a
bullet divide me between them;" which
s pleased to bring to pass a few months
for he, going into Gainsborough, and there
up arms for the king, was surprised by my
illoughby, and, after a handsome defence
self, yielded, and was put prisoner into a
, and sent down the river to Hull, when
d Newcastle's army marching along the
shot at the pinnace, and being in danger,
l of Kingston went up upon the decks to
imself, and to prevail with them to forbear
g†, but as soon as he appeared, a cannon
bullet flew from the king's army and divided him in the middle, being then in the parliament's pinnace, who perished, according to his own unhappy imprecation. His declaring himself for the king, as it enforced the royal, so it weakened the other party.

Sir Richard Biron was come to be governor of Newark. A house of my lord Chaworth's in the vale was fortified, and some horse put into it, and another house of the Earl of Chesterfield's, both of them within a few miles of Nottingham‡. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, within eight miles of Nottingham, on the other side, was kept by Mr. Hastings. On the forest side of the country, the Earl of Newcastle's house had a garrison in it, and another castle of his, within a mile, was garrisoned. Sir Roger Cooper's house at Thurgaton, was also kept; so that Nottingham, thus beleaguered with enemies, seemed very unlikely to be able either to resist the enemy, or support itself§. Therefore the gentlemen, upon the news of my Lord Newcastle's intended approach that way, sent up Mr. John Hutchinson to acquaint the parliament with their condition, who so negociated their business that he procured an order for Col. Cromwell, Col. Hubbard, my Lord Grey, and Sir John Gell, to unite their forces, and rendezvous at Nottingham, to prevent the queen from joining with the king, and to guard those parts against the cavaliers. Accordingly in the Whitsun holidays, 1643, they all came, and the younger Hotham also brought some more rude troops out of Yorkshire, and joined himself to them. The forces now united at Nottingham were about five or six thousand, my lord Grey being their commander-in-chief. Upon the urgency of the gentlemen at Nottingham, he drew them out against Wiverton-house in the vale, but upon a groundless apprehension quitted it, when they might in all probability have taken it, and retreated to Nottingham, where, two or three days after, the enemy's horse faced them, but they would not be prevailed with to go out, though they were not inferior to them. Young Hotham, at that time, carried on a private treaty with the queen, and every day received and sent trumpets, of which he would give no account. Then was Nottingham more sadly distrest by their friends than by their enemies; for Hotham's and Gell's men not only lay upon free quarter, as all the rest did, but made such havoc and plunder of friend and foe, that it was a sad thing for any one that had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offered Hotham to assign him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a great deal of wicked wit, and would make sport with the miseries of the poor country, and, having treason in his heart, licensed his soldiers, which were the scum of mankind, to all villanies in the country that might make their party odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vexed to see the country wasted, and that little part of it which they could only hope to have contribution

king pretended never to do this himself: but the Newcastle did it, as most people would in his place, wed it as became him. Sir Philip Warwick recites ism of his on the occasion of his going to see him ge of Hull, where his men being very badly en-l, he said to Sir Philip, who remarked it, "You often called the Popish Army, but you see we t in our *good works*."

is a most singular story, and no doubt peculiarly g to a fatalist to recite; it is however assuredly ng mentioned by several historians, with only the difference of his being said to be under, instead of on, the deck; the latter of which is far the most probable.

‡ Wiverton-house and Shelford manor.

§ In a letter to the king, the queen writes from Newark that "all the force the parliament had in those parts was only one thousand men in Nottingham."

from, eaten up by a company of men who, instead of relieving them, devoured them; and Hotham's soldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restrain his soldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, "he fought for liberty and expected it in all things." Replies followed, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himself grieved, to complain to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concerned, and this being in the open field, Col. Cromwell, who had likewise had great provocations from him, began to show himself affected with the country's injuries, and the idle waste of such a considerable force, through the inexperience of the chief commander, and the disobedience and irregularities of the others; so they, at that time, being equally zealous for the public service, advised together to seek a remedy, and dispatched away a post to London, who had no greater joy in the world than such employments as tended to the displacing of great persons, whether they deserved it or not; him they sent away immediately from the place to inform the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumptions they had of his treachery, and the ill management of their forces. This they two did, without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders, some of which were little less suspected themselves, and others, as my Lord Grey, through credulous good nature, too great a favourer of Hotham. The messenger was very diligent in his charge, and returned as soon as it was possible with a commitment of Hotham, who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham-castle, and Sir John Meldrum was sent down to be commander-in-chief of all those united forces. When they marched away, a troop of my Lord Grey's having the charge of guarding Hotham, towards London, suffered him to escape, and thereby put the town of Hull into a great hazard; but that the father and son were there unexpectedly surprised, sent up prisoners to London, and after some time executed. Those who knew the opinion Cromwell afterwards had of Mr. Hutchinson, believed he registered this business in his mind as long as he lived, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment, when he deserved it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he always used to profess the most hearty affections to him, and the greatest delight in his plainness and open-heartedness that was imaginable *

As soon as Sir John Meldrum came down to his charge at Nottingham, the queen's forces came and faced the town, whereupon the cannon discharging upon them, the Duke of Vendome's son and some few others were slain. The parliament horse drew out of Nottingham to receive the queen's, but they came not on, after this execution of the cannon, for in the mean time the queen was passing by, and although the parliament horse pursued them, yet would not they engage, for it was not their business; so when they saw they had lost their design, the horse returned again to Nottingham, where the foot had stayed all the while they were out. When the Earl of Kingston declared himself for the king he raised what forces he could and went into Gainsborough, a town in Lincolnshire, situate upon the river of Trent. There, before he was fortified, my Lord Willoughby, of Parham, surprised the town and all his soldiers, who disputed it as long as they could, but being conquered, were forced to yield, and the earl himself retreated into the strongest house, which he kept till it was all on flame round him, and then giving himself up only to my Lord Willoughby he was immediately sent prisoner to Hull, and shot according to his own imprecation. Immediately part of my Lord Newcastle's army, with all that Newark could make, besieged my Lord Willoughby in Gainsborough, and General Essex sent a command to Sir John Meldrum to draw all the horse and foot he could out of Nottingham, to relieve my lord, leaving only a garrison in the castle of Nottingham. Sir John Meldrum called the committee of Nottingham together, to consult what was to be done for the settlement of the place, which upon deliberation he had judged not fit to leave in the hands it was, nor in Col. Pierrepont's, who, with some appearance, lay under suspicion at that time; and therefore conceiving Mr. Hutchinson the most able to manage, and the most responsible for it, both Sir John and the whole committee ordered him to take the castle into his charge, which, though there were many causes why he should decline, yet believing that God hereby called him to the defence of his country, and would protect him in all the dangers and difficulties he led him into, he accepted it, and the 29th June, 1643, received an order for that government from Sir John Meldrum and the whole committee; whereunto Col. Pierrepont subscribed, though with a secret discontent in his heart, not for any ill-opinion or ill affection he had to Mr. Hutchinson's person, but for that he

* Those who consider and represent Cromwell as a prodigy not only of treachery, design, ambition and artifice, but likewise of sagacity and foreknowledge, will deem this a proof of his having thus early conceived his scheme of aggrandisement; but to those who are better satisfied with the probable than the marvellous, it will seem to prove no such thing: they must well know that if he had so soon any great views, they must have been very distant and indistinct; they will find here only the first of a long series of instances, wherein will be seen the quick and clear discernment, the strong and well-poised judgment, the promptitude and firmness of decision, which enabled him to seize and convert to his advantage every opportunity that presented itself, and even the actions, thoughts, and inclinations, of other men; and they will see united to these such a command over his own thoughts and passions as permitted exactly so much, and no more of them than was convenient, to appear; these qualities, though less astonishing than the prescience and almost the power of creating events, which is attributed to him, would and did equally well answer the purpose of his progression; which he effected in such a manner as to fill with the greatest propriety all the intermediate situations through which he passed, to take as it were a firm footing at each gradation, and to arrive at the pinnacle of power without having once run any considerable risk of an overthrow in his career. Such rational observers will likewise see here, what will in the sequel still more strikingly appear, that if he must be called a traitor, he was not of that paltry treachery which sacrifices a man's party to self; he was steadily bent on procuring the triumph of his own party over their opponents, but too covetous of commanding his party himself. It may be thought there wanted but little, perhaps only the survivance of Ireton, to have made Cromwell intrinsically as well as splendidly great.

resented it as a great affront that himself was passed by. It is true that this discontent produced some envious and malicious practices secretly in him against Mr. Hutchinson, who in the end overcame him with so many good offices in requital of his bad ones, that he lived and died full of love and acknowledgment of kindness to him.

The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification, but the buildings were very ruinous and unhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the town, upon such an eminence as commands the chief streets of the town. There had been enlargements made to this castle after the first building of it. There was a strong tower which they called the old tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queen Isabell, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surprised with her paramour Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ran a little rivulet, called the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was called Mortimer's Well, and the cavern Mortimer's Hole: the ascent to the top is very high, and not without some wonder. At the top of all the rock there is a spring of water; in the midway to the top of this tower there is a little piece of the rock on which a dove-cot had been built, but the governor took down the roof of it, and made it a platform for two or three pieces of ordnance, which commanded some streets and all the meadows better than the higher tower; under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle, where there had been several towers and many noble rooms, but the most of them were down; the yard of that was pretty large, and without the gate there was a very large yard that had been walled, but the walls were all down, only it was situated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty height above the streets; and there were the ruins of an old pair of gates, with turrets on each side.

Before the castle the town was on one side of a close, which commanded the fields approaching the town; which close the governor afterwards made a platform; behind it was a place called the park, that belonged to the castle, but then had neither deer nor trees in it, except one, growing under the castle, which was almost a prodigy, for from the root to the top, there was not one straight twig or branch of it; some said it was planted by King Richard the Third, and resembled him that set it. On the other side the castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flat meadows, bounded by the river of Trent. In the whole rock there were many large caverns, where a great magazine and many hundred soldiers might have been disposed, if they had been cleansed and prepared for it, and might have been kept secure from any danger of firing the magazines by any mortar-pieces shot against the castle. In one of these places, it is reported, that one David, a Scotch king, was kept in cruel durance, and with his nails had scratched on the wall the story of Christ and his twelve apostles. The castle was not flanked, and there were no works about it, when Mr. Hutchinson undertook it, but only a little breastwork, before the outmost gate. It was as ill provided, as fortified, there being but ten barrels of powder, eleven hundred and fifty pounds of butter, and as much cheese, eleven quarters of bread-corn, seven beeves, two hundred and fourteen flitches of bacon, five hundred and sixty fishes, and fifteen hogsheads of beer. As soon as the governor received his charge, he made proclamation in the town, that whatsoever honest persons desired to secure themselves or their goods in the castle should have reception there if they would repair their quarters, which divers well-affected men accepting, it was presently made capable of receiving four hundred men commodiously.

In the beginning of July 1643, Sir John Meldrum, with all the force that quartered in Nottingham, marched forth to the relief of Gainsborough, leaving the town to be guarded by few more than the very townsmen. There had been large works made about it, which would have required at least three thousand men to man them and defend them well, and upon these works there were about fourteen guns, which the governor, when the forces were marching away, before they went, drew up to the castle; whereupon the townsmen, especially those that were ill-affected to the parliament, made a great mutiny, threatening they would pull the castle down, but they would have their ordnance again upon their works, and wishing it on fire and not one stone upon another. Hereupon the governor sent Alderman Drury, with fourteen more, that were heads of this mutiny, prisoners to Derby, whither Major Ireton convoyed them with his troop. The reasons which made the governor carry the ordnance from the town-works up into the castle were, 1st, That the town being so ill-affected, the ordnance remaining in it would but be an invitation to the enemy to come to take them away, and a booty for them if they should. 2dly, He had often visited the guards, and found them exposed much by their carelessness, wherefore he thought it his duty to preserve them by soldiers more under his command. 3dly, Intelligence was brought to the committee by a friend, then with the Earl of Newcastle, that Mr. Francis Pierrepont kept intelligence with his mother the Countess of Kingston, carrying on a design for betraying of the town to the earl, and that letters were carried between them by a woman, who often came to town to the colonel, and that two aldermen and a chief officer, employed about the ordnance, were confederates in the plot: whereupon a suspected cannoneer was secured, who, as soon as he obtained his liberty, ran away to Newark. 4thly, When the town was full of troops, there had been several attempts to poison and betray them, which if it should again be attempted, after the most of the forces were gone, might prove effectual. 5thly, The main reason was, that if the town should be surprised or betrayed (which was then most to be feared), the ordnance would be useless; if any considerable force came against the town, it was impossible then to keep the works against them with so few men, and it would be difficult, at such a time, to draw off the artillery; if any force they were able to deal with came, it would then be time enough, after the alarum was given, to draw them to the works, unless they were surprised.

It was not only the town malignants that murmured at the drawing up of the ordnance, but Dr. Plumptre, hearing that the forces were to

march away, was raging at it; whereupon being answered, that it was for the more public interest of the cause, in great passion he replied, "What is the cause to me, if my goods be lost!" The governor told him, he might prevent that hazard and secure them in the castle. He replied, "It pitied him to soil them, and he had rather the enemy had them, than they should be spoiled in removing." While this was boiling upon his spirit, he met the governor, with some other gentlemen in the street, and began to rail at him for countenancing the godly townsmen, whom he called a company of puritanical prick-eared rascals; and said, the worst of the malignants the governor had sent out of the town were honester men than the best of those he favoured, and in spite of his teeth he would have three of the most eminent of them turned out of the castle: the governor telling him he would maintain them as the most faithful friends to the cause, Plumptre replied he was as honest to the cause as the governor. "No," said the governor (who was not ignorant of his atheism), "that you cannot be, for you go not upon the same principles." The doctor told him, it was false, with such uncivil insolence, that the governor struck him, at which he departed quietly home; and after two or three days, retired with his wife and children to the house of Mr. Parkyns of Bunney, who was at that time in arms against the parliament, where he stayed till the parliament forces were routed, and Nottingham castle summoned and preparing for a siege; and then he sent a ridiculous challenge to the governor, with all the foolish circumstances imaginable, which the governor, at that present, only answered with contempt. The pretence he made was a distress, wherein the committee had employed some of the governor's soldiers for the levying an assessment which his brother would not pay, and this distress he called the governor's affront to his family. Though these passages may seem too impertinent here, yet they having been grounds and beginnings of injurious prosecutions, wherewith the governor was after much exercised, it was not altogether unnecessary to insert them, since even these little things were links in the chain of providences which measured out his life.

All the horse that had been raised in Nottinghamshire marched away with Sir John Meldrum, which were Col. Thornhagh, Major Ireton, Capt. White, and Capt. Farmer's troops; who, together with Capt. Lomax and Capt. Scrimpshire's foot companies, joining with Col. Cromwell's men, marched to Gainsborough, and engaged those that besieged it, and were victorious, killing their general, Sir Charles Cavendish, with many more commanders, and some hundreds of soldiers; and this was opportunely done, while my Lord Newcastle was hastening to come over the water and join with them, who, by a bridge of boats, passed all his army over, and came near Gainsborough, just in a season to behold the rout of all his men. The parliament's forces expected he would have fallen upon them, and drew up in a body and faced him, but he advanced not, so they contented themselves to relieve Gainsborough, and made a very honourable retreat to Lincoln; but Gainsborough not being fortified nor provided, this relief did not much advantage them, for my Lord Newcastle again besieged it, which was rendered to him after eight days, upon honourable conditions for the defendants,—though they were not performed by the besiegers, for all my Lord Willoughby's men were disarmed contrary to articles *, and with them, some of the Nottingham soldiers, that had gone into the town to refresh themselves, and so were shut up with them, when my lord laid siege to it; the rest had gone to Lincoln. They had behaved themselves very well in the fight, where Capt. White received a wound in his hand in the forlorn hope; Col. Thornhagh, who had fought very gallantly, was taken prisoner, and after he was stripped of his arms and coat, a major of the enemy's, whom the colonel had slightly wounded in the fervour of the fight, came and basely wounded the colonel, being disarmed, so that he left him for dead; but by the good providence of God, that wound which the enemy intended to give him death, gave him liberty; for coming to himself a little after his hurt, he crept to one of his own tenant's houses, and there had his wounds bound up, and found means to get to Lincoln, from whence all the forces that went from Nottingham dispersed into different services. Major Ireton quite left Col. Thornhagh's regiment, and began an inseparable league with Col. Cromwell, whose son-in-law he after was. None of them could return to Nottingham, by reason of my Lord Newcastle's army, which lay between them and home.

And now it was time for them at Nottingham to expect my Lord Newcastle, which the governor made provision for with all the diligence that it was possible, under so many difficulties and obstacles, which would to any one else have been discouragements; but he had so high a resolution, that nothing conquered it. The townsmen, through discontent at the drawing out of the forces, whereby their houses, families, and estates were exposed, began to envy, then to hate the castle, as grieved that anything should be preserved when all could not; and indeed those who were more concerned in private interests than in the cause itself had some reason, because the neighbourhood of the castle, when it was too weak to defend them, would endanger them. In this hate and discontent, all the soldiers being townsmen, except some of the governor's own company, they resolved they would not go into the castle, to behold the ruin of their houses; little considering that when the governor came first into Nottingham to defend them, at their earnest desire, he left a house and a considerable estate to the mercy of the enemy, rather desiring to advance the cause than to secure his own stake; but their mean and half-affected hearts were not capable of such things. The governor perceiving this defection, set some of the most zealous honest men to find out how many there were in the town who, neglecting all private interests, would cheerfully and freely come in and venture all with him, intending, if he could not have found enough to defend the place, that he would have sent to other neighbouring garrisons to have borrowed some. Upon this inquiry, it was found that many of Col. Pierrepont's own company were desirous to come in, but first wished to know their colonel's resolution, how he would dispose of them; whereupon a Hall was called, and the danger of the place

* Particularly noticed by Whitelock.

declared to the whole town, that they might have time to provide for their goods and persons before the enemy came upon them. The colonel being present, his company asked him what he would advise them to do; to whom his answer was, "You have but three ways to choose, either leave the town and secure yourselves in some other parliament garrisons, or list into the castle*, or stand on the works and have your throats cut." Two or three days after this he went to his mother's, and carried his children, with part of his goods, and sent his wife to Sir Gervas Clifton's house. Notwithstanding this public resolution in the Hall to his company, he told them and many others in private, that he preferred the interest of the town above that of his life, and would expose his life for the good of it, and stand on the works of the town as long as they could be defended, and when they could no longer be kept, would retire to some other parliament garrison. Others he told, he scorned his colours should serve in the castle; that if his company went up thither, he would get him a new one, which should follow him wherever he went, and many more such things in private; but openly, both to the governor and others, approved and encouraged their going into the castle. According to his advice, the townsmen, as they were diversely affected, disposed of themselves; the malignants all laid down their arms and stayed in the town; some honest and well-affected, but not bold enough to stand the hazard, went to other parliament garrisons and served there; others secured themselves, their goods, and families, in the country; some listed into the castle; one Alderman Nix, captain of two hundred, gave up his commission, his men all disbanded, except about forty, who came into the castle and filled up the broken companies there. At length, out of all the four companies and the whole town, about three hundred men listed into the castle.

The governor had procured forty barrels of powder, and two thousand weight of match from London, and had increased the store of provision, as much as the present poverty of their condition would permit him. Then the committee of Nottingham, so many of them as were remaining in the town, and all the ministers of the parliament's party there, came up to the castle, and, with the officers of the garrison, eat at the governor's, to very great charge, considering that he was so far from receiving pay at that time, that all the money he could procure of his own credit, or take up with others, he was forced to dispend for the several necessities of the soldiers and garrison; yet were the soldiers then, and a long time after, kept together as long as they could live, without any pay, and after paid part in victuals, and the rest run on in arrears †.

* The particular account which has before been spoken of has in this place a little difference of expression, which yet perhaps signifies much. There Col. Pierrepont says, "List into the castle with *John*, for so in a jesting way he used to call Col. Hutchinson," alluding no doubt to his frank and downright mode of speaking and acting.

† In all the histories of those times we read so much of the soldiers' complaints for want of pay, and so much of auditing their officers' accounts, as, being no way reconcileable to modern practice, makes one suppose the officers fraudulent, the soldiers mutinous; but this opinion will be corrected by observing what is here recited. Hence we shall likewise conceive a high idea of the virtue of those men, who started forth out of every rank of life to devote themselves to the service of God and their country, and persevered through such privations and difficulties; and consider their interference in the settling the constitution of their country, for which they had fought, in a far different light from the tumult and mutiny of mercenary soldiers.

The townsmen who came into the castle disposed their families into several villages in the country; and at length a trumpet was sent, for a safe-conduct for a gentleman from my Lord Newcastle, and, having it, Major Cartwright came from him with a summons for the delivery of the town and castle, to which the committee for the town, and the governor for the castle, returned a civil defiance in writing, about the tenth day of August. Cartwright having received it, and being treated with wine by the governor and the rest of the officers, grew bold in the exercise of an abusive wit he had, and told both Mr. Hutchinsons they were sprightly young men, but when my lord should come with his army, he should find them in other terms, beseeching my lord to spare them as misled young men, and suffer them to march away with a cudgel; and "then," said he, "shall I stand behind my lord's chair and laugh." At which the governor being angry, told him he was much mistaken, for he scorned ever to yield on any terms to a papistical army, led by an atheistical general ‡. Mr. George Hutchinson told him, "If my lord would have that poor castle, he must wade to it in blood." Which words, they say, he told his general. After these summonses were received, the governor drew all his soldiers into the castle, and committed the guard of the town to the aldermen, who were to set guards of fifty in a night, according to their wards. Then calling together his soldiers, he once again represented to them their condition, and told them, that being religious and honest men, he could be assured no extremity would make them fail in what they found themselves strong enough to undertake, and therefore he should not fear to let them freely understand their danger, which yet they had power to shun, and therefore whatever misery might be the issue of their undertaking, they could not justly impute it to him, it being their own election; for after this summons they must expect the enemy, and to be reduced to the utmost extremity by them that thought could reach: it must not move them to see their houses flaming, and, if need were, themselves firing of them, for the public advantage; to see the pieces of their families cruelly abused and consumed before them; they must resolve upon hard duty, fierce assaults, poor and sparing diet, perhaps famine, and want of all comfortable accommodations; nor was there very apparent hope of relief at last, but more than common hazard of losing their lives, either in defence of their fort, or with the place; which,

‡ Charles the First, when accused of retaining papists, denied having any in his army, and tried to have it believed that those which the Earl of Newcastle had enlisted were unknown to him, although there is ample proof that it was done by his order: that nobleman acted in a much more ingenuous manner, and, as is before related in a quotation from Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, turned the imputation into a jest; probably his indifference about the religion of his soldiers caused the epithet *of atheistical* to be applied to him, certainly without sufficient reason.

for want of good fortifications, and through disadvantage of a neighbouring mount and building, was not, in human probability, tenable against such an army as threatened it: all which, for his own part, he was resolved on, and if any of them found his courage failing, he only desired they would provide for their safety in time elsewhere, and not prejudice him and the public interest so highly as they would do to take upon them the defence of the castle, except they could be content to lay down their lives and all their interests in it. The soldiers were none of them terrified at the dangers which threatened their undertaking; but at the latter end of August took, upon the solemn fast day, the national covenant, and besides it, a particular mutual covenant between them and the governor, to be faithful to each other, and to hold out the place to the death, without entertaining any parley, or accepting any terms from the enemy: and this the governor was forced to do to confirm them, for he had his exercise, not only by the ungodly and ill-affected, but even the godly themselves, who thought it scarce possible for any one to continue a gentleman and firm to a godly interest, and therefore repaid all his vigilance and labours for them with a very unjust jealousy*. The governor of Newark was his cousin-german, to whom he was forced, against his nature, to be more uncivil thar to any other that were governors in that place. Whether it were that the dissension of brethren is always most spitefully pursued, or that Sir Richard Biron, as it was reported, suffered under the same suspicions on his side, it is true they were to each other the most uncivil enemies that can be imagined. After this summons, my Lord Newcastle came not, according to their bravadoes, but diverted his army to Hull, to besiege my Lord Fairfax there; they of Newark having gotten him to send this summons upon confidence, knowing the condition of the place, that it would have been yielded to a piece of paper. The governor immediately set upon the fortification of his castle, made a work behind it, another to the Line side, turned the Dove-cote into a platform, and made a court of guard in Mortimer's Hole.

At this time Sir Thomas Hutchinson died at London†, and gave all his personal estate, and all that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and her children; at which his two sons had not the least repining thought, but out of tender love were very much afflicted for his loss, and procured a pass from Newark for Mr. George Hutchinson to go to London, to visit his mother and fetch mournings, which accordingly he did; and upon a letter the committee sent up by him, brought down an order of parliament to allow a table to the governor and committee, whom Mr. Hutchinson had till that time entertained at his own cost, with all the officers of the garrison and the ministers, which were no small charge to him, who had a noble heart, and could not basely evade the expense which that place necessarily drew upon him, not only by the constant entertainment of the committee, officers, and ministers, and all parliament officers, that came and went through the garrison, but by the relieving of the poor soldiers, who had such short pay that they were, for the most part, thirty weeks and more behind; and when they marched out at any time, the governor would not suffer them to take a cup of drink, unpaid for, in the country, but always, wherever they took any refreshment in their marches, paid it himself. He besides gave them much from his own house, especially when any of them were sick or wounded, and lent moneys to those that were most necessitous. All this run him into a great private debt, besides many thousands of pounds which he engaged himself in with other gentlemen, taken up for the supply of the garrison and carrying on of the public service. Although the allowance of his table was much envied by those mean fellows that never knew what the expense of a table was, and although it was to him some ease, yet did it not defray the third part of his expense in the service, being but ten pounds a-week allowed by the state, and his expenses all that time, only in the public service, and not at all in any particular of his own family, being, as it was kept upon account, above fifteen hundred pounds a-year. As soon as his father was dead, and rents became due to him, the enemies, in the midst of whom his estate lay, fetched in his tenants and imprisoned them, and took his rents; his estate was begged, and promised by the king; those who lived not upon the place, flung up his grounds, and they lay unoccupied while the enemy prevailed in the country. He was not so cruel as others were to their tenants, who made them pay over again those rents which the enemy forced them to redeem themselves out of prison withal, but lost the most part of his rents all the while the country was under the adverse power; he had some small stock of his own plundered, and his house, by the perpetual haunting of the enemy, defaced, and for want of inhabitation rendered almost uninhabitable. For these things he had some subscriptions‡, but never received any penny recompense, and his arrears of pay, which he received after all the war was done, did not half pay the debts those services contracted. But

* It passes for a saying of Charles the Second, that the presbyterian might be a very good religion, but it was not the religion of a gentleman; these good folks seem to have been of the same mind.

† August 18, 1643, as appeared by his tombstone, under the communion-table in St. Paul's Covent Garden, London, and that he was 55 when he died.—J. H.

A marginal note written by Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the editor.

‡ By subscriptions is here meant acknowledgments or certificates given by the committees, which parliament professed to make good, but many times did not. But Col. Hutchinson's disinterestedness and devotion to the cause did not suffice to exempt him from calumny, for see Walker's History of Independency, p. 166, et seq. a list is given of members of parliament who were unduly returned, who held commands contrary to the self-denying ordinance, or had moneys or offices given them. And Col. Hutchinson is accused of all *three*,—how absurdly and unjustly every one must perceive. He was regularly elected to parliament in place of his father deceased; he had a regiment which he raised, and, in a great degree, subsisted himself; he had a government, which, at the time of his undertaking it, was a charge others feared to accept, and which for a long time was a loss and a detriment to him, and at the end of all he fell far short of receiving as much as he had expended. In the same place Mr. William Pierrepont is most invidiously accused of getting 40,000*l.*—*but how? it was the personal estate of his own father!*

undertook this engagement, it was for
se of his country's and God's cause, and
l himself, and all he had, a willing sacri-
ie service ; and rather praised God for
saved than repined at what was spent,
above his expectation, that deliverance
d gave him out of his enemies' hands.
t have made many advantages by the
is enemies, which was often brought in,
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verywhere else, but his heart abhorred
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t ever grieved his heart to see the spoil
ghbours, how justly soever they deserved
e chose all loss, rather than to make up
by violence and rapine. If, in a judicial
rere forced at any time, in discharge of
, to sign any harsh orders against any
ntlemen of the country, it was with grief
should deserve that severity; but this
' is a truth of him, that in his whole
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glory, under a public vizard, but was
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thority swayed, with many, more than
eater names of the country. But he at
i having divided, all things considered,
between the children of his two wives,
; be true the latter deserved more than
, yet it is as true the first deserved not
much lessened as they were : and Mr.
on having been known to be the most
l obedient son, from his childhood, that
father was blest in, when it came to be
nat his father had given away all that
is power to give from him, those that
eat reverence and esteem for Sir Thomas
t believe him so defective in justice, to
ithout some secret cause ; and therefore
ven out that he was displeased with his
gement, and for that cause disposed
nuch of his estate from them. But that
so ; indeed at the time of his death
ament's interest was so low that he
ll look upon them as lost persons, and
ie gave away to the unengaged infant he

himself up, make himself whole, reimburse

might well look upon as all that could be preserved. Mr. Hutchinson had only an allowance from his father, while he lived, which was duly paid him ; but as soon as he died, all his estate was seized by the enemy ; who had so much desire not to injure publicly a person so popular, that they disturbed not Sir Thomas's tenants while he lived, though he continued with the parliament, and faithful to their interest, because he was moderate, and one that applied all his endeavours to peace, which he did not out of policy, but out of conscience to his country, and a wise foresight of the sad consequences of a conquest by either side ; for he hath often expressed, that accommodation was far more desirable than war, and he dreaded that the spirits of those men would become most insolent after conquest, who were so violently bent to prosecute a war ; that some of them, whom we have since known to be vile apostates, then professed they abhorred accommodation. This report of Sir Thomas's dislike of his son's engagement was raised and dispersed by those who themselves were ill-affected to it ; but, however, it abated all the respects men had for him upon any account but his own. Those who had entertained a secret envy of him, now feared not to manifest it, and began to work secret mines, to blow him up on all sides ; but God was with him, and disappointed all his enemies, and made his virtues more illustrious by the oppositions they encountered with, and the removal of all those props of wealth and power which are necessary to hold up weaker fabrics *.

Soon after the death of his father, one Mr.

* Here is in the original a marginal note in the following words:—" The division of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's estate. Sir Thomas Hutchinson being mightily beloved in the country, and a moderate man, using all his endeavours for peace, his estate was never plundered in his lifetime ; and though it is here falsely insinuated that he approved of his son's conduct in taking arms against the king, it is most true that he was extremely afflicted at it, being altogether for peace, and condemned such rash counsels as arms on both sides ; and the miseries he saw his king and country involved in were certainly the occasion of his death : and though Sir T. Hutchinson sat longer in the house than many honest men, it was only in hopes by his moderate counsels to effect a happy peace between his king and country. All this I have heard attested by his lady and relict, my grandmother. Teste J. Hutchinson." This is that testimony of Lady Katharine Hutchinson which was spoken of in the preface, and which, in attempting to impeach the veracity of the author in a single point, contributes largely to corroborate it in all. In the very instance before us there seems much more reason for the opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson than of Lady Katharine : Sir Thomas Hutchinson had before been imprisoned for his opposition to the court ; was in this parliament on all committees for the reform of religion ; sat with the parliament after the war was deeply engaged ; sent his sons arms, and promoted their desires to the parliament : it is incredible that he should have any great objection to the part they took, other than the general one of regretting that arms were taken on either side. The most probable thing is, that this lady, being of the same party and opinion as her brother and family, and jealous of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's children by his former wife, influenced him to their disadvantage in the making of his will, and set up these reasons to countenance it after his death. The other estates of Sir Thomas Hutchinson in Notts were fully equal, if not superior, in value to that of Owthorpe. This being the only instance wherein the truth of the narrative is called in question, and this cer

Ayscough, a gentleman of the country, allied to Sir Richard, since Lord Biron, then governor of Newark, came to the governor of Nottingham, and told him that Sir Richard Biron, out of that tender natural affection which he ever had for him, and still preserved, desired him now to consider his wife and children, and the loss of his whole estate, which was so inevitable, if he persisted in the engagement he was in; that some had already been suing to the Earl of Newcastle for it; but if he would return to his obedience to the king, he might not only preserve his estate, but have what reward he pleased to propound for so doing: to which, the governor telling him this was a thing he ought to scorn, Mr. Ayscough told him that Sir Richard had, only out of love and tender compassion to him, given him this employment, with many protestations how much Sir Richard desired to employ all his interest to save him, if it were possible, and therefore begged of him that if he would still persist in this party, that he would yet quit himself of this garrison, and go into my Lord of Essex's army; for there, he said, Sir Richard would find pretence to save his rents for him for the present, and his estate for the future; for, said he, he can plead, "you were an inconsiderate young man, rashly engaged, and dares assure himself to beg your pardon; but to keep a castle against your king is a rebellion of so high a nature, that there will be no colour left to ask favour for you." The governor told him he should deliver the same propositions, and receive his answer, before some witnesses; whereupon he carried the gentlemen to two of the committee, before whom he repeated his message, and the governor bade him return Sir Richard answer, "That except he found his own heart prone to such treachery, he might consider there was, if nothing else, so much of a Biron's blood in him, that he should very much scorn to betray or quit a trust he had undertaken; but the grounds he went on were such, that he very much despised such a thought as to sell his faith for base rewards or fears, and therefore could not consider the loss of his estate, which his wife was as willing to part with as himself, in this cause, wherein he was resolved to persist, in the same place in which it had pleased God to call him* to the defence of it."

About this time a woman was taken, whereof the committee had before been informed that she carried intelligence between Col. Pierrepont and his mother, the Countess of Kingston. The woman was now going through Nottingham, with letters from the old countess to her daughter-in-law, the colonel's wife, who was then at Clifton; Sir Gervas Clifton's house. In this packet there was a letter drawn, which the countess advised her daughter to sign, to be sent to Col. Stanton, one of the king's colonels, to entreat back from him some goods of her husband's which he had plundered; wherein there were these expressions: "That though her husband was unfortunately engaged in the unhappy rebellion, she hoped ere long he would approve himself a loyal subject to his Majesty." The committee having read these letters, sealed them up again, and enclosed them in another to the colonel, then at Derby, telling him, that having intercepted such letters, and not knowing whether his wife might follow her mother's advice, which, if he should, would prove very dishonourable to him, they had chosen rather to send the letters to him, than to her. The colonel was vexed that they had opened them, but for the present took no notice of it. All the horse having been drawn out of Nottingham to the relief of Gainsborough, and the Newarkers, knowing that the garrison was utterly destitute, plundered all the country, even to the walls of Nottingham; upon which some godly men offered themselves to bring in their horses, and form a troop for the defence of the country, and one Mr. Palmer, a minister, had a commission to be their captain. This man had a bold, ready, earnest way of preaching, and lived holily and regularly, as to outward conversation, whereby he got a great reputation among the godly, and this reputation swelled his spirit, which was very vain-glorious, covetous, contentious, and ambitious: he had insinuated himself so as to make these godly men desire him for their captain, which he had more vehement longing after than they, yet would have it believed that it was rather pressed upon him, than he pressed into it; and, therefore, being at that time in the castle with his family, and feeding at the governor's table, who gave him room in his own lodgings, and all imaginable respect, he came to the governor and his wife, telling them that these honest people pressed him very much to be their captain, and desiring their friendly and christian advice, whether he should accept or refuse it. They freely told him that, having entered into a charge of another kind, they thought it not fit to engage in this, and that he might as much advance the public service and satisfy the men in marching with them in the nature of a chaplain, as in that of a captain. He, that asked not counsel to take any contrary to his first resolve, went away confused when he found he was not advised as he would have been, and said he would endeavour to persuade them to be content; and after said they would not be otherwise satisfied, and so he was forced to accept the commission. The governor having only declared his own judgment when he was asked, as a christian ought to do according to his conscience, left the captain to act according to his own, and censured him not, but entertained him with the same freedom and kindness he had done before; but the man being guilty* of the avarice and ambition of his own heart, never after that looked upon the governor with a clear eye, but sought to blow up all factions against him, whenever he found opportunity, and in the meantime dissembled it as well as he could. And now before his troop was well raised, Col. Thornhagh being recovered, brought back his troop from Lincoln, and both the troops quartered in the town; which being a bait to invite the enemy, the governor gave charge to all that belonged to the ca-

tainly invidiously, if not unjustly, we may safely say we have the testimony of an adversary in our favour to all the rest.

* Notice is taken by Whitelock of several attempts to prevail on Col. Hutchinson to betray his trust, and of his steady adherence to it: there will be seen other instances more remarkable than this, but here are two things extremely well worth notice; this elegant and forcible apostrophe to Sir Richard Byron; and the patriotic and disinterested devotion of Mrs. Hutchinson to the cause, at least a rare example in her sex.

* Guilty; Latin, *sibi conscius*, conscious of.

tle, being about three hundred men, that they should not, upon any pretence whatever, be out of their quarters; but they having, many of them, wives and better accommodations in the town, by stealth disobeyed his commands, and seldom left any more in the castle than what were upon the guard.

The townsmen were every night set upon the guard of the town, according to the wards of the aldermen; but the most of them being disaffected, the governor, fearing treachery, had determined to quarter the horse in those lanes which were next to the castle, and to block up the lanes for the better securing them. Just the night before these lanes should have been blocked up, Alderman Toplady, a great malignant, having the watch, the enemy was by treachery let into the town, and no alarum given to the castle; though there were two muskets at the gate where they entered, both of them were surrendered without one shot to give notice, and all the horse, and about two parts of the castle soldiers, betrayed, surprised, and seized on in their beds, but there were not above fourscore of the castle foot taken; the rest hid themselves, and privately stole away, some into the country, some by night came up to the castle and got in, in disguises, by the river side; but the cavaliers were possessed of the town, and no notice at all given to the castle. When, at the beating of reveille, some of the soldiers that had been on the watch all night, were going down into the town to refresh themselves; they were no sooner out of the castle-gates, but some of the enemy's musketeers discharged upon them, and they hasting back, got in with such care that the enemy was prevented of their design of falling in with them. They brought a strong alarum into the castle, where the governor coming forth, was exceedingly vexed to find that his men were, so many of them, contrary to his command, wanting in their quarters; but it was no time to be angry, but to apply himself to do what was possible to preserve the place; wherefore he immediately despatched messengers, by a private sally-port, to Leicester and Derby, to desire their assistance, either to come and help beat the enemy out of the town, or to lend him some foot to help keep the castle, in which there was but fourscore men, and never a lieutenant nor any head officer but his brother, nor so much as a surgeon among them. As soon as the governor had despatched his messengers he went up to the towers, and from thence played his ordnance into the town, which seldom failed of execution upon the enemy; but there was an old church, called St. Nicholas Church, whose steeple so commanded the platform that the men could not play the ordnance without woolpacks before them. From this church the bullets played so thick into the outward castle yard, that they could not pass from one gate to the other, nor relieve the guards, but with very great hazard, and one weak old man was shot the first day, who, for want of a surgeon, bled to death before they could carry him up to the governor's wife, who at that time supplied that want as well as she could; but at night the governor and his men dug a trench between the two gates, through which they afterwards better secured their passage. In the meantime the cavaliers that came from Newark, being about six hundred, fell to ransack and plunder all the honest men's houses in the town, and the cavaliers of the town, who had called them in, helped them in this work. Their prisoners they at first put into the sheep-pens in the market place*, where an honest townsman seeing four or five commanders go into his own house, procured a cunning boy that came by him, while the enemy regarded more their plunder than the prisoners, to run privately up to the castle and give them notice, who sent a cannon-bullet presently into the house. The cavaliers called in all the country as soon as they were in the town, and made a fort at the Trent bridges, and thither they carried down all their considerable plunder and prisoners. The next day after Sir Richard Biron had surprised the town, Mr. Hastings, since made Lord of Loughborough, then governor of Ashby de la Zouch, came with a body of about four hundred men, but being displeased that the plunder was begun before he came, he returned again and left the Newark gentlemen to themselves, who, as they made a fort at the bridges, threw down the half moons and bulwarks that had been raised about the town. They staid five days, but very unquietly, for the cannon and muskets from the castle failed not of execution daily upon many of them, and they durst not in all that time go to bed. The third day Major Cartwright sent a letter, desiring the governor or his brother to come and meet him in St. Nicholas Church, and promised them safe passage and return; but the governor read the letter to his soldiers, and commanded a red flag to be set upon the tower, to bid them defiance, and shot three pieces of cannon at the steeple, in answer to his desired parley.

Five days the enemy staid in the town, and all that time the governor and his soldiers, none of them, were off from the guard, but if they slept, which they never did in the night, it was by them that watched. At length on Saturday, September the twenty-third, in the afternoon, the governor saw a great many goods and persons going over the Line bridge, and not knowing what it meant, sent some cannon-bullets after them; when on the other side of the town he discerned a body of men, whom he knew not at first, whether friends or foes, but having at that time about eight score men in the castle, for in that five days' space fourscore were come in by stealth, he caused them all to be drawn out in the castle-yard, and perceiving that those he last saw were friends, he sent out his brother, Major Hutchinson, with all the musketeers that could be spared, to help drive the enemy out of the town. They having effected what they came for, in fortifying the bridges, had nothing more to do but to get safe off, which they endeavoured with more haste and disorder than became good and stout soldiers. When Major Hutchinson came into the town with his men, they, greedy of knowing what was become of their wives and houses, dropped so fast from behind him to make the inquiry, that they had left him only at the head of sixteen men, when Sir Richard Biron, with Captain Hacker, followed by a whole troop of horse and a foot company, came upon him. The major commanded his men to charge them, which they did, but shot over; yet falling in with them pell-mell, they had gotten Sir Richard Biron down, and they had his hat, but he escaped, though his

* It appears by Deering's account of Nottingham that these once occupied a considerable portion of the market-place.

horse was so wounded that it fell dead in the next street.

These men that came to the governor's relief were Captain White with his troop, who quartered at Leicester, in his return from Lincolnshire, from whence he was coming back to Nottingham; and at Leicester met the messenger the governor had sent for assistance, which he prosecuted so, that from the two garrisons of Leicester and Derby, with his own troop, he brought about four hundred men. As soon as they were come into the town Sir John Gell's men, seeing the cavaliers had a mind to be gone, interrupted them not, but being as dexterous at plunder as fight, they presently went to Toplady's house, who had betrayed the town, and plundered it and some others, while the governor's soldiers were busy in clearing the town of the enemy. When they had done this, the governor did what he could to restrain the plunder; but the truth is, Gell's men were nimble youths at that work, yet there was not very much mischief done by them. Toplady's house fared the worst, but his neighbours saved much of his goods; he himself, with several other townsmen and countrymen, who had been very active against the well-affected, at this time were brought up prisoners to the castle. There were not above five-and-twenty of the Newark soldiers taken; how many were slain at their going off and during the time of their stay we could not certainly tell, because they had means of carrying them off by the bridge, where they left Captain Hacker governor* of their new fort with fourscore men. Their prisoners and plunder they sent away in boats to Newark, many of the townsmen went with them, carrying away not only their own, but their neighbours' goods, and much more had been carried away, but that the unexpected sally of the castle prevented them. Dr. Plumptre, one of the committee of Nottingham, whom they found prisoner at the marshal's house in the town, and released, went out of town with them. This man, when he had provoked the governor to strike him, upon his malicious and uncivil railings against him for the respect he showed to the godly men of the town, had retired to the house of a malignant gentleman in arms against the parliament; had received a protection from the governor of Newark, and had divers meetings with the Newark officers; yet after all this had the impudence to come into the town of Nottingham: and in all the taverns and ale-houses he came into, to belch out abominable scoffs and taunts against the governor and the committee men, before Col. Thornhagh's face, who commanded him out of the room for it; and upon information of these things to the governor and the committee, he was sent for by some musketeers, and the enemy's protection for himself and his goods found about him, for which he was committed prisoner, but there being no good accommodation for him in the castle, the governor, in more civility than he deserved, suffered him to be in the town, whence he went with them, and after retired to Derby. At the same time, the cavaliers having taken some prisoners upon the parliament's score who lived quietly in the country, the committee had fetched in some gentlemen's sons of their party, who were left at their fathers' houses, whereof one was remaining at the marshal's house when the cavaliers came into the town, whom the governor suffered to be there upon his parole, there being no good accommodation for him in the castle. Him the cavaliers would have had to have gone away with them, but he would not; which handsome behaviour so took the governor, that he freely gave him his liberty without exchange.

As soon as the enemy was driven out of the town, the governor brought down two pieces of ordnance to the market-place, and entreated the soldiers that were come from Leicester and Derby to march with him immediately, to assault them in their fort at the bridges, before they had time to put themselves in order, and re-collect their confused souls, after their chase; but the major of Derby, an old dull-headed Dutchman, said ten thousand men could not do it, and would by no means be entreated to go on, nor to stay one day longer, but to stand by while the governor made the attempt with his own men. He, when he saw he could not prevail, thought it not convenient, at that time, to urge his men beyond their power, after they had had a week of such sore labour, and so much discontented that he could not effect his desire, he drew back his ordnance into the castle. Here his women, while the men were all otherwise employed, had provided him as large a supper as the time and present condition would permit, at which he entertained all the strangers, and his own officers and gentlemen.

There was a large room, which was the chapel, in the castle: this they had filled full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, called the Lion's Den; and the new Captain Palmer, and another minister, having nothing else to do, walked up and down the castle yard, insulting and beating the poor prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter, one of the Derby captains was slain, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon, were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsams and plasters in her closet, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, dressed all their wounds, whereof some were dangerous, being all shots, with such good success, that they were all well cured in convenient time†. After our hurt men were dressed, as she stood at her chamber door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut, and carried down bleeding into the Lion's Den, she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also: which while she was doing, Captain

* The brother of Colonel Hacker, who was tried, condemned, and executed, for attending the execution of Charles the First. This brother, who served the king during the whole war with great zeal, could not obtain the pardon of Col. Hacker, nor prevent the confiscation of his family estate, which was granted to the Duke of York, the king's brother, from whom he was obliged to ransom it at *a high rate*: it lay at Colston Basset, joining to Owthorpe.

† The reader will remember that the mother of Mrs. Hutchinson had patronised and assisted Sir Walter Raleigh, when prisoner in the Tower, in his chymical experiments, and had acquired a little knowledge of medicine; whether her daughter had obtained instructions from her mother, or the mother herself was here (for she passed the latter part of her life with her daughter, and died in her house at Owthorpe), is uncertain.—Mrs. Hutchinson was certainly an extraordinary woman, and this is not one of the least singular, nor least amiable, instances of it.

r came in and told her his soul abhorred to
s favour to the enemies of God; she replied,
l done nothing but what she thought was
ty in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures,
enemies: but he was very ill satisfied with
d with the governor presently after, when
e into a large room where a very great
was prepared, and more room and meat
uests, to fill up which, the governor had
r one Mr. Mason, one of the prisoners, a
good fashion, who had married a relation of
I was brought up more in fury, than for any
of guilt in him, and I know not whether
three others the governor had called to
vith them; for which Captain Palmer bel-
loudly against him, as a favourer of malig-
and cavaliers. Who could have thought
dly, zealous man, who could scarce eat his
for grief to see the enemies of God thus
ed, should have after entered into a con-
r against the governor, with those very
persons, who now so much provoked his
But the governor took no notice of it, though
the very soldiers a muttering against him
s wife, for these poor humanities.

next day, the neighbour forces returned
Col. Thornhagh having lost the most of
op, went to London to get another; Captain
staid at Nottingham with his, where intel-
being given that the cavaliers intended to
themselves of Broxtow and Woollerton,
ntlemen's houses within two miles a-piece
ingham, Captain Palmer was sent with the
der of his men to keep Broxtow house, and
vernor's captain-lieutenant with his com-
Woollerton. The governor, at Nottingham,
up the Line bridge to prevent the cavaliers
suddenly that way into the town; then he
l up the lanes next the castle, and cut up
hedges, that were dangerous to make ap-
es to the castle, and having the experience
mischief of it, pulled down St. Nicholas
h by the advice of the committee.*

sently after the cavaliers were gone out of the
some naughty people, set on by them, fired
wn, but it was quenched without burning
two or three houses; yet for a fortnight
er it was perpetually attempted, fire being
hay-barns and other combustible places,
ch that the women were forced to walk by
a night to prevent the burning, which the
ttee perceiving to be attempted by the insti-
of the Newark gentlemen, they wrote them
hat if they forbade not their instruments,
uch as one house were fired, they would
fire all the cavaliers' houses near them. The gentlemen returned them a scornful letter, full of taunts and disdain, but after that no more houses were attempted with fire.

The Derby soldiers, when they returned home, being asked why they left the cavaliers at the bridges unassaulted, made answer, they would have beaten them out, but the governor would not lend them a piece of ordnance out of his castle; which false report, when the governor heard, piqued him heartily, being so notorious a lie; for he drew down two pieces of ordnance, and could not entreat them but to stand by, while he attempted it with his own men; but their Major Molanus, being an old soldier, discouraged our soldiers, and told them, it was a vain and impossible attempt. For this cause, the governor resolved he would set upon it alone, whenever it was seasonable; and watching an opportunity, he soon took it, at a time when intelligence was brought him, that all the forces Newark could send forth, were gone upon a design into Lincolnshire. Then, on the Lord's day, under colour of hearing a sermon at the great church in the town, he went thither, and, after sermon, from the steeple, took a view of the fort at the bridges, no one perceiving his design but his engineer, who was with him, and took a full survey of Hacker's works. Then, after supper, he called the committee together, and communicated his intentions to them, which they approved of. So all that night he spent in preparations against the next morning; he sent away orders to the horse and foot that lay at Broxtow to come to him in the morning by eight of the clock, with all the pioneers they could gather up in the country; he sent into the town, and caused all the pioneers there to be brought up, under pretence of making a breastwork before the castle gates, and pretending to set them upon the platforms, caused all the cannon baskets to be filled, which he intended for rolling trenches. All things, betimes in the morning, being gotten into perfect readiness, and so discreetly ordered, that the enemy had no notice from any of their friends in town, nor knew anything of the design till it was ready, the governor, about eleven of the clock on Monday morning, marched out, although the weather at that time, being very tempestuous and rainy, seemed to have combined with his enemies and withstood the attempt; but the soldiers were rather animated than discouraged, thinking that difficulties, after they were vanquished, would increase their glory. So when the ugly storm had, three or four hours, wasted itself in its fury on them, it fell at their feet, and no more envious clouds obscured the cheerful face of heaven, so long as they continued in the field. The governor's own company marched through the meadows and gave the alarm to the enemy's foot, while Mr. George Hutchinson's company went through the lanes to gain a nook which was very advantageous for the approaches of our men, and which they easily possessed themselves of, and then advancing, planted their colours within musket-shot of the fort. Although they planted so many colours, the governor had but eight-score foot, and a hundred horse, in all that went with him out of the castle, but he set the pioneers fairly among them to make the better show.

said, in Deering's History of Nottingham, that this was pulled down by Col. Hutchinson, and the rried to Owthorpe; which last was at that time ile, the enemy being in possession of the Vale of and the ways to it. And moreover, the church at e was, as Deering in another place observes, too contain them. In Throsby's edition of Thoroton, rks that neither Deering nor Thoroton were pro- quainted with the circumstances of that affair; tions, that in digging near the foundation of the tower (for the church has been rebuilt), a bell nd, evidently broken to pieces at the demolition of ch; probably by the cannon-shot which was sent r to Major Cartwright's message. The situation hurch was both very near to the castle, and on a height.

When the colours were thus planted, the pioneers were set to work to cast up a breast-work, and being left in a safe posture with the inferior officers, the governor and his brother went up to the castle to order the drawing down of the ordnance: meanwhile the cavaliers sallied out of their fort to gain the colours, at whose approach all the pioneers ran away from their works, but the soldiers kept their ground and their colours, and beat back the enemy into their own fort, killing some of them, whereof two were left dead before our men, whom they thought it not safe to carry off. Our horse meeting the flying pioneers, brought them back again to their works, which they continued all that day, and the cavaliers attempted no more sallies. At evening the ordnance were brought down and planted within musket-shot of the fort, and then the governor despatched a messenger to Derby to tell Sir John Gell, if he pleased to send any of his men, they might come and see the fort taken. Accordingly on Tuesday the Dutch major came, with about six-score foot and dragoons. Hard by the fort, at the bridges, at that side our men approached, there were two houses full of coals, into which, if the cavaliers had put any men, they might have done much mischief to the assailants; wherefore the governor sent two or three soldiers, who very boldly went almost under their works and fired them both, by the light of which, burning all night, the governor's men wrought all that night in their trenches, and cut a trench in the meadows, some of them calling to the cavaliers in the fort, and keeping them in abusive replies, one upon another, while the pioneers carried on their works; the governor and his brother, and all the other officers continuing all night in the trenches with them, they behaved themselves so cheerfully, that the governor gave them the next morning twenty pounds, and they had very good drink and provisions brought them out of the garrison, which much encouraged them, but the governor's presence and alacrity among them much more. When the Derby men came on Tuesday, the Dutch major came down to the trenches, and told the governor that he wondered he would attempt the fort, for it was impregnable, and therefore much dissuaded him from going on, and said he and his men would return. The governor told him he and the soldiers with him were resolved to leave their lives rather than their attempt, and if they failed for want of seconding by that force which was sent with him to their assistance, let the blame lie on him. When the Derby officers saw him so resolute to persist, they, after much dissuasion and dispute, determined to stay, and the officers went up with the governor to supper in the castle; the soldiers to quarters provided for them in the town: but after supper, the governor went down again, and stayed all night in the trenches with his men, and left them not as long as they stayed there, but only to fetch down what was necessary for them. He, his brother, and all the officers, were every night with them, and made them continue their custom of railing at each other in the dark, while they carried on their approaches. There was in the Trent a little piece of ground, which, by damming up the water, the cavaliers had made an island; while some of the soldiers held them in talk, others on Wednesday night cut the sluice, and by break of day on Thursday morning had pitched two colours in the island, within carbine-shot of the fort, and the governor's company had as much advanced their approach on the other side. When they in the fort saw, in the morning, how the assailants had advanced, while they were kept secure in talk all the night, they were extremely mad, and swore like devils, which made the governor and his men great sport: and then it was believed they in the fort began to think of flight; which the besiegers not expecting, still continued their approaches, and that day got forty yards nearer in the island and on the other side. Although Sir John Gell's men came but on Tuesday, on Thursday the second messenger came from him to call them back. The governor entreated them to stay that night and keep the trenches, while his men refreshed themselves, which they did; but his men would not go out of their trenches, but slept there to fit themselves for the assault which the governor had resolved in the morning, and for that purpose, after he had left them with all things provided in their trenches, he went to the castle to see the fire-balls and other necessaries for the assault brought down, and at three in the morning came with them, when the soldiers told him the cavaliers in the fort had for two hours left off shooting. He sent some soldiers then to the work-sides to discover what this meant; but they, perceiving the place empty, went in and found that all the garrison was stolen away, and had left behind them four-score sheep, a hundred loads of coals, twenty quarters of oats, much hay, a great deal of plundered lead, and a fort so strong, that if they had had such courage as became men of their profession, they would never have quitted it. They left all their works standing, and only broke up two arches of the Trent bridge to hinder the governor's men from following them. Their flight was by that means secured, the river being so out that the horse could not ford over. Mr. George Hutchinson and his company were appointed to possess and keep the fort at the bridges, which he did; and the next week the garrison kept a day of solemn thanksgiving to God for this success and the mercy in it, whereby all their men were preserved, notwithstanding their very bold adventures, so that not one of them was slain, and but four of them wounded, whereof three were so slightly hurt, that they returned again next day into the field. To increase their thanks to God, news was brought them that, the same week, the forces that went out from Newark joined with Henderson's had received a great overthrow by Cromwell, and my lord Newcastle had been forced to raise his siege of Hull with great loss and dishonour. Some time after the bridge was recovered, the horse went forth and brought in some oxen of Mr. John Wood's, a justice of the county, disaffected to the parliament, but not in action against them. He, following his oxen, came to the governor, and, after he had despatched his business, told him how Mr. Sutton would have once employed him on a message, to offer the governor any terms he would ask the king, to come over to his side and deliver up the castle to his use. Mr. Wood told him, such a message might not obtain credit, unless he had some propositions in writing; whereupon he called for pen and ink, and wrote that he should offer the

governor, if he would resign his castle, not only to be received into favour, but to have what reward of honour, money, or command, himself would propound; which paper, when Mr. Wood had received, Sir Richard Biron came in, and Mr. Sutton told him the business; to which Sir Richard answered he believed it would not take effect, for he himself had made the like offers to him, and been rejected*: which Mr. Wood hearing, would not undertake the employment, but the governor made him declare the story to two of the gentlemen of the committee.

The governor not growing secure by successes, was but stirred up to more active preparations for the defence of the place he had undertaken; and having a very ingenious person, Mr. Hooper, who was his engineer, and one that understood all kind of operations, in almost all things imaginable, they procured some saltpetre-men and other necessary labourers, and set up the making of powder and match in the castle, both which they made very good; they also cast mortar pieces in the town, and finished many other inventions for the defence of the place. The governor also caused a mount near the castle to be bulwarked, and made a platform for ordnance, and raised a new work before the castle gates to keep off approaches, and made a new in-work in the fort at the bridges.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, being overmastered in the north by the Earl of Newcastle's great army, after his father was retired into Hull, came with those horse that were left him into the Vale of Belvoir, and so visited Nottingham castle, where he and the commanders that were with him, considering of what advantage it was to the parliament to keep that place, by reason of the commodious situation of it, and the pass which might be there maintained between the north and south, and the happy retreat it might afford to their northern forces, he very much pressed the governor and the committee to raise all the force they could, offering arms and commissions for them: especially he pressed the governor to complete a regiment for himself, which at that time he would not accept, because Colonel Pierrepont had not yet declared what he would do with his regiment. The Colonel was then at Derby, whither some of his officers going to him to know what they should do, he dismissed them; yet coming to town, he gave out strange envious whispers, and behaved himself so disingenuously to the governor, that he had just cause to have no more regard for him, and being again importuned by Sir Thomas Fairfax, he received a commission to raise a regiment of twelve hundred. He presently recruited his own companies, and began to raise more: Mr. George Hutchinson was his lieutenant-colonel, and one Mr. Widmerpoole his major; there was a company raised by one Captain Wright; there remained a broken piece of Col. Pierrepont's company, and Captain Poulton, who had been their captain-lieutenant, being dismissed by the colonel, had a new commission under the governor for a company; when those soldiers of Col. Pierrepont's not knowing what to do, it was determined at a council of war of strangers, whereof Sir William Fairfax was president, that they should list under Capt. Poulton. Sir William and Sir Thomas Fairfax, both of them, when the governor made scruple of passing by Col. Pierrepont, assured him that they had intelligence given them, in the north, of his intention to deliver Nottingham to the king.

About this time, Chadwick, the deputy recorder of Nottingham, and one of the committee, came to Nottingham, from whence he went away, when the soldiers were all drawn out, and all that were fearful went to other places to secure themselves. This fellow, being sent of a message to the Lord Fairfax, general of the north, had received letters of credence from the committee; but instead of prosecuting their business, which was to have procured some force from my lord, to help keep the place, when my Lord Newcastle was daily expected to come against it, he procured himself a commission for a regiment, and a joint commission for himself and Col. Pierrepont to be governors of the town and castle. The last he kept very private; the first he bragged of as a thing, which my lord, considering his great abilities, would needs enforce upon him. In execution of this, he raised seven men, which were his menial servants, went into Staffordshire, possessed a papist's fine house, and fired it to run away by the light, when the enemy was thirty miles off from it, and cheated the country of pay for I know not how many hundred men: for which, if he had not stolen away in the night, he had been stoned; and as his wife passed through the towns, she was in danger of her life, the women flinging scalding water after her. But before this, he came to Nottingham at the time the governor raised his regiment, and coming up to the castle, behaved himself somewhat insolently, and cast out mysterious words of his authority; the governor set on a person to find out his meaning, to whom he showed a commission he had privately obtained some four months before, for himself and Col. Pierrepont to be joint governors of the county, town, and castle; but neither now did he declare this to any of the committee, but only made some private brags in the town, that he would shortly come and take order for the safety of the place, and so went out of town again. The governor acquainted the committee with this, who seemed to have great indignation at it, and wrote immediately to Mr. Millington, burgess of the town of Nottingham, to have the government of the castle confirmed on Col. Hutchinson by authority of parliament. Mr. Salisbury, their secretary, had also put in the government of the town, but Col. Hutchinson caused him to put it out; and the governor, being informed that Col. Pierrepont, at London, was labouring to obtain a regiment, and to be sent down as governor of the town, for the more speedy despatch sent his own chaplain with the committee's letters to London, and sent other letters of his own to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him how Chadwick had abused my lord, his father, in the surreptitious procurement of this dormant commission, which, during all the time of danger, had lain asleep in his pocket, and now was mentioned as a thing whereby he might, when he would, take that place out of Col. Hutchinson's hands, which he had with so many labours and dangers preserved, by God's

* This is the second instance of attempting Col. Hutchinson's fidelity, but the most remarkable one will be found in the sequel.

blessing, for the parliament's service; he therefore desired a commission for the castle only.

As soon as Mr. Allsop came to London, he was immediately despatched again to Nottingham, with an order of parliament, dated November 20, 1643, for Col. Hutchinson to be governor both of the town and castle of Nottingham, with an acknowledgement of the good service he had done, in preserving the place, and Mr. Millington said he should likewise have a commission from the Earl of Essex. At Leicester, Mr. Allsop met letters, directed to the governor, from Sir Thomas Fairfax, wherein was a commission enclosed from his father, then general of all the north, for the government of both the town and castle. These coming both together, although the general and the parliament had added the government of the town to that of the castle, as more honour to him, Colonel Hutchinson was for many reasons much troubled at it, among which these were some of his considerations.—First, it was almost all malignants, there being scarce a man left that was to be confided in, except those who were already listed into the castle. Secondly, they were not so much open professed enemies, as close, hypocritical, false-hearted people, amongst whom were some leading eminent men, so subtle in their malignity, that though their actions were most prejudicial to the public service, yet did they cast such cunning specious pretences over them of public good, that even the most upright men of the garrison were often seduced by their fair colours. Thirdly, the most religious and best people were so pragmatical, that no one act, nor scarcely word, could pass without being strictly arraigned and judged at the bar of every common soldier's discretion, and thereafter censured and exclaimed at. Fourthly, the townsmen being such as had lived free and plentifully of themselves, could not subject themselves to government, but were so saucy, so negligent, and so mutinous, that the most honourable person in the world could expect nothing but scandal, reproach, and ingratitude for the payment of his greatest merit; and this the worthy governor found sufficiently from them. Lastly, the few good men were so easily blown up into causeless suspicions and jealousies, and there were so many malignant whispers daily spread abroad of every one in office, that it was impossible for any man so worthily to demean himself, but that a jealous misconstruction of some inconsiderable trifle was enough to blast the esteem of all his actions, though never so pious and deserving; and of all things in the world, nothing was so contrary to the governor's clear and generous heart, as a base and causeless jealousy of him. But notwithstanding these and many other reasons, such as the unprofitable expense of his time, estate, and labours, where he should reap neither glory nor advantage to himself, he considered, that since he had rather declined than sought the enlargement of his power and command, and that the parliament and generals had, at such a distance, been moved to put it, unsought for, upon him, it was a work which God called him to, and that the Lord, who set him into the employment, would conquer all the difficulties. For the unjust thoughts or reports of men or their ungrateful returns, he was as much above the grief of that, as the vain-glory of mutable popular applause. It was in all things his endeavour to do and deserve well, and then he never regarded the praise or dispraise of men, for he knew that it was impossible to keep on a constant career of virtue and justice, and to please all. It sufficed him, for his inward peace, that he did not thrust himself into this and other employments for any popular, ambitious, or advantageous interest of his own, but that he was called of God, to the carrying on of the interest of truth, righteousness, and holiness, and to the defence of his country, wherein he was faithful, and found the Lord's protection and glorious presence, not only in all he did, but in all he suffered for him and from him.

As soon as the governor had received his commission, he thought it his duty to put it in execution, and to arm and fortify the town; but my Lord Newcastle coming with all his forces into Nottingham and Derbyshire, the governor, by the advice of the committee, forbore to publish his new commissions, least the enemy, perceiving an intent to enlarge the garrison, should utterly destroy the town, before they were able to defend it. At the reading of his commission in the committee chamber, Col. Thornhagh showed much discontent, and was melancholy after it; whereupon the governor told him, that as he had not sought that enlargement of command, so if any of them thought themselves abridged by it, or any other inconvenience to the public service, he would resign it, and never make use of his commission. The colonel answered, with much kindness, that he only wondered how the town came to be added, when they only wrote for the castle, but he was well satisfied with it, and forced himself to a seeming content, though the truth is he had some emulation, but not malice, to the governor; and being of a nature a little jealous and easy to be wrought upon, the wicked enemies of the cause endeavoured what they could to insinuate into him, and work disaffection and division between these two gentlemen, who were the most faithful, unbiassed, and zealous champions of the public interest in their country. But after Col. Thornhagh had been wrought up to declare discontent, there were many odd passages, by which others also of the committee, who durst not before reveal their envious hearts, showed themselves displeased; whereupon, when they were all together, the governor, who hated secret heart-boilings, spoke to them, and told them, that their carriages, since the commission came to him, did manifest their dissatisfaction in it, and if they would deal ingenuously with him and let him know it, as he had not sought the additional government of the town, so he would never undertake it, if they had any jealousies that, unknown to them, he procured it for himself, and closely sought after the enlargement of his own power by the abridgement of theirs; he assured them he was much mistaken, and that neither to Mr. Millington, nor Sir Thomas Fairfax, had he mentioned anything more than the government of the castle; for that of the town he rejoiced not in it, but looked upon it as a great burthen; yet since it was conferred as an honour upon him, he should not decline serving them therein that had thought him worthy of it, except it gave distaste to any of those present; which if it did, he would esteem it an obligation, if they would but declare it before he published his commission. They all unanimously replied, they were not only contented, but exceedingly well

sed in it. Then the governor told them, if were real, as they professed, he should ex- their ready and free concurrence with him l affairs tending to the public service, and in e courses he should apply himself to, for the of the garrison: and again earnestly desired , if they had any dislikes, either of him per- lly, or of the alteration of the town out of the is it had been in the last year, that they would freely declare it; for as he should take it eding kindly of them, to do so at this time; , after he had undertaken the charge, there ld be any thwarting or crossing of powers and mands between them, he should not bear it; as he should not stand upon all punctual nice- in his command, so he would not be abridged ne just and lawful power due to him in his e. They all unanimously answered, it was fit and just he should have it, and they would er endeavour to uphold him in it, than any to retrench it.

ow was my lord Newcastle's army come into byshire, and having taken some places there, ing was expected at Derby and Nottingham a siege; whereupon Capt. Palmer's troop was d away from Broxtow, and all the rest of the e was sent away into Leicestershire, except a left for scouts, and as soon as they were gone Lord Newcastle's forces came and quartered ost at the town side, and in all the near towns, Hastings took this opportunity to make a ison at Wilden ferry.* By the mercy of the enemy was restrained from coming up he town, though it lay so open that they might e come in at their pleasure, and they not only rably wasted and plundered the country all nt, but one of them told a malignant, where quartered, that that was their design in com- to those parts, to devour the country. The ments that were quartered the nearest to tingham were Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Dacre's, who had been a familiar acquaint- e of Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson's when he in the north, and they loved each other as l as if they had been brothers. Col. Dacre t a trumpet to desire Lieutenant-colonel Hut- son to send him a safe convoy, that he might e and see him, which he acquainted the com- tee withal, and would have refused, but that committee, thinking some good use might be le o it, persuaded him to suffer him to come; rdingly he sent him a ticket under his hand, mising him to come and go safely; so upon rsday morning he came, with about eight e, to the top of the hill at Nottingham, and from thence sent his trumpet to the governor, as not willing to trust himself without his leave, to know whether he would permit him and his two servants to come into his garrison to visit the lieutenant-colonel. The governor sent him a ticket for them to come in, and though usually they kept no sentinels in the town, yet he sent down some officers and soldiers to show him a guard at his entrance. When the lieutenant-colonel came to him, he made many endearing expressions to him, how much he rejoiced when his regiment was designed for that place where he was, and how kind an affection he retained for him, notwithstanding their contrary engagements. Falling into further discourse of this, he said that if he could but be convinced that the king first entertained papists into his army, and that the parliament had none in theirs, he would never fight more on his side. The lieutenant-colonel told him, he should easily be able to do that. "Well," said Dacre, "you and I must have some discourse in private†, and I shall be glad if you can satisfy me in that." Then the colonel desired some drink might be sent out to two or three gentlemen, that staid for him upon the top of the hill; which the lieutenant-colonel hearing, sent some of his own officers and soldiers on horseback, to fetch them down, who coming in all together with them, the town rose in an uproar and came to the governor with a high complaint, that I know not how many cavaliers were come into the town, and rode up and down, armed, threatening the people to their great terror. This the governor thinking to be true, was vexed at it, and sent down an angry letter to his brother, requiring him to send up the men that came last into the town. Col. Dacre hearing this, desired the lieutenant-colonel that the gentlemen might pass as they came, and offered to go up himself and answer for the offence they had given. But the lieutenant-colonel presently carried them all out of town, and came himself up to the castle, taking it something unkindly that his brother should write such a letter to him, and worse that others should have suspicions of him; so that though he had made a promise to dine the Saturday following at Dacre's quarters, yet, to take away all offence and suspicions, he resolved he would have no more meetings with him, and to that end writ him a very civil letter to excuse him not coming; and the governor writ another to excuse the mistake, whereupon the gentlemen were sent for to the castle. Dacre returned complimental answers to them both, and writ another to Capt. Poulton, entreating very earnestly the lieutenant-colonel and Capt. Poulton to come and dine with him on Wednesday, and desiring the governor he might have the honour to see him. These letters being communicated to the committee, they would fain have had the lieutenant-colonel to have gone, but he held firm to his resolution and would not; so with their privity Capt.

* Wilden Ferry was said before to be in the possession of king's forces, but whether that was an anachronism, at the thing now meant was an increase of the fortifications, and the placing a large number of men there, it ear that the garrison of this place did after this period me a greater annoyance to the parliament, and Lord of Groby, who commanded in chief the associated s of Leicester, Nottingham, &c., attacked and took it, ted, as Whitelock says, p. 96, by Sir John Gell, who rived to get the thanks of the parliament for his ser- s herein, and for taking Winkfield manor and Shel- manor; although, some time after, we find him ging Winkfield manor, in conjunction with Lord high, and Shelford manor was not taken till more two years after by Col. Hutchinson, acting under the mand of Poynts.

† Though this may appear somewhat improbable in a time when religious opinions have so little effect upon political ones, it was otherwise considered at that time; for nearly at this same juncture it is to be seen, in Whitelock, page 81, that Sir E. Deering did on this very account of there being so many papists and Irish rebels entertained in the king's army, quit him and come into the parliament, who admitted him to composition, being the first.

Poulton only went to excuse it, and two of White's officers were sent along with him, with charge, if they could, to find out how the enemy lay. When Capt. Poulton came, the colonel entertained him very kindly, and expressed a great deal of trouble that the lieutenant-colonel was not come, and took him aside and told him that the governor of Nottingham and his brother had now an opportunity whereby they might much advantage themselves, and do the king excellent service. Capt. Poulton asking him how, he said, if the governor would deliver up the castle, he should be received into favour, have the castle confirmed to him and his heirs, have ten thousand pounds in money, and be made the best lord in the country. If the lieutenant-colonel would deliver up the bridges, he should have three thousand pounds and what command he would ask in the army; and offered Capt. Poulton two thousand pounds to effect this. The captain told him, for his own part nothing should buy him to such a villany, and he believed the same of the governor and his brother, and made no question but they had before been attempted. The colonel told him he did not this without authority, and thereupon pulled a paper out of his pocket, wherein were words to this effect: "These are to authorise Col. Dacre to treat with Col. Hutchinson and Lieutenant-colonel Hutchinson for the delivery of Nottingham-castle and the bridges, and to make them large promises, which shall be performed by *W. Newcastle.*" Having showed him this warrant, the colonel was very importunate with the captain to acquaint the governor and his brother, and return their answer to him upon the Friday after, when he offered to meet him, if they would, at a place called St. Ann's Well. Capt. Poulton told the governor and his brother, and they the committee, and showed them very disdainful refusals they all had written to the colonel, and sent him by a drum, who was not long gone out of the garrison but another came from Col. Dacre with a letter to Capt. Poulton, excusing himself that he could not stay in his quarters for him, according to appointment, but assuring him that what he had promised should be really performed. The governor's drum, in the absence of Col. Dacre, delivered the three letters to Langdale, who writ them back a good civil letter, that he believed my Lord Newcastle and Dacre, out of familiarity and acquaintance with them, might have made these offers in kindness to them, but for his part he should otherwise pursue the king's service*.

After this, the weather being pretty fair, and the moon shining at that time, the governor sent out a foot company to beat up their quarters, and gave them a fierce alarum throughout, and took twelve horses out of one of their stables, which they sent home. In their return, meeting a great body of horse, they all at once discharged upon them, and killed some eight of them, as we were told in the morning. After this charge the horse immediately retreated and would not stand another, and the next day removed their quarters further from the garrison. Then the governor and committee sent for the Nottingham horse back from Leicester, and appointed them to bring five hundred muskets which were come to Leicester for the governor. They came, but left the arms behind them. Besides this the colonel and all his regiment fell into disputes, that the governors of the parliament garrisons had no command of the horse that were quartered in their towns; and hereupon the governor was often prevented of many opportunities advantageous to the public service, and much discouraged to find such obstructions from the envious pride and humour of those who should have been his assistants; but he bore with it as long as only himself suffered by it, and was willing for quietness' sake to pass by many injuries offered himself, till the public service came to be infinitely prejudiced by it. In the meantime he went on, as well as he could, through all difficulties, in the faithful and active discharge of his trust. He called a committee and council of war, where it was put to the question and voted that the town should be fortified: then he applied himself to the thing, and called a full Hall of all the town, who declared sufficiently their disaffection to the parliament, but in such a subtle way as would have entrapped a less prudent person: but the governor overlooked many things that he saw, and made use of all the advantages they gave him, and did not manifest his resentments of anything which they could cloak under a specious pretence, how disadvantageously soever it were designed against the parliament interest. The whole town unanimously voted that the place should be fortified, except Alderman Drury, and two or three that followed him: then the governor gave them encouraging promises of his protection and care over them, and endeavours to preserve them with his regiment, if they would assist in their own defence. The town being well satisfied, or at least seeming so, (for he treated them with that dexterity that they could not, for shame, openly oppose him, though he was not ignorant that the cavalier party cursed him in their hearts, as the only obstacle in their greater desire of having declared themselves on the other side,) with general outward cheerfulness, in Christmas week, the works were begun. About this time Sir Thomas Fairfax being to march into Staffordshire, sent for some arms he had left in Nottingham castle, and by the same convoy that went with them the governor got his five hundred muskets brought home from Leicester. Sir Thomas sent orders to the governor to send him all the horse in the garrison; but when the governor acquainted them with it, they would none of them obey him and go, though Sir Thomas sent twice very earnestly for them, but staid in Nottingham, where they would obey no order of the governor's, and by doing things that concerned the garrison without and against his orders, they made a sad confusion and thwarting of powers, which the governor bore with in respect to Col. Thornhagh, who did things not so much out of malice in himself, as out of a little emulation, which did not destroy his kindness to the governor, and by the subtle instigation

* This proposal for betraying the castle, together with the refusal, is mentioned by Whitelock, p. 79. Mr. Noble, who is mentioned in the preface as having published the lives of one hundred and thirty-six regicides, makes this remark, "that Col. Hutchinson hereby lost a fine opportunity of aggrandising himself and his family, which doubtless they must regret." That very discerning gentleman is here informed that the Editor of this work, who is the only representative of Col. Hutchinson in these kingdoms, is much more proud of counting amongst his ancestors so firm and faithful a patriot than the most illustrious of traitors.

of Captain White, who wrought upon his facility to do those things which his malice and factious ambition prompted him to wish, but he durst not himself attempt. Although the horse would not obey Sir Thomas Fairfax, it was not out of cowardice, for the men were very stout and chearful in the service, but only had the general fault of all the parliament party, that they were not very obedient to commands, except they knew and approved their employment: they had no sooner released Sir Thomas, but my Lord Grey sending for two troops, they went to him to Melton, which he had begun to fortify. The governor, notwithstanding these obstacles from secret enemies and refractory friends, carried on his business with good success, and had many events according to his endeavours. Among the rest his men encountering a party where Col. Frecheville and Sir Henry Humlack were in person, fought them, killed many of their men, and took Frecheville prisoner; but his captain-lieutenant Jamniot came to his rescue and freed him, though himself was taken in his stead and brought to Nottingham. Here, after he had been sometime kept, he corrupted a soldier, who disguised and led him out, and went away with him. The man being a Frenchman, and a proper black man, some would needs report him to be Prince Rupert, and thereupon raised a great clamour at the governor.

But before his escape, upon the fifteenth of January, intelligence was brought that all the forces in Newark were marched on a design upon Sleeford in Lincolnshire. The governor not trusting that pretence, commanded all the soldiers and townsmen to sit up that night and expect them; and the next morning, being Tuesday, two of his intelligencers came and brought him word very early that the design was against Nottingham. After them the horse scouts came in with the news of their approach, the enemy's scouts and they having fired upon each other. Hereupon a strong alarum was given throughout the garrison, and a foot company sent down from the castle to the works, and the horse were there set with them to dispute the enemy's entrance into the town; but the horse perceiving the enemy's body to be a great one, retreated to the castle, and the foot seeing them gone, and none of the townsmen come forth to their assistance, made also an orderly retreat back to the castle, in which there was not a man lost or wounded. The works being imperfect and quitted, were easily entered, though the cannon that played upon them from the castle took off wholly the second file of musketeers that entered the gates. The first was led up by Lieut. Col. Cartwright, who two days before had sent to the governor for a protection to come in and lay down arms. The enemy being entered, possessed themselves of St. Peter's Church and certain houses near the castle, from whence they shot into the castle yard and wounded one man and killed another, which was all the hurt that was done our men that day.

The governor was very angry with the horse for coming up so suddenly, and stirred them up to such a generous shame, that they dismounted, and all took muskets to serve as foot, with which they did so very good service, that they exceeding well regained their reputations. Having taken foot arms, the governor sent one of his own companies with part of them, and they beat the cavaliers out of the nearest lanes and houses, which they had possessed, and so made a safe way for the rest to sally out and retreat, as there should be occasion.

When this was done, which was about noon, the governor sent out all the rest of the horse and foot to beat them out of the town. Sir Charles Lucas, who was the chief commander of all the forces there, had prepared a letter to send up to the governor to demand of him the castle; or if he would not deliver it, that then he should send down the mayor and aldermen, threatening that, if they came not immediately, he would sack and burn the town. There were, at that time, above a thousand cavaliers in the town, and as many in a body without the town, to have beaten off Derby and Leicester forces, if they should have made any attempt to come in to the assistance of their friends in Nottingham. On the other side the Trent, were all the forces Mr. Hastings could bring out from his own garrison and Belvoir and Wiverton, to force the bridges. All the cavalier forces, that were about the town, were about three thousand. When Sir Charles Lucas had written his letter, he could find none that would undertake to carry it to the castle, whereupon they took the mayor's wife, and, with threats, compelled her to undertake it; but just as she went out of the house from them, she heard an outcry, that "the roundheads were sallying forth," whereupon she flung down their letter and ran away; and they ran as fast from four hundred soldiers, who came furiously upon them out of the castle, and surprised them, while they were secure the castle would not have made so bold an attempt. But the governor's men chased them from street to street, till they had cleared the town of them, who run away confusedly; the first that went out shot their pistols into the thatched houses to have fired them, but by the mercy of God neither that, nor other endeavours they showed to have fired the town, as they were commanded, took effect. Between thirty and forty of them were killed in the streets, fourscore were taken prisoners, and abundance of arms were gathered up, which the men flung away in haste, as they ran; but they put some fire into a hay barn and hay mows, and all other combustible things they could discern in their haste, but by God's mercy the town notwithstanding was preserved from burning. Their horse faced the town in a valley where their reserve stood, while their foot marched away, till towards evening, and then they all drew off. Many of them died in their return, and were found dead in the woods and in the towns they passed through. Many of them, discouraged with this service, ran away, and many of their horses were quite spoiled: for two miles they left a great track of blood, which froze as it fell upon the snow, for it was such bitter weather that the foot had waded almost to the middle in snow as they came, and were so numbed with cold when they came into the town, that they were fain to be rubbed to get life in them, and in that condition, were more eager of fires and warm meat than of plunder, which saved many men's goods, and their security that did not believe an enemy who had unhandsomely, to speak truth, suffered them to enter the town without any dispute, would have durst, at such great odds, to

have set upon driving them out. Indeed no one can believe, but those that saw that day, what a strange ebb and flow of courage and cowardice there was in both parties that day. The cavaliers marched in with such terror to the garrison, and such gallantry, that they startled not when one of their leading files fell before them all at once, but marched boldly over the dead bodies of their friends, under their enemies' cannon, and carried such valiant dreadfulness about them, as made very courageous stout men recoil. Our horse, who ran away frighted at the sight of their foes, when they had breast-works before them, and the advantage of freshness to beat back assailants already vanquished with the sharpness of the cold and a killing march, within three or four hours, as men that thought nothing too great for them, returned fiercely upon the same men, after their refreshment, when they were entered into defensible houses. If it were a romance, one should say after the success, that the heroes did it out of excess of gallantry, that they might the better signalise their valour upon a foe who was not vanquished to their hands by the inclemency of the season: but we are relating wonders of Providence, and must record this as such a one as is not to be conceived, but by those who saw and shared in it; it was indeed a great instruction, that the best and highest courages are but the beams of the Almighty; and when he withholds his influence, the brave turn cowards, fear unnerves the most mighty, makes the most generous base, and great men to do those things they blush to think on; when God again inspires, the fearful and the feeble see no dangers, believe no difficultics, and carry on attempts whose very thoughts would, at another time, shiver their joints like agues. The events of this day humbled the pride of many of our stout men, and made them after more carefully seek God, as well to inspire as prosper their valour; and the governor's handsome reproaches of their faults, with showing them the way to repair, retrieved their straggling spirits, and animated them to very wonderful and commendable actions.

The governor would not let his men pursue the rear, but thought they might, in the night, have completed their day's work, if they had fallen into the enemy's quarters, which he gave orders to the horse to do; but Colonel Thornhagh would not obey them, because they came from him, and so lost a great opportunity, and contented himself with praising God for the great deliverance of the day, wherein there was not one townsman that came in to the assistance of the soldiers.

The next day, the governor called the town together, represented to them the mercy of God and the malice of their enemies, who, without regard of any friends they had among them, came purposely to fire the town, which God alone preserved, who having showed them their danger, required they should be no longer slothful in their own defence, but to take arms to preserve their families and houses. He propounded to them, that if they would so do, they should choose their own captains. They, considering the just reasons and motives with which he urged them, at length resolved to join in their own defence, and chose four captains; but the captains refusing, the soldiers that day went home unlisted, yet by the governor's dexterity in managing them, he at last brought four hundred, whereof more than half were high malignants, to list themselves under one Mr. Coates, a minister, an honest godly man.* and Mr. Mason,† an attorney, a great cavalier, but a reserved silent man, who, for an austere knit of his brow, and a grave severe countenance, had the reputation of a wise man, but was known to be disaffected to the parliament, though cunning enough not to do anything that might expose him to sequestration. Into these men's hands he put arms, and so ordered them, that at the last they grew fiercer in the service than those who were uprightly honest.

The next month the Lord Chaworth sent a letter to the governor, acquainting him that he was sick, and desired a protection to come and remain at his own house, in order to making his peace with the parliament, which protection the governor gave him.

The governor had acquainted the parliament with the late successes, whereupon they ordered a thousand pounds to be sent to the garrison out of the sequestrations of London, and the excise of the town to go to the payment of the garrison; but through Mr. Millington's negligent prosecution, the thousand pounds never came.‡

The governor went on again successfully in his employment, and began to endear himself to all the town as well as the soldiery, which awakening White's sleeping envy, he cast new plots to disturb him; and first made a motion to send to London for two hundred soldiers: to which the governor answered—If they were honest, there were men enough to keep the garrison; if they were not, to call in other forces was but to bait their treachery with a greater prize; and that to send for more force, while they had so slender maintenance for these, was to increase trouble without any benefit.

The same afternoon the committee sent the governor a warrant to be signed, which was before subscribed by four of them, White in the front. The warrant was to this effect:

"TO MR. HOOPER,

"*Engineer of the Garrison of Nottingham.*

"You are hereby required to make your present appearance to this committee, there to give an account what you have done about the works of the town, and how far you have proceeded in them; how, and in what manner, and by what time you intend to finish them; and what materials are needful for the finishing of them, there being imminent danger to the garrison."

As soon as the governor received the warrant he took the engineer with him, and went to the committee, to whom, said he, "Gentlemen, I received just now such a strange warrant from you,

* It appears from this that Mr. Palmer, mentioned before, and who will be mentioned more than once in the sequel, was not quite singular in taking up arms, notwithstanding his function. The famous preacher Hugh Peters, acted as an officer of horse. It was in those days common to quote the expression, that the saints should have the praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands!

† The same whom, when put into confinement at the castle, the governor invited to his table.

‡ Mentioned by Whitelock as given.

at I can impute it to nothing but a picked occa-
on of quarrel. If you desire to question anything
the fortifying of the town, I have not only
ought the engineer, but am here myself to
nswer it: if there be money in his hands, let him
ve you an account of it; but concerning the for-
fications, I conceive he is only to be accountable
me; therefore, why this warrant should be made
cannot tell, unless purposely to affront me; as
r that imminent danger you pretend, it is utterly
known to me, and if there be any, I ought to
ave been acquainted with it, and desire now to
nderstand it." They answered, "Were they not
daily peril?" He replied, "That was certain,
t at this time none more imminent than usually,
at he knew of; and further desired them, if he
d been negligent of those things, which conduced
the safety of the town, that they would article
ainst him whatever they could accuse him of;
he had done nothing worthy of blame, he took
exceeding ill, to be thus thwarted and affronted
his just and lawful command." Upon replies
nd debate, White said, "If Hooper did not ren-
r them an account of his works, they would clap
im by the heels." Whereupon the governor,
ddressing to him only, told him, "That from the
rst opening of his commission, he had manifested
is discontent, and that he had taken notice of his
ecret endeavours to oppose, and was glad the
umour was now so ripe as to vent itself; that for
he time to come, since he saw his condescensions
id but encourage them to wrest all things from him,
nd to question all his dues, he would now expect
hat full observance from them all, that was due
rom the officers of a garrison to the governor; that he
xpected the horse should receive orders from him,
nd that he would no longer put up with such af-
ronts and neglects as he had that very day received;
hen calling for a muster of the horse to have been
nt out upon a very advantageous design, a whole
roop, unknown to him, was, by the committee,
nt out for hay, whereby that opportunity was
st;" he told them further, "protections charging
fficers and soldiers to forbear plunder, ought to
e given only by him upon their certificate, and
ot by them; and," said he, "gentlemen, I
eceived that affront from you lately, which no
overnor in the world, but myself, would have
ut up with; when at a public council of war,
mong all the officers, enough to have caused a
utiny, it was propounded how far my command
xtended, and questioned whether I could com-
and horse in the garrison. And all of you, at
council of war, ordered the booty taken should
e at the disposal of the chief officer that went
ut; so that if a corporal went out, he must dis-
ose of the booty, which in all garrisons is the go-
ernor's right to do."

While they were in this dispute, the lieutenant-colonel came in, and seconded his brother; and fter some smart disputes on both sides, they arted for that night.

The next morning the committee sent for the overnor, who coming to them, one of them drew paper out of his pocket, and offered some pro-ositions to the governor; which were, first, that he dispute between them might be silenced and ept private; next, that he would join with them n a letter to Mr. Millington, to desire him to get he question decided by the close committee,—What were the several powers of a governor, and a committee? and, lastly, that he would draw up what he conceived his power to be. To this the governor replied, that for silencing the thing, he was very willing to do it; for sending to the close committee, he very well understood his own power, and if they questioned it, they might send whither they pleased, to satisfy themselves; for setting down the particulars wherein he conceived his power to consist, when he did anything which they thought belonged not to him, let them call him to question where they pleased, and he should be ready to give an account of his actions, but he would not make himself so ridiculous, as to send for satisfaction in unquestionable things; yet to inform them, if any of them pleased, he would go along with them, either to my Lord of Essex, or my lord Fairfax, to have the power of a governor decided. They told him the generals understood not the power of a committee as the parliament, and therefore writ a letter to Mr. Millington with extraordinary commendations of the governor, yet desiring to know the extent of his power, and showed it to him. He told them, if they believed those things they writ of him, he wondered whence all this discontent should arise, for he appealed to them all, whether, ever since he undertook the government, he had usurped any command over them, or done so much as the least inconsiderable act without acquainting them, and receiving their approbation; and what should ail them he could not imagine, unless they were discontented at his being made governor; which, if they were, they might thank themselves, who put it upon him, when he received nothing but trouble, expense, and danger in it. They all acknowledged his appeal true, and said they had desired his establishment in the government of the castle, as the man they esteemed most worthy of it and most fit for it. He told them, if the addition of the town grieved them, that was to be transferred on the parliament, who without his seeking had added that to him. One of them replied, they had so worthy an opinion of him, that they wished the assessing of the country, too, might be only put into his power. He said he should have been obliged to them had this proceeded from anything but discontent, and that if without his own seeking he should be honoured with that trust, as he was with this, he should endeavour to discharge it faithfully; but he rather desired it might continue in the hands it was, and if he were negligent to fetch in those assessments which were given him, then let the blame lie on him; but for rating and assessing the towns, those who were acquainted with the country were fittest for it: and thus for the present it rested.

The design they prevented by sending out the troop unknown to him was the saving the town of Southwell from being made a garrison for the king; which the town being unwilling to, sent word to the governor, that if he would come and assist them, they would join with him to beat out some soldiers that had intent to fortify themselves there; but the horse, by reason of their employment, failing those two days, and extraordinary ill weather coming after, that opportunity was lost: this was about the middle of February. Capt. White continued still afterwards to prevent all designs, whose events might any way have conduced

to the governor's honour, not weighing what hindrance it was to the public service, which was a great vexation to the governor; but his courage was above their malice, and his zeal to the service carried him vigorously on, in all things which he could accomplish by his own officers and soldiers, who were more obedient to him; and, although this was the exercise of his patience, yet was it also a spur to his diligence, and made his fidelity more illustrious, and kept him more in waiting upon God, and more strict in the watch over all his actions, because he knew how all his enemies watched for his fall.

Upon the 11th of February, Cornet Palmer, who had been prisoner at Newark, came home and told the governor that he had discovered in his prison a design intended about this time to surprise the bridge by Hacker's soldiers, who were to come in the habit of market people the next Saturday. This intelligence was seconded, whereupon the governor sent his officers to command all the bridge soldiers to keep in their quarters that day: he commanded also all the horse in the town to be ready to go out upon the first sound of the trumpet, and gave orders for all the drums in the garrison to beat betimes in the morning; the lieutenant-colonel set out a guard beyond the bridge, with charge strictly to examine all passengers. About eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 17th of February, they took twelve of them* upon the bridges, disguised like market men and women, with pistols, long knives, hatchets, daggers, and great pieces of iron about them; whereupon they sent and acquainted the governor, who being himself on horseback at the works, went immediately down to the bridge, and commanded all the horse to come away and pursue them, but the horse commanders, being always slow in obeying his commands, came not till the enemy's foot beyond the bridge, perceiving their fellows were taken upon the bridge, retired and got safe off, only nine who were to have assassinated those at the bridge, and advanced forwarder than the rest for that purpose, were overtaken, and with their captain leaped into the Trent to have saved themselves, of whom our men plucked four out of the water, five were drowned, and the captain swam to shore on the other side. The governor was in doubt whether these men taken in disguises were to be released as prisoners of war, or executed as spies and assassins by martial law; but though he had not cared if the bridge-soldiers had turned them into the Trent when they took them, he afterwards released them all upon exchange, except one Slater, a soldier of his own that had run away to the enemy, and this day was taken coming into the town, with a montero† pulled close about his face, but denied that he was of the design; yet after, upon trial at a court-martial, he was condemned and executed. The governor had sent out some horse and foot to drive the grounds at the enemy's garrison at Shelford, which they did, and from under the very works from which the enemy shot at them, brought away many beasts and horses that belonged to the garrison, and brought them up into the castle-yard. The governor being then in the committee chamber, told them it was fit the soldiers should have a reward, whereupon it was ordered to give them six pounds, and the governor told the soldiers the committee had assigned them a reward; but when they came to receive it, Salisbury, the treasurer, tithed it out, and gave the soldiers groats apiece, and sixpence apiece to the officers, which in all came but to forty shillings and odd money; which the soldiers, being mad at, flung back his money, and desired a council of war, to do them right; which the governor assented to, and the next day the business being heard at a full council of all the officers of the garrison, it was determined by the unanimous vote of all but Mr. Salisbury, that in regard the enemy shot at them when they took the booty, it did of right belong to the soldiers that fought for it, and so they had it; whereupon Salisbury flung away from the board in a great huff and muttering, for which the governor rebuked him, and told him such carriage ought not to be suffered in him, who, as an officer, ought to have more respect to the place and them that sat there. After this, about eighteen of the lieutenant-colonel's men went out and met twenty-five men in arms; between them there was a brook, the bridge men called to them and asked of what side they were, and perceiving they were cavaliers, told them, after some little defies between them, that though the number was unequal, they would fight with them; and passing over the brook, charged them, put them to flight, killed two of them, took eight prisoners and twelve of their horses. Upon examination they were found to be northern gentlemen, who having listed themselves in the prince's own troop, after the death of Sir Thomas Biron that commanded under the prince, were assigned to my Lord Wentworth, at which being discontented, they were now returning into their own country, being almost all of them gentlemen. Sir Richard Biron, for his brother's memory, exchanged them for prisoners of Nottingham, taken when the town was first surprised.

In the end of this month, on the fast-day, the national covenant was taken, with a great solemnity, both by the soldiers and inhabitants, men and women, of the garrison. This day, unexpectedly came Sir Edward Hartup, with a thousand horse of Leicester and Derby, to which the governor added between five and six hundred; Sir Edward being appointed to command the party, should have gone with them to take Muscam bridges, at Newark, before which place Sir John Meldrum was now come, with about seven thousand men, and had laid siege to it. The horse of Newark, as soon as the parliament's forces came, made an escape over Muscam bridge, which Sir Edward Hartup, having more mind to drink than fight, lingering a day at Nottingham, and then marching to no purpose against it, lost his opportunity of taking; yet God, by a providence, gave it up with 200 men that kept it to the parliament's forces, who had they then pursued their success, they might have carried the town too, but it was not God's time then to deliver the country of that pernicious enemy. The horse that were escaped out of Newark, went into all their garrisons in the Vale and Derbyshire, and gathered up all the force they could make, to about the number of two thousand, and with these they came and quartered near Nottingham;

* Hacker's soldiers. † A kind of cap so called.

themselves and the country giving out that they were about four thousand.

There was a fast kept at Nottingham, to seek God for his presence with our armies; and before the first sermon was ended, the enemy's horse came to the town-side and gave a strong alarum, and continued facing the town till night, at which time they returned to their quarters, and those horse that were in the garrison following their rear, gleaned up two lieutenants and two or three other officers: the next day the body marched just by the town-side, and so passed over the river at Wilden Ferry. After they were gone from about Nottingham, the governor went down to the Leaguer, at Newark, where Sir John Meldrum had made all things ready for a general assault of the town; but at a council of war that was called in the field, it was determined that it should not then be, whereupon the governor of Nottingham returned to his garrison; who coming to take his leave of Sir John Meldrum, Sir John entreated him that he would return again and be among them as much as he could, making a sad complaint of the envying, heart-burnings, and dissentions that were among the several commanders, so that he had much ado to hold them together, and had great need of men of moderation and prudence to assist him, and to help to mediate among them. The forces that Sir John Meldrum commanded before this town, were gathered out of several associated counties, and the commanders so emulous of one another, and so refractory to commands, and so piquing in all punctilios of superiority, that it galled the poor old gentleman to the heart, who, having commanded abroad, and been used to deal with officers that understood the discipline of war, was confounded among those who knew not how to obey any orders, but disputed all his commands, and lost their time and honour in a fruitless expedition, through their vain contentions; whereas had they joined in the assault then, when he would have made it, they might probably have carried the town, but missing that opportunity, they came off at last with loss and dishonour. While the governor was at the Leaguer, Sir John Meldrum told him, that Col. Pierrepont had been with him to get his hand to a paper, which should have testified, that the government of Nottingham did of right belong to him; but Sir John answered he could not testify any such thing, for it was his own act to confer that government, where now it was; with which Col. Pierrepont seemed very well satisfied at that time. When he could not prevail in this, he desired Sir John to set his hand to another paper, which should have certified, that in all things he had approved himself most firm and faithful to the service of the parliament. Sir John said he would not injure him so much as to make any such certificate of a thing not called into question; but if there should be any doubt of it, he should be ready to do him all right. Col. Pierrepont, moreover, went to the governor's soldiers, that had formerly been of his regiment, and giving them twenty shillings to drink, told them he was to be governor of the town, and would shortly come among them.

Sir Edward Hartup was sent with the party of horse he before had at Muscam bridge, to pursue those that were gone out of Newark, and fight with them, and hinder their joining with Prince Rupert, who was expected to come to raise the siege; and when Sir Edward came into Leicestershire the whole country rose with him, and the governor of Leicester brought out foot and cannon to assist him. His forlorn hope being of the Nottingham horse, charged the enemy's forlorn hope and routed them, and then fell into their body of foot, which they had drained out of their little garrisons, and routed them also, and if Sir Edward Hartup would have come on with his body, they had all been cut off; but the knight would not stir, but commanded the forlorn hope to retreat, who had slain and taken many prisoners of the enemy, and among them Jammot, that had lately made his escape out of Nottingham castle. The enemy perceiving Sir Edward would not hurt them, rallied again and joined with Prince Rupert; of whom as soon as Sir Edward had intelligence, he went back to Newark with such shameful haste that he quitted Melton with all the prisoners the forlorn hope had lately taken. The Leicester forces, discouraged at this miscarriage, returned to their garrisons and marched no more with him.*

The governor of Nottingham kept out spies upon the enemy's motions, and sent word to the Leaguer, but the gentlemen there were so overconfident, they would not believe any force could come to raise their siege. At length, the governor of Nottingham being there himself, word was brought Prince Rupert was come to Ashby, wherefore he, fearing some attempt upon his garrison, to divert the forces at the siege, returned home with his brother to look to their charge. It was late upon Wednesday night when the governor came home, and was certainly informed that Prince Rupert was, that afternoon, marched by to raise the siege, with about six thousand men. Immediately the governor sent two men, excellently well mounted upon his own horses, to carry the alarum to Sir John Meldrum, who, by two of the clock on Thursday morning, delivered him their letters, and he presently prepared to fight with the prince, who about nine or ten of the clock came. Sir John had drawn all his ordnance into the walls of a ruined house, called the spittle, and the horse were first to charge the enemy. Col. Thornhagh and Major Rossiter gave them a very brave charge, routed those whom they first encountered, and took prisoners Major-general Gerrard and others, and, had they been seconded by the rest of the horse, had utterly defeated the prince's army; but the Lincolnshire troops fled away before they ever charged, and left Col. Thornhagh engaged, with only his own horse, in the prince's whole body, where, they say, he charged the prince himself, and made his way and passed very gallantly through the whole army, with a great deal of honour, and two desperate wounds, one in the arm, the other in the belly. After the Lincoln-

* In Whitelock's Memoirs, p. 85, there is an account of this relief, or raising the siege of Newark, agreeing with Mrs. Hutchinson's, except that it is not quite so particular, and omits the account of what befel Col. Thornhagh. Whitelock attributes to the misconduct of Sir E. Hartup and Col. Bingley, Prince Rupert's coming with his forces entire to the place: and informs us that a court-martial was directed to decide upon their conduct, but does not state what their decision was.

shire horse were run away, Sir John Meldrum sent the Derby horse and the Nottingham foot, with two companies of Col. King's to keep Muscam bridge, and Molanus, the Derbyshire major, to be their commander. Col. Thornhagh was sent home in a waggon to Nottingham. Sir John himself, with the few horse and dragoons that were left, of Nottingham and Derby, being about five hundred, went into the spittle, to his foot. The prince lost more than Sir John in the skirmish, but as soon as ever Sir John had betaken himself to the spittle, the prince sent horse and foot between him and Muscam bridge*. The horse that were left there to guard the foot ran every man away, so that they had not a horse left to fetch them any provision. The major that commanded them told them that he would go to the next town to buy them some bread, and with that pretence came away and never saw them more. The enemy was endeavouring to make a passage over the river, to come on the other side of them and encompass them, which when they saw and considered that they had no order what to do, nor bread for one meal, nor bullets more than their muskets were loaded withal, and that it was impossible for them to come off, if they stayed till the enemy enclosed them; and further discovering that their friends in the spittle were in parley, they conceived it their best way to come home, which they plotted so to do that the enemy might not perceive it till they were out of their reach; so leaving lighted matches and squibs laid at certain distances to deceive the enemy, they came safe home; but within less than half an hour after they were gone the enemy came on the other side, and not missing them till morning, by reason of the squibs, they pursued them not, by which means they came safe to Nottingham; which was a very seasonable mercy, for had they stayed the choicest arms in the garrison had been lost, and the best and most confiding soldiers disarmed: for Sir John agreed upon articles with the prince, to deliver up the spittle wherein he lay, with all the muskets, ordnance, and ammunition in it; the foot soldiers to march away with colours flying, swords and pikes, the horsemen with their horses and swords, and all the commanders with their pistols: but the prince broke all these conditions, and pillaged them to their shirts, and sent many captains quite naked away.

The committee of Nottingham now began again to mutter at the governor, but he would not take notice of it, but applied himself to take care for the securing of his town, where the enemy now daily threatened to come. So he floated the meadows on the Line side, where there was no fortification, and raised a fort in the midst of the meadows, to preserve the float, and fortified the Trent bridges more strongly, and, expecting the enemy every hour, was forced to let the wo on all the Lord's day. When, calling the ca together to consult the best way of preparin their defence, Mason, the new town captain this time to revive the old mutiny, and sai townsmen would not stand to their works the ordnance were drawn down from the ca the town works: the governor rebuking hi this unseasonable insolence, he and his men all the time of this great exigence, so bac that they were rather an obstruction than ance, and there was much ado to get them to the works or the guards. Indeed such was given to the parliament interest, in all parts, that it might well discourage the ill-aff when even the most zealous were cast dow gave all for lost: but the governor, who occasion ever let his courage fall, but, when were at the lowest, re-collected all his force his own despondency might not contribute thing to his malicious fortune, at this tim mated all the honest men, and expressed vigour and cheerfulness, and such stedfast r tion, as disappointed all the malignants of hopes. The wives, children, and servants of as were in the enemy's garrisons and armi thought it not safe to suffer any longer i town, in such a time of danger, and the commanded them all to depart, not sparing some of his own relations; but though th done by the concurrence of the whole comm yet some of them, who were loath the town s lose any that wished ill to the governor an undertakings, privately, without his conse knowledge, brought back several persons were very dangerous to the place.

And now, upon the twenty-fifth day of M a letter was brought to the governor from a commissioners at Newark, telling him tha parliament's forces had quitted Gainsborough coln, and Sleeforth, and that the prince int to advance against Nottingham, and to fir town if he did not immediately throw dow works, which if he should not do, the world then take notice of him as the only ruin native country. To which the governor ret them answer, that as he never engaged h in this service, with respect to the succe actions of other places, so, though the kingdom were quit besides this town, yet he maintain it so long as he was able, and he t that God would preserve it in his hands; it perished, he was resolved to bury hims the ruins of it, being confident that God after vindicate him to have been a defende not a destroyer of his country. The copy letter which the Newark commissioners s the governor, was sent to one Francis Co malignant inhabitant of the town, subscribe all the commissioners' hands, and desiring h communicate it to the whole town. The gov having taken what care he could at hom immediately to the parliament and to the E Essex, acquainting them with the desperat dition of the place, and desiring they would him seasonable relief, if the prince should b him, promising to employ his utmost ende to hold it for them, or to lose himself w My lord general returned a very civil encou letter, and now the prince, two days aft

* Rapin gives a different account of this matter, but to those who know, or observe the situation of the places, Mrs. Hutchinson's will appear to be the true one. Besides Muscam bridge there was a bridge of boats, which enabled the prince's forces to surround the guard left at Muscam bridge: this guard, instead of *deserting*, as Rapin says of it, was deserted and sacrificed for want of support: the road still lay open to Lincoln, but probably Prince Rupert was too strong and too active to let the besiegers escape any way unless they had acted with better accord amongst themselves.

letter, was advanced within three miles of Nottingham, when it pleased God to divert him from coming against the town by letters which were brought him from Oxford, which occasioned his hasty return into the south, without any attempt upon the place, which, by God's mercy, was thus delivered from this threatening danger. However their enemies at Newark, by the late success, were very much exalted, and by the quitting of so many parliament garrisons about them, increased in power, and left at leisure to turn all their designs against Nottingham, which being so infirm within itself, the governor had a very difficult task to preserve it; while the disaffected, who were subtle, did not clearly declare themselves, but watched all opportunities to work the governor's disturbance, by fomenting the ill humours of the factious committee-men and priests; for they now took occasion to fall in with them, upon the governor's release of his chief cannoneers out of prison, into which he, by the instigation of the ministers and the godly people, whom they animated almost to mutiny, had put them, for separating from the public worship, and keeping little conventicles in their own chamber. It was with some reluctancy he had committed them, for the men, though of different judgments in matter of worship, were otherwise honest, peaceable, and very zealous and faithful to the cause; but the ministers were so unable to suffer their separation and spreading of their opinions, that the governor was forced to commit them; yet when this great danger was, he thought it not prudent to keep them discontented and then employ them, and therefore set them at liberty, for which there was a great outcry against him as a favourer of separatists*.

It will not be amiss, in this place, to carry on the parliament story, that we may the better judge things at home, when we know the condition of affairs abroad. The queen, being suffered to pass through Nottinghamshire by those forces which were sent down thither to have prevented her, joined with Prince Rupert and came to the king, and was by the parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown jewels in Holland, encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a papistical army in England, &c.

The Earl of Essex's army lay sick about London for recruits; Sir William Waller, after many victories in the west, was at length totally routed, and returned to London, Prince Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton having recovered and possessed almost the whole west of England for the king. The north my lord Newcastle's army commanded so fully, that they were advanced into Nottingham and Lincolnshire, and the adjacent counties. The parliament being in this low condition, had agreed with Scotland, and entered into a solemn national league and covenant, which was taken throughout both kingdoms, and the king had made a cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and brought over the English army, that had been honoured with so many successes against them, to serve him here; but God never blessed his affairs after they came to him, though indeed, before their arrival, God had begun to turn the scale; for the city of Gloucester stopping, by its faithful and valiant resistance, the career of the king's victories, after Bristol and Exeter and all the west was lost, the king disdaining to leave it behind him unvanquished, sat down before it, which employed him and his whole army, till the

* This being the first time that a disunion in religion among those of the parliament's party has been plainly named, it is proper here to state, that, in the outset, all those sects, which have since taken so many various names, joined their forces to repel the encroachments of the *Prelates*,—it would not be fair to say of the *Church of England*, whose characteristic is moderation itself,—but when they had almost crushed the Episcopalians, the Presbyterian ministers began to rise pre-eminent in power, and to show that, though they had changed the name, they by no means intended to diminish the dominion of the hierarchy. There are preserved in Whitelock two speeches, one of his own, and one of Selden's on this subject. To resist this usurpation there arose a very powerful party or faction under the name of Independents, under whose banner enlisted all who desired liberty of conscience, of whatever particular persuasion they might be; and, amongst others, most naturally all such as wished to see the church of England restored to her purity, and redeemed from her servility and subserviency to the usurpations of the crown, but whose hopes would have been totally destroyed if Presbytery obtained a full and firm establishment. It is extraordinary that almost all the historians put the cause for the effect, and suggest that many members of the parliament, and at the head of them Cromwell, raised this faction to obtain their own exaltation; whereas intolerancy raised it in the nation at large, and especially in the army, and Cromwell availed himself of it when raised. In a scarce book, called Anglia Rediviva, or the success of the Army under Fairfax, written by Joshua Sprigge, he says, "the army was, what by example and justice, kept in good order both respectively to itself and the country: there were many of them differing in opinion, yet not in action nor business; they all agreed to preserve the kingdom; they prospered in their unity, more than uniformity; and whatever their opinions were, they plundered none with them, they betrayed none with them, nor disobeyed the state with them, and they were more visibly pious and peaceable in their opinions than many we call orthodox." Let the blame of all the misfortunes that flowed from it rest with those who gave disturbance to such men, not to those who screened them from persecution.

Since the publication of the first edition, there has appeared a very candid critique of this work in the Annual Review for 1806, containing the following remark. "It may be mentioned as an additional proof of Mr. Hutchinson's rectitude, that when George Fox, the founder of the quakers, was imprisoned at Nottingham, he protected him; thus proving, that unlike the greater number of those who were engaged in the same cause, he allowed that liberty of conscience to others which he claimed for himself."

The editor thought it his duty, upon this suggestion, to make a further inquiry, and has, in pursuance of it, been furnished by a respectable Friend, Mr. Barker, surgeon, at Colchester, with the two following extracts, together with some others, which will appear in their proper places. —G. Fox's Journal, fol. ed. p. 27. "I went to the Steeple House, at Nottingham, during the time of divine worship, addressed the people, and was committed to prison. When the assizes came on, there was one moved to come and offer himself up for me, body for body, yea, life also: but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching me to the Sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came, at which I understood he was somewhat offended. So I was returned to prison, and put into the common gaol; and the Lord's power was great among friends, but the people began to be very rude, *wherefore the governor of the castle sent down soldiers and dispersed them, and after that they were quiet.*"—Sewell's Hist. of Quakers, fol. ed. p. 22. "Now though the people began to be very rude, *yet the governor of the castle was so very moderate, that he sent down soldiers to disperse them.*"

Earl of Essex and his recruited army, assisted with the London auxiliaries, came and relieved it, and pursued the king's army to an engagement at Newberry, where the parliament obtained a great and bloody victory, and the king for ever lost that opportunity he lately had of marching up to London, and in all probability of subduing the parliament. My Lord Newcastle, by a like error, about the same time, setting down before Hull, missed the opportunity of wholly gaining all those neighbouring counties, and much wasted his great and victorious army, being forced to rise with loss and dishonour from the unyielding town. After the fight at Newberry, Sir William Waller, having gotten a new army, had divers successes with it, and at length totally routed all Hopton's army, about that time that Prince Rupert raised the siege at Newark, and was the occasion that called the prince so hastily out of those counties.

The Earl of Essex pursuing the war, had a design to block up Oxford, where the king was, and accordingly attempted it, he on one side, and Waller on the other; but the king, with a few light horse, escaped out of the town, and went to join with his greater armies; which being done, Essex marched farther into the west, and in Cornwall was besieged, where he lost all his foot, ammunition, and ordnance, and came dishonourably home to London. Waller unsuccessfully followed the king, and the parliament's affairs all that summer were very unprosperous in the west, south, and midland counties, but contrary in the north, where the Scotch army, under General Leven, advanced, took some towns and forts, and wasted the Earl of Newcastle's army more by their patient sufferance of the ill weather, and martial toil, which the English could not so well abide, than by fighting. Sir Thomas Fairfax, having again taken the field with his father, after a miraculous victory they had gained over the Irish army * which the king had brought over, joined the Scots; and the Earl of Manchester, having raised a force in the associated counties, with which he made an expedition to Lincoln, having Col. Cromwell for his lieutenant-general, marched into Yorkshire, and uniting with the other two armies, they all besieged the Earl of Newcastle in York. To raise this siege, Prince Rupert came with a great army out of the south; the besiegers rose to fight with the prince, and Newcastle drew all his force out of York to join with him, when both armies, on a great plain called Marston Moor, had a bloody encounter, and the Scots and my Lord Fairfax were wholly routed, and the battle lost; but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restored the other routed parliamentarians, and gained the most complete victory that had been obtained in the whole war. The victors possessed all the prince's ordnance, carriages, and baggage; whereupon the prince fled, with as many as he could save, back into the south; the Earl of Newcastle, with some of his choice friends, went into Germany, and left Sir Thomas Glenham governor of York, which he soon after surrendered, and then the three generals parted; Leven went back into the north, and took the town of Newcastle, Fairfax ret Yorkshire, and Manchester returned south, by the way taking in many small as he passed through the counties.

The queen that summer went into F solicit foreign aid for her husband, but inef meanwhile new treaties were carried on the king and parliament, but to no pur the king's false dealing and disingenuit was so apparent that they came to nothi further discovery of the king's falseh favour of the Irish rebels, with whom he ployed Ormond to treat and conclude This treaty was that at Uxbridge, where sioners met on both sides, but effected for the parliament itself began to grow apparent factions of Presbyterians and dents, and the king had hope, by their to prevail for the accomplishment of his ov

It was too apparent how much the wl liament cause had been often hazarded, l opportunities of finishing the war had b slipped by the Earl of Essex's army, and that he himself, with his commanders, r deavoured to become arbiters of war a than conquerors for the parliament, for it w that he had given out such expressions: v those in the parliament, who were grieve prejudice of the public interest, and loatl those men to public shame, who had merited of them, devised to new-model t and an ordinance was made, called the sel ordinance, whereby all members of parli both houses, were discharged of their c in the army. Cromwell had a particular e when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh dered their commissions, and Sir Thoma was made general of the new-modelle Cromwell lieutenant-general, and Skippo general. The army was reduced to tv thousand, who prosecuted the war not wi of gain and making it their trade, but te righteous peace and settlement to the kingdom, and accordingly it succeeded lands ‡.

* Commanded by Sir John Biron, or Lord Biron, near Namptwich in Cheshire.

† Whoever will take the pains to read the ki in Clarendon's State Papers will see that thi representation of his sentiments: but Heylin p failure of the treaty arose from the extreme pe the rigid Presbyterians we may very well their share.

‡ It is suggested by Rapin and others, that model and self-denying ordinance arose not motives here set down, but merely from int Whitelock, who even spoke against it, p. 123, indispensable necessity for such a new model members of the house were sent to their gener plain of their remissness. The Earl of Manch under a kind of accusation, the lord general in Waller not much otherwise, the forces no ordered, and the parliament business in an una dition, so that it was high time for some othe be taken by them." Mr. Sprigge demonstrates fully. He says, "Cromwell was absent in the the exemption was voted; that he had come t over night to kiss the general's hand, and take on quitting the service, but the following morn came forth of his chamber, those commands, t he thought of nothing less in all the world, ca from the committee of both kingdoms, in ob which he immediately marched away." An "that the house did this for their own happines of their general Fairfax."—Mrs. Hutchinson

To return to Nottingham: after the prince was marched away out of the country, the enemy without was still designing against the garrison, and the governor's enemies within were still perplexing all his affairs. Upon the eleventh of May, a letter was found by a wench in the night-time, dropped in the shoe-makers' booths; which letter was directed to Sir Richard Biron, informing him that "the business between them went on with good success, and that the time drawing on, it behoved him to be very diligent, and desiring him to burn the letter," which was subscribed, "Your careful servant, A. C.;" and a postscript written, "Fail nothing by any means, and there shall be no neglect in me." The governor took all courses that could be imagined to discover this person, but could never find him out. About this time some troopers going by a house, where one Henry Wandall, a debauched malignant apothecary had lived, (but the house was now empty, and he had the key of it,) they perceived a smoke to come out of it, and went in and found some kindled sticks laid in a potsherd, just by a rotten post, under the stair-case, with hurds and other combustible things about it, which it was evident were put there to fire the house, but for what reason, or by whom, was not discovered.

The governor hearing of some troops of the enemy in the Vale, had a design to go thither, and acquainted the committee with it; telling them he would take out all the horse, and himself march with the body, and leave a foot company and thirty horse behind him at the bridges, so as by that time he was marched by Wiverton, which would give Shelford the alarum, the thirty horse, which were more than Shelford had to send out, should face the house on that side next Nottingham, and the foot should march a private way through the closings*, so that if Shelford horse or foot should come forth against those thirty horse, the foot might get between them and home, or take any advantage that was offered. All this the committee very well approved, and so it was resolved to put it in execution the next night after, because it would take some time to provide horses for the musketeers. The governor coming out of the committee, met Capt. White upon the parade in the castle-yard, and acquainted him with the design, who, with a dejected countenance and a faint voice, pretended to approve it, but desired the thirty horse who were to stay some hours behind, might be of his troop; to which the governor assented to gratify his desire, though he told him, he was very loath to spare any of that troop, who were old soldiers and well acquainted with the country; but he desired him the rest might not fail to be ready: the captain promised they should, and so departed. When the governor had made ready all the horse and dragoons, and was himself just ready to march out with them, being at Col. Thornhagh's house, White came in; the governor, not doubting of his intention to go, asked him if his troop were ready? He replied, "they were out upon service; thirty," said he, "are gone by your consent, and the rest went to fetch in a malignant at Ekering; some few odd ones remain, which you may have if you will." The governor desired him to go himself and assist him, the captain desired to be excused, for "to what purpose should he go when his troop was not there?" The governor went from thence to his own lodgings, and meeting the committee, acquainted them how White had served him, who seemed to resent it very ill at that time; and while they were discoursing of it White's officer came up with warrants to be signed for hay for the quarters, which being offered the governor, he tore, and said he would sign no warrants for such a disorderly troop, as would do no service but what they list, whose officers knew neither how to give nor obey commands.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, to want eighty of his best men, the governor went out with the rest, and when he had drawn them into the Trent lanes, one of his spies came in with intelligence that at a town in the Vale, called Sierston, and another next it, called Elston, there was two hundred horse quartered, who being come in weary and secure, might easily be surprised that night. The governor, calling the captains together, imparted the intelligence, and they were all forward to go on in the design, except Captain Pendock, who persuaded much against it; but while they were discoursing another intelligencer came in, to second the former, whereupon the governor told the captains, that if they would go, he was resolved to do something that night, and because Captain Pendock was best acquainted with that side of the country, he appointed him to lead on the forlorn hope, which accordingly he did, but with such sloth and muttering, that in two or three miles' riding, the governor was forced to send up some officers to him, to hasten him on; neither was this from cowardice, but only humour and faction, for the man was stout enough when he had a mind to it, but now he rode along, muttering that it was to no purpose, and when he came to Saxondale Gorse, purposely lost himself and his forlorn hope; which the governor missing, was much troubled, fearing that by some misadventure they might have been enclosed and cut off between the enemy's garrisons; but when they came to Saxondale Lane, Pendock and his forlorn hope were found safe in the rear of the body. The governor, perceiving Pendock's backwardness, had sent out some parties, one troop under Capt.-lieut. Palmer, and another party with Cornet Peirson, to some near towns, to execute some of the committee's warrants in fetching in delinquents, when the cornet came back with an alarum that two or three hundred horse were quartered at Elston and Sierston, which he must either fight with, or retreat. Capt. Pendock was again wonderful unwilling to go on, and said it would be day before they should come there; but the governor bade those that would, follow him, for he would go, and accordingly he went; and when he came to the town, drew up his men at the town's end in a body, from which he sent in some parties to fall into the town, himself staying with the body between them and Newark, to defend them from any of the enemies that might have come upon them:† so they brought out two cap-

ciently observant of Cromwell's artifices to have accused him of it on this occasion, if he had deserved it.

* Closings, closes, fields, vulg. Notts. *closen*.

† Whoever looks upon the map, and observes the vicinity of these places to Newark, and their great distance from Nottingham, will see it to have been a service of great delicacy and danger. It is mentioned cursorily by

tain-lieutenants, some cornets, and other gentlemen of quality, thirty troopers, and many more horses and arms; Capt. Thimbleby, absolutely refusing quarter, was killed. The governor sent into the town to command all his men immediately away; but a lieutenant and cornet making not haste to obey, while they staid for some drink were surprised by a party that came from Newark, before the corporal the governor had sent to fetch them off was well out of the town; but with those he had taken, and all the booty, and many horses and beasts fetched from malignants in the enemy's quarters, the governor came safe home, to the great discontent of Capt. White, who was something out of countenance at it. This may serve, instead of many more, to show how hard a task he had to carry on the service, with such refractory malicious persons under him.

About this time it happened, that the engineer being by, Capt. Pendock took occasion to rail at the town-works, and Hooper making answers, which drew on replies, Pendock struck him, whereupon the man, angry, laid his hand upon his sword and half drew it out, but thrust it in again; the maid ran affrighted into the kitchen, where was one Henry Wandall, who presently called some musketeers, disarmed Mr. Hooper, and sent him prisoner to the governor; who asking him upon what account he came so, he told him he had no reason to accuse himself; if those that sent him had anything against him, he was ready to answer it. After the governor had expected till about midnight and nothing came, he sent for Wandall, and inquiring why and by whose authority he committed Mr. Hooper prisoner, he answered, "for drawing his sword, he, as an officer of the garrison, had sent him up." The governor asked who made him an officer? and taking it upon him, why he did not send up both parties, but only one, in a quarrel? and he being able to give no answer, but such as showed it was done out of malice, the governor committed him for his insolence, who being but a common soldier, presumed to make an officer prisoner, without rendering an account to the governor, and let the other engaged in the quarrel go free. The next day after this, Plumptre came to the Trent bridges, where being stopped, he sent up a pass which he had procured him from my lord general, to come and stay in the town during his own pleasure; which when the governor saw, he sent him word, that in regard of my lord general's pass he might stay at his own house, but bade him take heed, as he would answer it, that he meddled not to make any mutiny or commotion in the garrison: to which he sent an insolent reply, that he was glad the governor was taught manners; he was come to town for some business, and when he had occasion he would repair to the committee. The committee, hearing this, were very sensible of his insolent carriage, and drew up articles against him, which were signed with six of their hands, and sent up to Mr. Millington to be preferred against him, in the house of parliament, and to be showed to my lord general, as the lieutenant-colonel should see occasion, whom the governor sent immediately to the general, to acquaint him the reason why Dr. Plumptre had been forced to procure his pass for his protection. The governor took this
to send to the general about his cannoneer
some days before, he had been forced to co
prisoners to their chamber till the genera
sure could be known concerning them,
the instigation of Capt. Palmer, all the n
in town, and, to make the cry the louder,
loose malignant priests which they had g
join with them, had most violently urge
petition to the committee, that these men
be turned out of the town for being separa
that the governor was forced, against his
confine them, to prevent mutiny, though th
otherwise honest, obedient, and peaceful.
the lieutenant-colonel was gone, with lette
cerning these matters, to the general, P
behaved himself most insolently and mut
and he and Mason entering into confeder
contrived some articles against the gove
committing Wandall; but when they tried a
they could do no good with them, Mason
the governor and was most saucily importu
his release, which, by reason of the insolent
of seeking it, the governor would not gran

The general, upon the governor's lette
down a letter to Plumptre, to discharge
garrison, and another to the governor to
the cannoneers; which he accordingly did
satisfaction of his own conscience, which
satisfied in keeping men prisoners for th
sciences, so long as they lived honestly a
fensively; but it caused a great mutiny
priests against him, and they blew up as
their people as they could, to join in faction
the governor, not caring now what men t
tered into confederacy with, nor how dis
to the cause, so they were but bitter enough
the separatists; which the cunning mal
perceiving, they now all became zealo
laughed in secret to see how they wrough
men to ruin their own cause and champion

Plumptre not taking notice of the general's
the governor sent him word he expected he
obey them and depart: Plumptre replied,
ness was done, and he would go: but in
his teeth he would have a guard. The lieu
colonel would have put in the articles i
parliament, which the committee had
against Plumptre; but Mr. Millington pre
all kindness and service to the governor
needs undertake it, and desired the lieu
colonel to trouble none of the governor's
in any business he had to do, but to lea
his hands, who would employ all his pow
serve him with all vigilance and faith
against all persons whatsoever; and whe
heard the governor had some thoughts of
to London, he wished him not to trouble
but to charge him with anything he ha
Notwithstanding all this, the governor
London, having some occasions thither.
before his going, he and the rest of the co
had required Mr. Salisbury, their treas
give in his accounts, which he either unwi
unable to do, bent his utmost endeavours
a high mutiny and faction against the g
and Capt. White was never backward in a
chief; these, with Plumptre and Mason,
close confederacy, and called home Chad
their assistance, having engaged the peo

Whitelock, p. 89; had Sir John Gell been the commander, we should have had it better displayed.

priests and all their idolaters, upon an insinuation of the governor's favour to separatists. During Col. Thornhagh's sickness, the governor undertook the command of his horse regiment, while it quartered in the garrison, and made the men live orderly, and march out upon designs more frequently than they used to do when their colonel was well, upon whose easiness they prevailed to do what they list, and some of them, who were great plunderers, were connived at, which the governor would by no means suffer: wherefore these men were, by the insinuations of their officers and the wicked part of the committee, drawn into the faction, which was working in secret awhile, and at last broke into open prosecutions. They had determined that as soon as the governor was gone, White, the devil's exquisite solicitor, should also follow to London, but knew not how to do for a pretence to send him upon the public purse; when wickedness, which never wants long the opportunity it waits for, found one soon out, for the committee of both kingdoms had sent a command for all the horse in Nottingham to repair to Sir John Meldrum in Lancashire; the town was put upon a hasty petition that their horse might not go, and Capt. White must carry it, who pretends to have known nothing of it half an hour before, yet he was ready; and Dr. Plumptre, too, prepared to make good his brags, and go with his convoy. Presently after he was gone, the engine of mischief comes to town, Col. Chadwick, whom Mr. Salisbury receives with great joy and exultance, boasting, to use his own words, that they should now mump the governor. At the mayor of the town's house he was entertained with much wine, whereof Mr. Ayscough, a committee-man, having taken a pretty large proportion, coming that night to supper to the castle, told the lieutenant-colonel and the governor's wife, that he would advise them to acquaint the governor there was mischief hatching against him, and that Chadwick was come to town on purpose to effect it, which, though the fellow discovered in his drink, was true enough, and he himself was one of the conspiring wicked ones.

To fortify their party, in all haste, they endeavoured to raise a new troop of dragoons, under one Will Hall, a debauched malignant fellow, and thereupon one of the governor's mortal enemies; but some of the honester townsmen perceiving the design, and not yet being seduced, would not raise him any horse, so at that season the troop was not raised.

And now Capt. White came home, when it was observed that after his return, he would not allow the governor that name, but only called him Col. Hutchinson, and when any one else termed him governor, would decline the acknowledgment of that name: then cajoling his fellow horse-officers and the troopers, they, through his insinuations, everywhere began to detract from the governor, and to magnify Capt. White, and not only to derogate from the governor, but from all persons that were affected to him. Now was there a petition drawn up to be presented to the committee of both kingdoms, desiring that Mr. Millington might be sent down to compose the differences which were in the garrison. The lieutenant-colonel, and some others, refusing to sign it, Capt. White told them it was a pretence, which Mr. Millington desired the favour of them that they would make, to obtain leave for him to come down and visit his wife and children, whom he had a longing desire to see, and knew not any other way to bring it about. The gentlemen to gratify Mr. Millington signed it, and he himself at London, with the same pretext, obtained the governor's hand to it, while the governor, deceived by his high and fair professions of service and kindness to him, never entertained any suspicion of his integrity: and this was the greatest of the governor's defects; through the candidness and sincerity of his own nature, he was more unsuspicious of others, and more credulous of fair pretenders, than suited with so great a prudence, as he testified in all things else. Nothing awakened jealousy in him but gross flattery, which, when he saw any one so servile as to make, he believed the soul that could descend to that baseness might be capable of falsehood: but those who were cunning attempted him not that way, but put on a face of fair, honest, plain friendship, with which he was a few times, but not often in his life, betrayed. At Mr. Millington's entreaty the governor released Wandall, but would have prosecuted the committee's petition against Plumptre, which Mr. Millington most earnestly persuaded him not to do, but desired that he would permit him to come and live quietly in his own house, upon engagement that he should not raise nor foment any mutiny nor faction in the garrison, or intermeddle with any of the affairs thereof. The governor was easily wrought to assent to this also, but Plumptre refused to enter into such an engagement to quiet behaviour, and so, for that time, came not to town. There was again a new design against the garrison by the enemy discovered, and a spy taken, who owned a soldier in the major's company that had listed himself on purpose to effect this mischief; but through careless custody, the spy escaped that day that the garrison were celebrating their joy for the great victory at York. Meanwhile the governor supposing Mr. Millington, as he professed himself, highly his friend and his protector, complained to him of the mutinous carriage of the horse, and his disturbance and discouragement in the public service thereby, and desired him to get a resolution in the thing, whereby his power and their duty might be defined, that he might know wherein he was to command them in his garrison, and they to obey him. Mr. Millington advised him to write a letter to him concerning this, setting down his own apprehensions, what he was to exact from them, and they to render him; which accordingly the governor did, and left it with Millington, and returned to his garrison. Mr. Millington told him, that he had showed the letter to the committee of both kingdoms, who had given their opinion of it, that he required no more of them than he ought to have. Soon after the governor, Mr. Millington came down to Nottingham, with instructions from the committee of both kingdoms to hear and, if he could, compose the differences at Nottingham; if not, to report them to the committee of both kingdoms. Mr. Millington, coming down with these, brought Plumptre as far as Leicester with him, and begged of the governor to permit him to return to his house, engaging himself that he should not meddle with anything belonging to the garrison, nor come near the castle, nor any of the forts: which engagement the governor received, and

suffered the man to come home; and Millington, lest the governor should suspect his great concern in Dr. Plumptre, made strong professions to him, that he desired his re-admission into the town for nothing but to be a snare to him: for he knew the turbulence and pride of his spirit such, that he would never be quiet; but if, after this indulgence, he should, as he believed he would, return to his former courses, he would be inexcusable in the eyes of all men. Then Mr. Millington desired the governor to draw up some heads, wherein he conceived his power to consist, which he did, reducing almost all the words of his commission into eight propositions, which when he showed first to Mr. Millington, before the committee saw them, Mr. Millington seemed very well to approve of them, and protested again to the governor the faithfulness of his heart to him, excusing his intimacy with his enemies upon a zeal he had to do him service by discovering their designs against him, and called himself therein, Sir Pollitick Wouldbe: but the governor disliking this double dealing, though it had been with his enemies, desired him rather to declare himself ingenuously as his conscience led him, though it should be against him, and told him freely he liked not this fair carriage to both. When the governor put in his propositions to the committee, they desired each of them might have a copy of them, and all a week's time to consider them; at the end of which, when the governor pressed their answer, whether they assented to them, or could object anything against them, they, with false flattering apologies to the governor, that if such command were due to any man, they should rather the governor should employ it than any person whatsoever, by reason of his unquestioned merits; but they conceived that such a power given to a governor, would not consist with that which belonged to a committee, whereupon they produced a tedious impertinent paper in answer to the governor's propositions; which, when the governor read over, he flung by, saying it was a ridiculous senseless piece of stuff: some of them taking exceptions, he should so contemn the commitee's paper; he replied, he knew not yet whose it was, not being signed by any one, if any of them would own it he desired them to subscribe it, and then he should know what to say. Thereupon, the next day it was again brought out, signed by Mr. Millington, Chadwick, Salisbury, White, and the mayor of the town. The sum of the paper not containing any exceptions against the governor himself, but against his power, and wholly denying that my Lord Fairfax had power to make a governor, or confer any such power on him, as his commission imported; the governor told them, it no farther concerned him, but only to acquaint my Lord Fairfax, with whom he should leave it, to justify his own commission, and his authority to give one; but forasmuch as my lord was concerned in it, the gentlemen who had more respect for him disowned it, and these were the governor, the lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Pigott, Col. Thornhagh, Major Ireton, Major Widmerpoole, Capt. Lomax, and Alderman James. Then the governor told them, how he had been informed that this paper was of Chadwick's contrivance, and that when Mr. Millington saw it, he hugged Chadwick in his arms, with such congratulation, as is not to be imagined they could give to a fellow of whom they had justly entertained so vile an opinion, and then before his face declared all their thoughts of indignation and contempt, which they had formerly expressed of Col. Chadwick, whom he asked with what face he could question my lord's authority to make him governor, when he had formerly used such surreptitious cheats to obtain it for himself by the same authority? and he asked the committee how it came to pass, they now believed my Lord Fairfax had not authority to make him governor, when they themselves at first writ to him for the commission? and to Mr. Millington he said, he had dealt very unfaithfully to those that entrusted him to compose differences, which he had rather made than found; and very treacherously with him, making himself a party and the chief of his adversaries, when he pretended only to be a reconciler. Having at full laid them open one to another, and declared all their treachery, malice, pride, and knavery, to their faces, he went away, smiling at the confusion he had left them in; who had not virtue enough in their shame to bring them back to repentance, but having begun to persecute him with their spite and malice, were resolved to carry on their wicked design, wherein they had now a double encouragement to animate them, Mr. Millington's sheltering them in the parliament house, and obstructing all redress the governor should there seek for, and the hopes of profit and advantage they might upon the change of things expect by the garrison, if they could wrest it out of the governor's hands, either by wearying him with unjust vexations, or by watching some advantage against him, to procure the discharge of his office by the parliament; for they, knowing him to be impatient of affronts, and of a high spirit, thought to provoke him to passion, wherein something might fall out to give them advantages; but he, perceiving their drift, shewed them that he governed his anger, and suffered it not to master him, and that he could make use of it to curb their insolence, and yet avoid all excursions that might prejudice himself.* When the governor undertook this employment, the parliament's interest in those parts was so low, and the hazard so desperate, that these pitiful wretches, as well as the other faithful-hearted to the public cause, courted him to accept and keep the place; and though their foul spirits hated the daylight of his more virtuous conversation, yet were they willing enough to let him bear the brunt of all the hazard and toil of their defence, and more willing to be secured by his indefatigable industry and courage, than to render him the just acknowledgment of his good deserts. This ingratitude did not at all abate his zeal for the public service, for as he sought not praise, so he was well enough satisfied in doing well; yet through their envious eyes, they took in a general good esteem of him, and sinned against their own consciences in persecuting him,

* To some the recital of these municipal broils may appear rather tedious, but Whitelock's Memorials show that these, and such like, in various parts of the kingdom, required the serious and frequent attention of the parliament. Most readers will pity a man of Col. Hutchinson's exalted mind for being compelled to cope with such despicable adversaries, but they will derive some pleasure from observing the address with which he foiled their insidious attacks.

whereof he had after acknowledgments and testimonies from many of them. All the while of this contest, he was borne up by a good and honourable party of the committee, and greater in number and value than the wicked ones, whom Mr. Millington's power in the house only countenanced and animated to pursue their mischiefs. What it was that drew Mr. Millington into their confederacy was afterwards apparent; they hired him with a subscription of losses, for which they gave him public faith double to what he really had lost;* and they offered him a share of the governor's spoils, if he would help them to make him a prey, which would have been good booty to his mean family; for although the governor had hitherto got nothing but desperate hazard and vast expense, yet now this garrison began to be in a more hopeful condition, by the late success in the north. After York was taken, the Earl of Manchester marched into our parts, upon whose coming Bolsover and Tickhill castles were delivered up to him, and Welbeck, the Earl of Newcastle's house, which was given into Col. Thornhagh's command, and much of the enemy's wealth by that means brought into Nottingham: Winkfield manor, a strong garrison in Derbyshire, was taken upon composition, and by this means a rich and large side of the country was laid open to help to maintain the garrison at Nottingham, and more hoped for by these gentlemen, who were now as greedy to catch at the rewards of another's labours, as unable to merit anything themselves; but when the hopes of the harvest of the whole country had tempted them to begin their wicked plots, God, seeming angry at their ill use of mercy, caused the Earl of Manchester to be called back into the south, when he was going to have besieged Newark, and so that town with the petty garrisons at Wiverton, Shelford, and Belvoir, were still left for further exercise to Nottingham. Yet the hopes these would in time be gained, made these gentlemen prosecute their design against the governor, whose party they endeavoured with all subtleties to weaken; and first attempted Col. Thornhagh, who having by his signalized valour arrived to a great reputation, they thought if they could gain him, he would be their best lever to heave out the governor, and that prop once removed they despaired not to make him contribute to his own ruin; for they had discovered in him a facility of nature, apt to be deluded by fair pretences, and more prone to suspect the kind plain-dealing of his friends, than the flattery of his enemies: but the governor, after they had displayed themselves, by his vigilancy prevented many of their malicious designs, and among the rest that they had upon this gentleman. During his sickness the governor took care of his regiment, and employed the troops that quartered in the garrison: but through the wicked instigations of Captain White, being very refractory, and the regiment often called out on field service, the governor sent for a commission, and raised a troop of horse, which the lieutenant-colonel commanded, and a troop of dragoons for the peculiar service of the garrison. These cunning sowers of sedition wrought, upon this occasion, Col. Thornhagh into a jealous belief that Col. Hutchinson was taking the advantage of his sickness to work himself into his command. Col. Thornhagh was grieved at it, but said nothing; but the governor discovering the thing, notwithstanding his silence, when the lieutenant-colonel went to London, procured a commission for Col. Thornhagh to be, next under Sir Thomas Fairfax, commander in chief of all the parliament's horse in Nottinghamshire at all times, which being brought to Col. Thornhagh, when he knew nothing of it, cleared him of that suspicion. And now, although they were more inclined to delude than openly to oppose Col. Thornhagh, yet they having no exceptions against the governor in his own person, but against his authority, they were forced to deny Col. Thornhagh's command as well as the governor's, they being both derived from the same power. The horse captains, who were allured by fair colours of preferment, and indulged in their plunder, which they hoped to do with more freedom if Capt. White prevailed, were more obedient to Capt. White and their own ambition, than to their colonel or the laws and customs of war. The committee hoped, by thus disputing the colonel's powers, under a face of parliament authority, to weary them out, and make them cast up their commissions, when they had, by Mr. Millington, blocked up the way of their complaint, so that they feared not being turned out of the committee for the abuse of that trust: and perhaps they had succeeded, but that the governor scorned to give up a good cause, either particular or public, for want of courage to defend it among many difficulties; and then, although he had many enemies, he had more friends, whom if he should desert, they would be left to be crushed by these malicious persons; and more than all this, the country would be abandoned into the hands of persons who would only make a prey of it, and not endeavour its protection, liberty, or real advantage, which had been his chief aim in all his undertakings.

The conspirators, as I may more justly term them than the committee, had sent Capt. White to York, to my Lord Fairfax, and to get the governor's power defined, which he understanding, the next day went thither himself, and Mr. Pigott, who, from the beginning to the ending, showed himself a most real and generous friend to the governor, and as cordial to his country and the great cause, went along with him, arriving a day after Capt. White. When my lord gave them a hearing together, he asked whether the governor had done anything of consequence without consulting the committee, which White could not say he had; then he asked White if he had any other misgovernment to accuse him of, which, when White could not allege against him, the governor before his face told my lord all the business, whereupon White was dismissed with reproof and laughter, and letters were written to the committee, to justify the governor's power, and to entreat them to forbear disturbing him in his command, and to Mr. Millington, to desire him to come over to York to my lord; both which the governor delivered, but Mr. Millington would not go over, but on the contrary, continued to foment

* Of this custom of applying to the parliament for reparation or compensation, and of its being granted generally at the expense of delinquents or cavaliers, there appear many instances in Whitelock: no doubt many losses crept in. In Walker's Hist. of Independ. p. 81, Mr. Millington is declared to have received in this manner 2000*l.*

and raise up the factions in the town against the governor, and by his countenance the committee every day meditated and practised new provocations to stir up the governor to rage, or at least to weary him in his employment. The horse, without his knowledge, they frequently sent abroad; protections, tickets, and passes, they gave out; and, encroaching upon his office in all things whatsoever, wrought such a confusion in the garrison, that while all men were distracted and amazed, in doubt whose orders to obey, and who were their commanders, they obeyed none, but every man did what he listed; and by that means the public service was in all things obstructed and prejudiced. The governor, while the injury was only to himself, bore it, but when it extended almost to the destruction of the garrison, he was forced to endeavour a remedy. For about this time it happened that Salisbury being treasurer, had given base terms and wilful delays to the soldiers who were assigned their pay, when the money was ready for them in the treasury; and when this base carriage of his had provoked them to a mutiny, the governor was sent for to appease it, which he did; but coming to the committee, told them he would no longer endure this usage of theirs, to have all things of power, honour, and command, wrested out of his hands, and all things of difficulty and danger put upon him; while they purposely stirred up occasions of rigour and punishment, and then expected he should be the executioner of it, by which he perceived they did these things only with design to render him contemptible and odious to all persons. Not long after a command came for all the horse that could be spared in the garrison to go to Sir John Meldrum, to the relief of Montgomery castle. The governor went to the committee to consult what troops should march, and they voted *none*. The governor told them, he conceived when a command was given, they were to obey without dispute, and that he came to advise with them what troops should be sent forth, not whether any or no; therefore, although they voted disobedience of the command, that would not discharge him, especially the service being of great consequence, and the troops lying here without other employment: wherefore at night he summoned a council of war, and there almost all the captains, having no mind to march so far from home, declared they conceived themselves to be under the command of the committee, and would only obey their orders. Upon this the governor went to the committee and desired them that in regard unanswerable things were done, the public service neglected, and all the transactions of the garrison confused, they would unite with him in a petition to the parliament to define their several powers; and in the meantime either quietly to let him execute his duty, or else to take all upon them and discharge him. They presently made a motion, that he would call a muster, and put it to all the soldiers whether they would be governed by the committee or the governor. The governor told them his command was not elective, but of right belonged to him, and this way was only the next occasion to cause a mutiny, which he could not consent to. But they persisting in their course, he came again to them and desired they would at length surcease these affronts in his command, and their underminings, whereby they endeavoured to alienate men's hearts from him, and to raise faction against him by close unworthy practices: so after much debate it was on all hands agreed, that they should not at all intermeddle with anything belonging to the soldiery, nor interrupt the governor in his command till the house of parliament should decide it, and that the governor and Capt. White should both go to London to procure a speedy determination of the powers in a fair and open way. This they all faithfully promised the governor, and made many hypocritical professions to him, some of them with tears; whereupon he, who was of the most reconcileable nature in the world, accepted their fair pretences, and went to drink friendly with them in token of kindness. Yet was all this but hypocrisy and falsehood, for even at that very time they wearied many of the governor's officers out of the garrison by the continued malice wherewith they persecuted all that had any respect for him. Among these was Mr. Hooper the engineer, a man very faithful to the cause and very honest, but withal rough, who having to do with hateful businesses, was made odious to the common people; the priests, too, having a particular spite at him, as one they esteemed a leader of the separatists, yet he was very ingenious and industrious in his office, and most faithful as well to the governor himself as to the public service. The committee, to insinuate themselves with the common people, regarded him with an evil eye, and so discouraged him, that being offered much better preferment, and invited by Col. Cromwell into other parts, he acquainted the governor with it, offering withal that, if he might yet be protected from affronts in his employment, he would stay and serve the governor for half the salary offered elsewhere. But the governor, although he were very sorry to part with him, and the service would much miss him, yet being so much injured himself, could not undertake the protection of any of his officers, and therefore would not hinder his preferment, but suffered him to go to Cromwell. Such was the envy of the committee to him, that just as he was going, that very day, they not willing to let him depart in peace, although they knew he had justly expended all the money he had received of them, yet they called for an account from the beginning of his employment, which they had often seen in parcels, but believing he could not so readily give it them altogether, they then demanded it. He immediately brought it forth, and got by it twelve shillings due to him upon the foot thereof, which he intended not to have asked them, but receiving it upon the exhibition of his account, went away smiling at their malice; which yet would not let him go so, for then Henry Wandall came with a petition to the governor, that he would vindicate the honour of the Earl of Essex against Mr. Hooper, whom he accused to have spoken words against him, and done actions to his dishonour. The governor knowing this was but malice, accepted security for him, which was offered by Mr. Pigott and Major Watson, that he should answer what could be objected against him at any council of war he should be called to*.

* This Mr. Hooper was undoubtedly a person of singular abilities. Mr. Sprigge, in his Anglia Redivivus, mentions him as serving Sir Thomas Fairfax at the siege

Wednesday, Sept. the 25th, 1644, Capt. White went to London, to solicit the committee's business against the governor, for they were intended to put it upon a fair debate, as was promised. The next day the governor commanded Capt. Barrat's troop to convoy him towards London, but just as he was going to horse, the committee, contrary to their engagements not to meddle with any military affairs, commanded them another way, and so he was forced to go without a convoy, although the captain was afforded a whole troop to wait on him.

Two or three days before the governor went, Chadwick came privately to the governor's brother and told him, that his conscience would not suffer him to conceal the malicious designs, and that treachery, which he now discovered to be in these men's oppositions of the governor, and, with many insinuations told him they were framing articles against the governor, whereof he gave him a copy, which the governor carried to London with him, and showed the lieutenant-colonel the originals in Mason's and Plumptre's own hand-writings. Three days after the governor, Col. Thornhagh went to London. That day the governor went, one of the presbyterian ministers, whose name was Goodal, preached the lecture at the great church, with many invectives against governors and arbitrary power, so plainly hinting at the governor that all the church well understood it; but for the committee, he glozed with them, and told them he had nothing to say to them, but to go on in the good way they went. Some months after, this poor man preaching at a living the committee had put him into, was taken by the enemy, and much dejected at it, because he could not hope the governor would exchange him, after his unworthy pulpit railings at him; but the governor, who hated poor revenges, when his enemy and one of his friends were both in the same prison, and he had but one exchange ready, first procured the minister's release, and let his own officer stay for the next exchange. Whereupon the man coming home, was struck with remorse, and begged the governor's pardon, with real acknowledgements both to himself and others of his sin in supporting faction against the governor; who was told that on his death-bed, for he died before the garrison was dissolved, he expressed to some of the governor's friends his trouble for having been his enemy. But not only to him, but to many others of his enemies, the governor upon sundry occasions, when they fell into his power to have requited their mischiefs, instead of vengeance rendered them benefits, so that at last his own friends would tell him, if they could in justice and conscience forsake him, they would become his adversaries, for that was the next way to engage him to obligations; but although his friends, who had greater animosities against his unjust persecutors than he himself, would say these things in anger at his clemency, his nature was as full of kind gratitude to his friends as free from base revenges upon enemies, who either fell down to him by their own just remorse, or were cast under his power by God's just providence.

As soon as the governor was gone, the committee took all power upon them, and had the impudence to command the lieutenant-colonel, who was deputy-governor, and absolute in his brother's absence, to draw out his troop: he went to them and told them he was sorry they broke their agreement, but he could not break his trust of his brother's authority to obey them. Then they feigned a pretence and turned out the governor's quarter-master, who by the governor's appointment had quartered soldiers at an alehouse Mr. Millington had given a protection to, that they should quarter none, upon the account of some relation they had to him, who married one of the daughters of the place. This occasioning some dispute, Cooke the quarter-master had uttered some words, for which they sent for him and cast out great threats, how they would punish him, which frighted his wife, big with child, in that manner that her child died within her, and her own life was in great hazard. The committee then called a hall, and caused the townsmen to bring in horses for dragoons, whereof they voted a regiment to be raised, Chadwick to be the colonel, and Hall and Selby to be captains under him. They took upon them to command the soldiers, and made horrible confusion, by which they often put the garrison in great danger, if the enemy had known their advantage. Among the rest, one night after the guards were set, the captain of the guard, missing the deputy governor to receive the word from him, gave them the same word they had before, till he had found out the governor to receive a new one. Mr. Millington coming by, half flustered, would have had the captain take a word from him, which when the captain refused, he being angry, commanded Capt. Mason's drums to beat, and set a double guard. The lieutenant-colonel hearing the drums, and having no notice of this command, sent to Mason to command him to forbear drawing any men to the guard, but Mason would not obey him. Besides this, they did a thousand such like things, to provoke him to give them some colour of complaint, or some advantage against him and his brother, for the carrying on of a wicked design, which they were secretly managing to destroy them; but God, by a wonderful providence, brought it to light.

Their conspiracy was to accuse the colonel and his brother as persons that had betrayed the town and castle, and were ready to surrender them to the enemy, which they would pretend to have discovered, and to have prevented their treachery, by a surprise of the lieutenant-colonel, the castle and the bridges, and all the officers that were faithful to the governor and his friends. Because they had not force in town who would act this villany, they sent to Sir John Gell, in whom they had a great interest, and a man likely enough to promote their wickedness, had they even acquainted him with it, as black as it was in the cursed forge of their own hearts; but to carry their business closely, they sent to tell him they had cause of suspicion that the lieutenant-colonel was false to his trust, and would deliver the castle to the enemy, to prevent which they desired him to assist

of Oxford and other places as engineer extraordinary, and greatly expediting all his enterprises, the rapidity and number of which were surprising: he was at the siege of Raglan-castle, the last garrison that surrendered; he came again to Nottingham during Col. Hutchinson's government, and, by the list of the garrison in Deering's Nottingham, appears to have continued with Captain Poulton.

them with some men and ammunition; which ammunition was very secretly conveyed into the town, and the men were ready to march, and quarters taken up for them in Nottingham. The lieutenant-colonel dreamt nothing of the mischief that was hatching against him, when, just at the very time of the execution, there came into Nottingham two gentlemen, whom the parliament employed to carry intelligences between the north and the south, and who used to meet at this town.

Mr. Fleetwood, who came from the south, came immediately up to the castle, and there was familiarly and kindly treated, as he used to be, by the lieutenant-colonel. This was upon a Saturday night, in the month of October. Mr. Marsh, his correspondent, that came from the north, passing through Derby, was cautioned so by Sir John Gell, that he durst not come up to the castle, but on the Lord's day sent for Mr. Fleetwood to meet him in the town, who coming to him, he told him what information he had received from Sir John Gell, and for that reason durst not trust himself in the castle. Mr. Fleetwood undertaking for his safety, brought him up to the lieutenant-colonel, and he finding the untruth of their forgeries, told the lieutenant-colonel all the machinations against him; whereupon, on the Monday morning, he went away to London, and sent Mr. Millington word that having understood the suspicion they had of him, he was gone to London, where, if they had anything to accuse him of, they might send after him, and he should be ready to answer it, and in his absence had left Capt. Lomax governor of the garrison. The committee, very much confounded that their wickedness was come to light, resolved to outface the thing, and denied that they had sent to Derby for any men. They said, indeed, it was true that having formerly lent Sir John Gell some powder, they had sent for that back; but this was not all, for they had also persuaded the master of the magazine that was in the castle to convey, unknown to the lieutenant-colonel, two barrels of powder, with match and bullets suitable, to such place as Chadwick should direct. This he, not dreaming of their evil intention, had condescended to, and sent them to Salisbury's house, but as soon as the lieutenant-colonel was gone they took what care they could to shuffle up this business, and presently despatched Capt. Palmer to London and Lieut. Chadwick to Derby, where he so wrought with Sir John Gell, that he brought back a counterfeit letter, pretended to have been all that was sent from the committee of Nottingham to him, and another of Sir John Gell's writing, wherein he disowned all that Mr. Marsh had related of his information; but God, who would not let them be hid, had so ordered that while matters were thus huddling up at Derby, Sir John Gell's brother came by chance to Nottingham, and affirmed that the committee of Nottingham had sent to his brother for three hundred men to surprise Nottingham castle, which when the committee heard, they sent Capt. Pendock after him the next day to charm him, that he might no more discover the truth in that particular. Also that very day that these intentions of theirs were thus providentially brought to light, one of Sir John Gell's captains was known to be in town, whom Sir John had sent to discover the state of things, and the new quarter-master had been all that day taking billet for soldiers in several houses in the town.

When the governor came to London, the committee of both kingdoms had appointed a sub-committee to hear his business, whereof young Sir Henry Vane had the chair, Mr. William Pierrepont, Mr. Solicitor St. John, Mr. Recorder, and two of the Scotch commissioners, were nominated for the committee; before whom the governor's propositions and the committee's answers had been read, and when their solicitor, Capt. White, saw they were likely to be cast out as frivolous, he produced some articles which they had formed against the governor, lieutenant-colonel, and Mr. Pigott, but they proved as frivolous as the other, and the gentlemen answered them so clearly that they appeared to be forged out of malice and envy, only to cause delays, there being scarce anything of moment in them, if they had been true, whereas they were all false: and now after they had trod down the fence of shame, and impudently began with articles, there was not the least ridiculous impertinency that passed at Nottingham but they put it into a scrip of paper and presented it as an additional article to the committee; to each of whom particularly Mr. Millington had written letters, and given them such false impressions of the governor, and so prepossessed them against him, that was a stranger to them all, that they looked upon him very coldly and slightly, when he made particular addresses to them: but he that scorned to be discouraged with any man's disregard, from whom he had more reason to have expected all caresses and thankful acknowledgments of his unwearied fidelity and good services, resolved to pursue his own vindication through all their frowns and cold repulses: these he met with more from Mr. William Pierrepont than from any of the rest, till Mr. Pierrepont perceived the injustice of their prosecution, and then there was no person in the world that could demean himself with more justice, honour, and kindness than he did to the governor, whose injuries became first apparent to him when the lieutenant-colonel came and told his brother what combinations had been discovered against him at Nottingham, which the governor resenting with great indignation, complained of it to the committee. The solicitor, White, impudently denied the whole matter, or that ever the committee at Nottingham had had the least suspicion of the governor or his brother, or the least ground of any. When this had been with stiffness and impudence enough outfaced before the committee, Mr. Pierrepont, then fully convinced of their devilish malice, pulled a letter out of his pocket, wherein Mr. Millington made this suggestion to him against the governor and his brother, and desired that he might be armed with power to prevent and suppress them. This would have made others ashamed, but their solicitor was, notwithstanding, impudent and rudely pressing upon the committee, who, though they were persons of honour, and after they discovered the governor's innocence, not forward to oppress him, yet as they were statesmen, so were they not so ready to relieve him as they ought to have been, because they could not do it without a high reflection upon one of their own members, who encouraged all those little men in their wicked persecution of

him. They were such exquisite rogues, that all the while some of them betrayed one another to the governor, and told him, under pretence of honesty and conscience, the bottom of their whole designs, showed the foul original draughts of their articles, in the men's own hands that contrived them; and told him how not so much dislike of him, as covetousness and ambition to advance themselves upon his ruins, engaged them thus against him, and made them contrive that villany to accuse him and his brother of treachery, and to have seized their garrisons under that pretence, and gotten them to be made prisoners; and then Mr. Millington undertook to have lodged their petitions so in the parliament, that they should never have been heard and relieved*. Col. Thornhagh, too, was to be wrought out of his command, and they had divided the spoil before they caught the lions. Millington's son was designed to be governor of the castle: the ten pounds a-week, allowed for the governor's table, so many of the committee-men were to share by forty shillings a-man; Chadwick was to be colonel of the town regiment, and Mason major; White, colonel of the horse regiment, and Palmer, the priest, his major; and all the governor's friends to be turned out, and their places disposed of to creatures of theirs, who, drawn on with these hopes, were very active to work the governor and his party out of the opinion of all men. They forgot the public interest in this private quarrel, taking in all the malignant and debauched people that would join with them, to destroy the governor, whom they hated for his unmoved fidelity in his trust, and his severe restriction of lewdness and vice: but because he protected and favoured godly men that were sober, although they separated from the public assemblies, this opened wide the mouths of all the priests and all their idolaters, and they were willing enough to let the children of hell cry out with them to make the louder noise; and as we have since seen the whole cause and party ruined by the same practice, so at that time the zealots for God and the parliament turned all the hate they had to the enemies of both, and called them to assist in executing their malice upon the faithful servant and generous champion of the Lord's and his country's just cause. And now the name of cavalier was no more remembered, Castilian being the term of reproach with which they branded all the governor's friends, and lamentable it was to behold how those wretched men fell away under this temptation, not only from public-spiritedness, but from sobriety and honest moral conversation; not only conniving at and permitting the wickedness of others, but themselves conversing in taverns and brothels, till at last Millington and White were so ensnared that they married a couple of alehouse wenches, to their open shame and the conviction of the whole country of the vain lives they led, and some reflection on the parliament itself, as much as the miscarriage of a member could cast on it, when Millington, a man of sixty, professing religion, and having but lately buried a religious matronly gentlewoman, should go to an alehouse to take a flirtish girl of sixteen; yet by these ignoble alliances, they much strengthened their faction with all the vain drunken rogues in the town against the governor. Now their first plot had, by God's providence, been detected, they fell upon others, and set on instruments everywhere, to insinuate all the lies they could, that might render the governor odious to the town and to the horse of the garrison, whom they desired to stir up to petition against him, but could not find any considerable number that would freely do it; therefore they used all the strong motives they could, and told them the governor sought to exercise an arbitrary power over them, and to have all their booties at his own disposal, and other such like things; by which at length they prevailed with many of Col. Thornhagh's regiment to subscribe a petition that they might be under the command of the committee, and not of any other person in the garrison. This petition was sent up by Capt. Palmer, and he meeting Mr. Pigott at Westminster-hall, Mr. Pigott, in private discourse with him, began to bewail the scandalous conversation of certain persons of the committee, hoping that he, being familiar with them, might be a means to persuade them to reformation.

After this, the governor, Col. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, and some other, being in a tavern at Westminster, where they dined, Capt. Palmer came to the door, and they bade him come in. Upon discourse, the governor pulled out of his pocket the articles which the committee had put in against him, showed them to Capt. Palmer, and asked him whether he thought it possible that he should, after all his toils and services, have been articled against for such things. Palmer, who had been from the beginning with the governor and knew the falsehood of these accusations, professed he was amazed at them, and that he had not till then heard anything of them. Continuing in further discourse, the governor mentioned an unchristian-like sermon, which Mr. Goodall had preached with invectives against him, in his absence: Palmer undertook the justification of it, with such saucy provocations, that the governor told him, if it had not been more in respect to his black coat than his grey, he would have beaten him out of the room, which for his own safety, he advised him to leave: so he went out very angry, and going to Capt. White, told him how Mr. Pigott called him a whore-master, Mr. Millington a drunkard, and Chadwick a knave. White, meeting Mr. Pigott, in the hall, challenged him of these scandals. Mr. Pigott, seeing Palmer not far off, led White to him, and told him he knew that person had been his informer, repeating all he had said to him, and added, that it was in a desire of their reformation, but he would maintain that all the things he spoke were true. Palmer further, in his rage, puts into the committee a paper of reasons why he desired to be exempted from being under the governor, whereof one was, that he had cowardly and unhandsomely behaved himself in an occasion when Palmer's troop marched out with him to Elston. The governor sent a copy of this paper down to Palmer's own troop, and the lieutenant, cornet, and all the troopers, sent up a certificate, under their hands, of the falsehood of their captain's accusa-

* It is averred in the Hist. of Independ. "that the active speaking men pack committees, who carry all the businesse of the house as they please, and when the matter is too bad smother it with artificial delays."

tion. After this, Palmer came into the garrison, and made a grievous exclamation all over the town against the governor and Mr. Pigott for traducing the ministers, Mr. Millington, and the committee; adding a false report, that the governor had thrown a trencher at his head; and abusing the pulpit to persuade the people to vindicate them: among other things, he misapplied a place in Nehemiah, where Nehemiah says, "I eat not the governor's bread, because the fear of the Lord was upon me," to the governor; that his accepting a public table, was a mark of the want of the fear of God: and many other such malicious wrestings of scripture did he and his fellow priests at that time practise. The committee of Nottingham, on their side, taking this occasion, called a public hall in the town, where two orations were made by Mr. Millington and Col. Chadwick. Millington began with a large enumeration of Chadwick's worthy actions (known to no man), whereby he merited honour of all men, especially of this town; and then mentioning his own good services for the town, told them how ungratefully they were repaid, by Mr. Pigott, with the scandalous aspersion of drunkards and knaves; and that their singular affections and endeavours for the good of the town had exposed them to this calumny, wherefore they desired the town to join in their justification. Chadwick made just such another speech, and both of them seemed to pass by their own particular, and only to desire the other's justification; Chadwick, in his speech, saying that Mr. Pigott's abuse of Mr. Millington did not only asperse the committee, but even the parliament itself. Capt. Lomax, then deputy governor of the garrison, after they had spoken, stood up, and advised the townsmen that they should forbear to entangle themselves in things they understood not; adding that Mr. Pigott and the gentlemen at London were persons of such honour and prudence, that they would maintain whatever they had spoken of any man. Hereupon Capt. Mason, and two malignant townsmen of his soldiers, began to mutiny, with high insolence, and to lay violent hands on him to thrust him out of the hall, giving him most reproachful terms; but the man being very stout, quieted them, and would not depart till the hall broke up. After this, without acquainting the deputy governor, they summoned another hall; but Lomax seeing their inclination to mutiny, forbad it. Then, at ten of the clock at night, they got a common council together, at Mr. Salisbury's house, and there Mr. Millington again desired they would join in the vindication of himself, the ministers, and the committee, and got about eight of them to subscribe a blank paper. Then the committee, with certain instruments of theirs, appointed rounds to walk the town, persuading some, and threatening others, to set their hands to a petition, which none of them that subscribed it knew what it was, but they told them it was for the good of the town.

All this while these petty committee fellows had carried themselves as absolute governors, and Plumptre was now their intimate favourite, and began to vapour that he would have the castle pulled down to re-erect the church, and the fort at the bridges thrown down, and all the arms and soldiers brought into the town.

But at London, the governor being grown into acquaintance with the gentlemen of the subcommittee that were to hear his business, and they perceiving with how much wicked malice he was prosecuted, Sir Henry Vane was so honourable as to give him advice to put his business in such a way as might take away all colour from his enemies; whereupon he put in some propositions to the committee of both kingdoms, for the composure of these differences, wherein he was willing to decline all things of his own right, which might be done without prejudice to the public service, and to pass by all the injuries that had been done him; which condescension gave such satisfaction, that forthwith the whole business was determined at the committee of both kingdoms, and the governor sent back to his charge, with instructions drawn up for all parties, and letters written to the officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, to be obedient; and likewise letters to the mayor of the town and the committee. The governor returning, word was brought to Nottingham, that on Friday night he lay at Leicester; whereupon the committee, who had heard the determination of things above, got them ready to be gone; but the soldiers having notice thereof, went to the deputy-governor and entreated him to stop the treasurer; whereupon he and the major of the regiment went to them, and entreated them to stay till the governor came, but to see what instructions he brought with him from the powers above: but when they would not be persuaded fairly, then the deputy peremptorily forbad the treasurer, as he would answer it, not to go; but he refusing to obey, the deputy told him he should pass on his sword's point if he went, and accordingly went down to set guards at the Trent bridges; which being told them, they made haste and fled out at the other end of the town. Millington, Chadwick, Ayscough, Salisbury, and Mason, (whom they had gotten added to the committee to increase their faction), were the committee men, who took with them their new marshal and another of their created officers, Palmer, two more priests, and a town captain. The governor was met on the way homewards by some of his officers, and told with what joy his garrison and regiment were preparing to entertain him, in all expressions they could possibly make by volleys of cannon and muskets, and ringing of bells, and all such declarations as used to be made in a public and universal rejoicing; but the governor, fearing his enemies might not bear such testimonies of love to him, without grief, sent into the town to desire them to forbear their kind intentions of giving him so loud a welcome. When he was now near the town, another messenger came to acquaint him, that all those who would have been grieved at his joyful entertainment were fled, and that those who remained would be much grieved if he should not be pleased to give them leave to receive him with such demonstrations of their joy as they could make. He now permitted them to do what they pleased, which leave being obtained, every one strove to declare his gladness with all imaginable expressions of love and honour, and all the solemnities the time and place would afford. The governor on his side received them with a cheerful obliging courtesy to all, and a large bounty to his loving soldiers, who made that day as great a

, as if themselves and their families had deemed from captivity. The mayor of the ith his brethren in their scarlets, met him, d him, if he had been guilty of anything cial to him, he was exceeding sorry for it, nfinitely honoured him, and all his errors en through ignorance or misinformation, he should be most ready to repair. That ; White came home pining with spite and t the governor and the gentlemen that with him, viz. Col. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, Col. Hutchinson, Major Widmerpoole, Capt. , and Alderman James: for as to the of the town, notwithstanding his fair pro- publicly to the governor, White had the ght again turned about that weathercock. next day the governor and the committee m sent a command to all the horse in town h to the assistance of Derby and Leicester, fy a house called Cole-orton, which not ken notice of, the governor and Col. Thorn- mmoned all the horse officers, and declared n the orders of the committee of both ns, to which they cheerfully promised ce; but White being sent for among them, ly refused to come up to the castle, and e governor come down to him, to the com- chamber; yet upon second thoughts he p, and the governor took no notice for that Monday the governor sent to the mayor a hall, but the mayor entreated him to till they saw whether the committee-men n away would come back, and that he might h Capt. White to persuade them; both the governor assented to; but the men ot return, but went from Derby to London. he governor called a general muster, and them the instructions he had brought from mmittee of both kingdoms, with which all re exceeding well pleased. But Capt. White while would not deliver the letters he had committee and the mayor of Nottingham. few days after word was brought the r that the new dragoons were come for ition, to march out upon some design he t acquainted with, whereupon he sent to ards at the bridges not to suffer them to thout his ticket. Immediately after White long with them, and being denied to pass, e guards such provocative language that re forced to send for the governor. He lown and found White in high rage, who im all the vile terms and opprobrious ge he could invent, to provoke him to some pon which he might have taken his advan- ut the governor only laughed at his fogue *, uld not let him go till he showed a warrant e council of war at London, and then he ed him, after White had told him that he ot be commanded by him, and a thousand utinous speeches. As he went towards he met the horse coming home from Cole- whom he told such lies of the governor's f him, that they were frighted from coming e garrison, but that Col. Thornhagh pre- with them to take his engagement, that the or should give them no ill-usage. So they ack, and that week their colonel fell into my's quarters with them, and took eighty horse, two horse colours, a major and some other officers. The bridge troop also met with Col. Stanhope, governor of Shelford †, who had two parties, each as many as they; his, where himself was, they routed, and he ran away, while the other party charged them in the rear, upon whom they turned, routed and chased them out of the field, took Lieut.-Col. Stanhope and his ensign, and many other prisoners, with many horse and arms. In the absence of the governor and his brother, the committee had done all they could to discourage and dissipate this troop, and would neither give them money nor provisions, yet, upon hopes of their captain's return, they kept themselves together, and when the governor came home he recruited them.

The committee of both kingdoms had sent down at this time an order for all the horse of Nottingham and Derbyshire to join with three regiments of Yorkshire, and quarter about Newark, to straiten the enemy there, and accordingly they rendezvoused at Mansfield, and from thence marched to Thurgarton, where Sir Roger Cooper had fortified his house, and lined the hedges with musketeers, who, as the troops passed by, shot and killed one Capt. Heywood. Hereupon Col. Thornhagh sent to the governor, and desired to borrow some foot to take the house. The governor accordingly lent him three companies, who took the house, and Sir Roger Cooper and his brother, and forty men, in it, who were sent prisoners to Nottingham, where, although Sir Roger Cooper was in great dread to be put into the governor's hands, whom he had provoked before upon a private occasion, yet he received such a civil treatment from him, that he seemed to be much moved and melted with it. The foot had done all the service, and run all the hazard, in taking the house, yet the booty was all given to the horse: this they had very just reason to resent, but notwithstanding they marched along with them to Southwell, and there were most sadly neglected, and put upon keeping outguards for the horse, and had no provisions, but the governor was forced to send them some out of his garrison, or else they had been left to horrible distress. Hereupon they sent to the governor to desire they might come home, but upon Col. Thornhagh's entreaty, and engagement that they should be better used, the governor was content to let them stay a little longer, till more horse came up, which were sent for out of Yorkshire. In the mean time those who were there already did nothing but harass the poor country, and the horse officers were so negligent of their own duty, and so remiss in the government of their soldiers, that the service was infinitely prejudiced, and the poor country miserably distressed. The Nottingham horse, being in their own country, and having their families in and about Nottingham, were more guilty of straggling than any of the rest, and Capt. White's whole troop having

* French—*Fougue*, heat, impetuosity.

† Here, viz. in the end of the year 1644, Shelford clearly appears to be a garrison for the king; yet Whitelock, p. 96, says, that in July, 1644, Lord Grey of Groby and Sir John Gell had the thanks of the parliament for taking it: this is an evident inaccuracy of Whitelock's, or a very successful puff of Sir John's. To put it out of doubt, Sprigge, in his Anglia Rediviva, counts it among the king's garrisons, May, 1645: and Col. Hutchinson, supported by Rossiter, took it in person and by storm a year after that.

presumed to be away one night when they should have been upon the guard, the Newarkers beat up our quarters, and took almost two whole troops of that regiment. White's lieutenant, without any leave from the colonel, thereupon posted up to London, and contrived a complaint against the governor, to make him appear guilty of this disorder: but soon after Newark gave them another alarum, and the parliament horse made so slender an appearance, that the officers, thereupon consulting in a council of war, concluded that the design was not to be prosecuted without more force, and for the present broke up their quarters.

The committee-men that ran away when the governor returned had taken the treasurer away with them, and left neither any money, nor so much as the rent rolls whereby the governor could be instructed where to fetch in any,* but by the prudence and interest of himself and his friends, he procured a month's pay for the foot, and twenty shillings a man for the horse,† as soon as he came home, and recruited all the stores, which the committee had purposely wasted in his absence, and fetched in a small stock of powder they had laid in at Salisbury's house. While he was thus industriously setting things in order, which they had confounded, they at London were as maliciously active to make more confusion. They contrived many false and frivolous articles and petitions against him, and proceeded to that degree of impudence in desiring alterations, and casting reflections upon the sub-committee itself, that they grew weary of them. Mr. Pierrepont and Sir H. Vane, being now taken notice of as leaders of the Independent faction,‡ when those gentlemen, out of mere justice and honour, discountenanced their envy and malice, they applied themselves to the Presbyterian faction, and insinuating to them that the justice of those gentlemen was partiality to the governor, because he was a protector of the now hated separatists, they prevailed to have Sir Philip Stapleton and Sir Gilbert Garrett, two fierce presbyterians, added to the sub-committee, to balance the other faction, and found this wicked invention not a little advantageous to them: yet Mr. Hollis, who was a person of honour, did not comply with their factious spirits, but gave the governor all just assistance against their malice which lay in his power.§ But they, quitting all modesty, and pressing the committee with false affirmations forgeries, that all men would lay down their if the governor were not removed, at length prevailed, that he was the second time sen to London to justify himself against them. that blank, to which they had by fraud and th procured so many hands, they wrote a peti alleging that the governor was so gene detested, that if he were not removed all would fling down their arms; and the subscrip they thus abused were those they procure vindicate Mr. Millington. Salisbury and Silvester had, for their own profit, gotte commission to set on foot the excise in the co and joined with them one Sherwin. These were such pragmatical knaves, that they j became odious to all men; and although nece might excuse the tax in other places, yet he was such a burthen that no man of any hon or conscience could have acted in it. For plundering troops killed all the poor countryn sheep and swine, and other provisions, whe many honest families were ruined and begg these unmerciful people would force excise o them for those very goods which the other robbed them of, insomuch that the religious sol said they would starve before they woul employed in forcing it, or take any of it for pay. The governor, being inclined in consci to assist the poor country, was very active i endeavours to relieve them from this oppres which his enemies highly urged in their ar against him. These excisemen came very p ingly to urge the governor to enforce the pay of it in the town; he told them before he w use compulsion he would try fair means, call a hall to see whether the townsmen w be persuaded, which accordingly he did: when the day came, the excisemen came to governor and advised him to take a strong g with him, telling him that the butchers had whetting their knives, and intended mischief, had cast out many words intimating a dange design. The governor told them he should augment his usual guard, and could fear not having no intent to do anything that might voke them to mutiny. They went again t men and told them the governor intended to c with many armed men, to compel them to it: whereupon when he came to the hall he f but a very slender appearance, yet those were there were all fully resolved not to pa but the governor wrought with them to repre their reasons, in an humble manner, to the mittee of both kingdoms, and that there shoul a fuller meeting to that purpose the next w and that in the mean time both parties sh forbear any private addresses in this matter. this the excisemen agreed; yet notwithstan the governor took a whole packet of their le going to London, which when he discovered also wrote to his friends in London on beha the garrison. The next week, at a full mee a petition was signed, which the governor ca the town to have carried, being himself to go but they in a compliment refused to give him trouble, pitching upon Capt. Coates and the t clerk to go up with it. They accordingly about the time that, after seven weeks' stay i garrison, the governor was called again w

* Rent-rolls of sequestrated or forfeited estates.

† One out of many instances of Col. Hutchinson's generous devotion to the cause, which brought on him that load of debt so oppressive to him in the reverse of affairs. In pp. 623 and 624 of Rushworth, Thornhagh's Nottinghamshire horse state that they had served five years, and received barely six shillings a week in all; and that there was 40,000*l.* due to them. Judge from these two corps, Col. Hutchinson's being twelve hundred infantry, and two or three troops of dragoons, Thornhagh's about six hundred horse, what was the general state of the army as to pay! Mr. Sprigge might well say of the troops as he does, "it was not their pay that pacified them, for had they not had more civility than money, things had not been so fairly managed."

‡ Probably it was the experience these two excellent politicians had of Col. Hutchinson's abilities and integrity on this trial, which induced them afterwards to take him for their associate.

§ Mrs. Hutchinson, who in other places speaks with much disapprobation of Mr. Hollis, here most candidly gives him his due.

London, to justify himself against the malicious clamours of his adversaries. When Capt. Coates and the other came to London, they applied themselves to Mr. Millington, who, perceiving that the governor stood for the ease of the garrison, put them into a way to frustrate their own designs, and so they returned home; and at the sessions, rendering the town an account of their negociations, they told them they found it an impossible thing to get the excise taken off; yet the governor knew a way how to ease them, but they feared he would be discouraged in it, because at his coming up he had found their disaffections expressed against him in a petition to cast him out of his command, "which," said the clerk, "you cannot do, for he still is and must be governor; therefore if any of you have been cheated of your hands, contrary to your intentions and desires, you would do well to testify your honesty, by disclaiming what goes on under your name." Soon after, these malignants stirred up the soldiers to mutiny, and there being no governor in the garrison that could tell how to order them otherwise, they were appeased with money; upon which occasion a general muster being called, the major told the soldiers how they were injured at London by a petition, preferred in the name of the whole garrison, to cast the governor out of his command, which if it were not their desire, he wished them to certify the contrary. They all with one voice cried, they desired no other governor: whereupon a certificate to that purpose was drawn up: but when it came to be subscribed, certain of the committee faction went up and down persuading the companies not to subscribe, and when they found how little they prevailed, they foamed for anger, and such malicious railing, that one of the governor's soldiers, not able to bear them longer, cried out, "Why do we suffer these fellows to vapour thus? let's clout them out of the field:" but the major hearing it, committed him; and the next morning the certificate went up, subscribed with seven hundred townsmen's hands. After all was done, the major gave some small sum to the soldiers to drink; and the malicious faction, when they saw they could not hinder this certificate, made another false one of their own, that the major had with crowns apiece hired all these subscriptions, with other such like lies, which when they could not make good, 'tis said they retracted their certificate at London.

The committee at London could never finish the business by reason of the impertinent clamours of the governor's enemies, therefore at length, wearied with the continual endless papers they had daily brought in, they made an order, wherein they assigned a certain day for the determination of the power, and in the mean time commanded all matter of crimination on both sides should be forborne. At the day they both appeared, but Mr. Millington presented a petition of a most insolent nature, and fresh articles against the governor, which gave the committee much distaste. The petition was, that whereas the committee had kept them ten weeks at great charges, they desired a speedy despatch now, according to the propositions. The committee were much offended at this, and told them they did them much injury to lay their stay upon them, who five weeks before desired them to return, and only leave a solicitor for each, and then they refused it; that they had broken their first orders, and given no satisfaction for it, and now also their last, in bringing in articles against the governor. They took it very ill that they, who were plaintiffs, should prescribe to them, who were judges, how to determine the business; wherefore they ordered that the governor should return and pursue his first instructions, till he received new ones, and that the business should be reported to the house. The governor sent his brother down to take care of the garrison, and staid himself to receive the final determination of the house, where Mr. Millington, through his interest, kept off the report, by several tricks and unjust delays, about three or four months.

When the lieutenant-colonel came down, the captains were wonderful obedient, and all things pretty quiet, but the governor's officers were discouraged at the countenance which was given his enemies, and the impunity of all the crimes of that faction. He having a certain spirit of government, in an extraordinary manner, which was not given to others, carrying an awe in his presence that his enemies could not withstand, the garrison was much disordered by his absence, and in daily peril, although the lieutenant-colonel was as faithful and industrious in managing that charge as any person could be, and as excellent a person, but in a different way from his brother. Firmness and zeal to the cause, and personal valour he had equal, but that vigour of soul which made him invincible against all assaults, and overcame all difficulties he met in his way, was proper to himself alone. The lieutenant-colonel was a man of the kindest heart and the most humble familiar deportment in the world, and lived with all his soldiers as if they had been his brothers, dispensing with that reverence which was due to him, and living cheerful and merry, and familiar with them, in such a manner that they celebrated him, and professed the highest love in the world, and would magnify his humility and kindness, and him for it, in a high degree above his brother; but with all this they grew so presumptuous that, when any obedience was exacted beyond their humours or apprehensions, they would often dare to fail in their duty: whereas the governor, still keeping a greater distance, though with no more pride, preserved an awe that made him to be equally feared and loved, and though they secretly repined at their subjection, yet durst they not refuse it; and, when they came to render it on great occasions, they found such wisdom and such advantage in all his dictates that, their reason being convinced of the benefit of his government, they delighted in it, and accounted it a happiness to be under his command, when any public necessity superseded the mutiny of those private lusts, whereby all men naturally, but especially vulgar spirits, would cast off their bridle, and be their own only rulers.

As the governor's absence was the occasion of many neglects in the government, not by his brother's fault, but the soldiers', who, wanting of their pay (which while the committee should have been providing, they were spending it in vexatious prosecutions of the governor), and therefore discontented, and through that careless of their duty; so, on the other side, the cavaliers, who were not ignorant of the dissensions in the garri-

son, took the advantage, and surprised the lieutenant-colonel's fort at the Trent bridges, while he was employed in keeping the castle. His soldiers in his absence lying out of their quarters, had not left above thirty men upon the guard, who were most of them killed, the ensign fighting it out very stoutly, after their entrance, till he died. The lieutenant-colonel was exceedingly afflicted with this loss, but presently applied himself to secure what remained. The whole town was in a sad uproar, and this happening upon a Lord's day, in the morning, in May 1643, all the people were in such a consternation that they could keep no sabbath that day. Then the lieutenant-colonel had an experiment of vulgar spirits, for even his own soldiers, who were guilty of the loss of the place by being out of their quarters, began to exclaim against him for a thousand causeless things; and although he laboured amongst them with as much courage and vigour as any man could use, to settle their spirits and regain the place, yet they slighted him most unjustly, and all cried out now to have the governor sent for, as if he himself had been their castle.

Immediately after the unhappy surprise of the bridges, the lieutenant-colonel sent away to his brother a post, who, by some of the lower fords, got over the water, and carried his sad news to London. A trumpet was sent to the bridges, and obtained the dead bodies of the soldiers who were slain at the surprise, and they were brought up to the town in carts and buried. There was about twenty of them, very good and stout men, though it availed them not in their last need, when a multitude had seized them unawares. All that day a body of the enemy faced the town, which, through terrors without and discouragements and discontents within, was in a very sad posture. The malignant faction against the governor improved even this occasion, and suggested to the town that the castle would be the cause of their ruin; that the governor and his soldiers would secure themselves there, and leave the town undefended; and because the lieutenant-colonel was very strict that none of the castle soldiers should lie out of their quarters, lest that place might be surprised as well as the other, the townsmen renewed their railings against the castle, and their malice to all that were in it; but the lieutenant-colonel, regarding none of their unjust railings, by God's blessing upon his vigilance, kept the town and castle till his brother's return.

As soon as the news came to the governor at London, he thought it time to throw off that patience with which he had hitherto waited at great expense, and went to the parliament house before the house sat, and there acquainted the speaker what was befallen at Nottingham, desiring he might be called to make a relation of it in the open house, or else told the speaker, though he died for it, he would press in and let them know how much the cause suffered by the indirect practices, which were partially connived at in some of their members. The speaker seeing him so resolved, procured him, when the house was set, to be called in; and there he told them how their fort was lost, and, for aught he knew, the garrison, by that time, which was no more than what he had long expected, through the countenance that was, by one of their members, given to a malignant faction, that obstructed all the public service, disturbed all the honest soldiers and officers in their duty, and spent the public treasury to carry on their private malice. He further told them how dishonourable, as well as destructive to their cause, it was, that their members should be protected in such unjust prosecutions, and should make the privilege of the house their shelter to oppress the most active and faithful of their servants. This and many other things he told them with such boldness, that many of the guilty members had a mind to have committed him, but with such truth and convincing reason, that all those of more generous spirits were much moved by it, and angry that he had been so injuriously treated, and desired him to take post down and to use all means to regain the place, and gave him full orders to execute his charge without disturbance. From that time Mr. Millington so lost his credit, that he never recovered the esteem he formerly had among them; and, after that time, the governor's enemies, perceiving they were not able to mate him, made no more public attempts, though they continued that private malice, which was the natural product of that antipathy there was, between his virtues and their vices. Neither was it his case only; almost all the parliament garrisons were infested and disturbed with like factious little people, insomuch that many worthy gentlemen were wearied out of their commands, and oppressed by a certain mean sort of people in the house, whom, to distinguish from the more honourable gentlemen, they called *Worsted Stocking Men*. Some as violently curbed their committees, as the committees factiously molested them. Nor was the faction only in particular garrisons, but the parliament house itself began to fall into the two great oppositions of presbytery and independency: and, as if discord had infected the whole English air with an epidemical heartburning and dissension in all places, even the king's councils and garrisons were as factiously divided. The king's commissioners and the governor at Newark fell into such high discontents, that Sir Richard Biron, the governor, was changed, and Sir Richard Willis put into his place. This accident of the bridges put an end to that vexatious persecution wherewith the governor had had many sore exercises of his wisdom, patience, and courage, and many experiences of God's mercy and goodness, supporting him in all his trials, and bearing him up against all discouragements, not only to stand without the least dejection himself, but to be able to hold up many others, who were ready to sink under the burthen of unrighteousness and oppression, where they expected just thanks and rewards. It cost the governor above three hundred pounds to defend himself against their calumnies, renewed forgeries, and scandals, laid upon him; but God was with him in all in a wonderful manner, bringing truth to light through all the clouds of envy that sought to obscure it, and making his innocence and uprightness to shine forth as the noonday, justifying him even in the eyes of his enemies, and covering them with shame and confusion of face. They maintained their prosecution of him out of the public stock, and were not called to account for so mis-spending it. Mr. Millington, perceiving how much he had lost him-

self by it, applied himself to seek a reconciliation by flattering letters and professions of conviction and repentance of his unjust siding with those men. The governor, who was of a most reconcilable nature, forgave him, and ever after lived in good friendship with him*. Others of them also afterwards, when they saw the governor out of their power, some through fear, and others overcome with his goodness, submitted to him, who lived to see the end of them all, part of them dying before any disgrace or great sorrows overtook him, and those who survived renouncing and apostatising from their most glorious engagements, and becoming guilty of those crimes for which they falsely accused him, while he remained firm, and, dying, sealed up the profession of his life; in all the future difficulties of which he was still borne up with the experience of God's goodness and manifold protections.

The governor being dismissed from the parliament, immediately took post, and, coming through Northampton, met his old engineer, Hooper, and brought him with him to Nottingham, where, by God's mercy, he arrived safe about three days after the loss of the bridges, and was welcomed as if safety and victory, and all desirable blessings, had come in his train. His presence reinforced the drooping garrison, and he immediately consulted how to go about regaining the fort. To this purpose, and to hinder the enemy from having an inlet into the town by the bridges, he made a little fort on the next bridge, and put a lieutenant and thirty men into it, thereby inclosing those in the fort the enemy had surprised, whom he resolved to assault on the town side, having thus provided that their friends should not come from the other side† to help them. But those of Newark understanding this, came as strong as they could one morning, and assaulted the little new fort, where the Lieut. Hall, failing of that courage which he had professed when he begged the honour of keeping it, gave it up, which the governor seeing on the other side, was exceedingly vexed, and marched up to the bridge to assault them in that fort, but found that they had only stormed the other little fort to make their own way to be gone, and that they had made shift to get to their friends upon the ribs of two broken arches, which, when they had served to help their passage, they pulled up, to hinder pursuit after them: and thus, in a month's space, God restored to the governor the fort which was lost in his absence, and he new fortified the place, and repaired the bridges, whereby the great market out of the vale was again brought into the town, to their exceeding joy and benefit.

This summer there was another kind of progress made in the war than had been before, and the new parliament army prosecuting it so much in earnest, that they made a show to block up the king in his main garrison at Oxford; he breaks out, and, joining with Prince Rupert's horse, came, after several attempts otherwhere, to Leicester, which he took by storm. The loss of this town was a great affliction and terror to all the neighbouring garrisons and countries; whereupon Fairfax closely attended the king's motions, came within a few days and fought with the king, and overcame him in that memorable battle at Naseby, where his coach and cabinet of letters were taken; which letters being carried to London were printed, and manifested his falsehood, when, contrary to his professions, he had endeavoured to bring in Danes and Lorrainers, and Irish rebels, to subdue the good people here, and given himself up to be governed by the queen in all affairs both of state and religion. After this fight Fairfax took again the town of Leicester, and went into the west, relieved Taunton, took Bristol, and many other garrisons. West Chester also and other places were taken that way. Meanwhile the king, having coasted about the countries, came at last to Newark, and there his commanders falling out among themselves, he changed the governor, and put the Lord Bellasis into the place, and went himself to Oxford, where he was at last blocked up.

When Sir Thomas Fairfax was made chief general, Poyntz was made major-general of the northern counties, and a committee of war was set up at York, whereof Col. Pierrepont, by his brother's procurement, was appointed one, and pretty well satisfied, as thinking himself again set above Col. Hutchinson, because all the northern garrisons were to receive orders from that committee: but the governor, heeding not other men's exaltations or depressions, only attended his own duty. About the latter end of this summer Poyntz came to Nottingham with all the horse that could be gathered in the neighbouring counties. He had before marched with them and the Nottingham regiment in Cheshire, and brought several gentlemen prisoners into the garrison of Nottingham, who had been taken in divers encounters. When he marched out, Palmer, the priest, not daring to venture himself in the field, laid down his commission when he saw that there was now no connivance to be found at disobeying commands.

By reason of the rout at Naseby, and the surrender of Carlisle to the Scots, and several other garrisons, the broken forces of the cavaliers had all repaired to Newark, and that was now become the strongest and best fortified garrison the king had, and Poyntz was ordered to quarter his horse about it, till the Scots should come on the other side, and besiege it. At that time also, the king himself was there‡. The governor having informed Poyntz how prejudicial it would be to his design to suffer those little garrisons in the vale at Shelford and Wiverton to remain, it was agreed that all the forces should take them in their way. But the governor having obtained permission of Poyntz through a respect he had to the family, sent to Col. Philip Stanhope, governor of Shelford, a letter to persuade him to surrender the place he could not hold, and to offer to obtain honour-

* As Mr. Millington will figure no more in this history, the reader is here informed that he finished his career, after becoming one of the judges who sentenced Charles the First, by coming in upon proclamation, making a pitiful recantation, and being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

† To understand this rightly it is necessary to be informed, that in approaching Nottingham from the south there is a very wide valley, through which the Trent and the Lene run in several branches, over which are bridges united by a causeway.

‡ Having come hither from Wales with a body of three thousand men; he staid till, fearing to be besieged by the Scots, who were approaching, he went away by night to Oxford, Nov. 6, 1645.

able terms for him, if he would hearken to propositions. Stanhope returned a very scornful, huffing reply, in which one of his expressions was that he should lay Nottingham Castle as flat as a pancake; and such other bravadoes, which had been less amiss if he had done anything to make them good. Hereupon, the whole force marched against the place, and the several posts were assigned to the several colonels. The governor, according to his own desire, had that which seemed most difficult assigned to him, and his quarters that night appointed in Shelford town. When he came thither, a few of Shelford soldiers were gotten into the steeple of the church, and from thence so played upon the governor's men that they could not quietly take up their quarters. There was a trap-door that went into the belfry, and they had made it fast, and drawn up the ladder and the bell-ropes, and regarded not the governor's threatening them to have no quarter if they came not down, so that he was forced to send for straw, and fire it, and smother them out. Hereupon, they came down, and among them there was a boy who had marched out with the governor's company, when he went first against Newark, and carried himself so stoutly, that Capt. Wray begged him for a footboy; and when his troop was once taken by the enemy, this boy, being taken among them, became one of their soldiers. The governor making him believe he should be hanged immediately for changing his party, and for holding out to their disturbance, where he could not hope for relief, the boy begged he might be spared, and offered to lead them on to a place where only they could enter, where the palisado was unfinished. The governor, without trusting to him, considered the probability of his information, kept him under guard, and set him in the front of his men, and he accordingly proved to have told them truth in all that he had said, and did excellent good service, behaving himself most stoutly. The governor being armed, and ready to begin the assault, when the rest were also ready, Capt. White came to him, and, notwithstanding all his former malicious prosecutions, now pretends the most tender care and love that could be declared, with all imaginable flattery, and persuades the governor not to hazard himself in so dangerous an attempt, but to consider his wife and children, and stand by among the horse, but by no means to storm the place in his own person. Notwithstanding all his false insinuations, the governor perceived his envy at that honour which his valour was ready to reap in this encounter, was exceeding angry with him, and went on upon the place. This being seated on a flat, was encompassed with a very strong bulwark, and a great ditch without, in most places wet at the bottom, so that they within were very confident, there being no cannon brought against them, to hold it out; because, also a broken regiment of the queen's, who were all papists, were come in to their assistance. A regiment of Londoners were appointed to storm on the other side, and the governor, at the same time, began the assault at his post. His men found many difficulties more than they expected: for, after they had filled up the ditches with faggots, and pitched the scaling-ladders, they were twenty staves too short, and the enemy, from the top of the works, threw down logs of wood, which would sweep off a whole ladder full of men at once; the lieutenant himself was once or twice so beaten dow governor had ordered other musketeers off those men that stood upon the top of th which they failed of, by shooting without go but the governor directed them better, Nottingham horse dismounting, and assaili their pistols and headpieces, helped the beat them down from the top of the wo except one stout man, who stood alone, wonders in beating down the assailants, wh governor being angry at, fetched two of musketeers, and made them shoot, and he diately fell, to the great discouragement fellows. Then the governor himself first and the rest of his men came in as fast could. But while his regiment was ente this side, the Londoners were beaten off other side, and the main force of the turned upon him. The cavaliers had half within, which were as good a defence to their first works; into these, the soldi were of the queen's regiment were gott they in the house shot out of all the w The governor's men, as soon as they got taken the stables and all their horses, governor himself was fighting with the ca the papists and some others, who, by adva the half moon and the house, might have p to cut off him, and those that were with hi were not many. The enemy being stren by the addition of those who had beaten assailants on the other side, were now tryi utmost to vanquish those that were withi lieutenant-colonel, seeing his brother in made haste to open the drawbridge, that might come in with his horse, which he not before the governor had killed that gen who was fighting with him, at whose fall gave way. Poyntz seeing them shoot fr house, and apprehending the king might their relief, when he came in, ordered quarter should be given. And here the g was in greater danger than before, for the s hearing him called governor, were adva have killed him, but that the lieutenant- who was very watchful to preserve him day, came in to his rescue, and scarce persuade them that it was the governor tingham, because he, at the beginning of th had put off a very good suit of armour had, which being musket-proof, was so hea it heated him, and so he would not be pe by his friends to wear anything but his bu The governor's men, eager to complete th tory, were forcing their entrance into the meanwhile, Rossiter's men came and too all their horses, which they had taken wh first entered the works, and won the stab left in the guard of two or three, while th pursuing their work. The governor of S after all his bravadoes, came but meanly said he sat in his chamber, wrapped up cloak, and came not forth that day; b availed him not, for how or by whom it known, but he was wounded and stripp flung upon a dunghill. The lieutenant- after the house was mastered, seeing the by which our men were ready to mur another, upon the command Poyntz had i

give no quarter, desired Poyntz to cause the slaughter to cease, which was presently obeyed, and about seven score prisoners saved. While he was thus busied, inquiring what was become of the governor, he was shown him naked upon the dunghill; whereupon, the lieutenant-colonel called for his own cloak, and cast it over him, and sent him to a bed in his own quarters, and procured him a surgeon. Upon his desire, he had a little priest, who had been his father's chaplain, and was one of the committee faction; but the man was such a pitiful comforter, that the governor, who was come to visit him, was forced to undertake that office: but though he had all the supplies they could always give him, he died the next day. The house, which belonged to his father the Earl of Chesterfield, was that night burnt, none certainly knowing by what means, whether by accident or on purpose; but there was most ground to believe that the country people, who had been sorely infested by that garrison, to prevent the keeping it by those who had taken it, purposely set it on fire. If the queen's regiment had mounted their horses, and stood ready upon them, when our men entered, they had undoubtedly cut them all off, but they standing to the works, it pleased God to lead them into that path he had ordained for their destruction, who, being papists, would not receive quarter, nor were they much offered it, being killed in the heat of the contest, so that not a man of them escaped.

The next day, our party went to Wiverton, a house of the Lord Chaworth's, and that, terrified with the example of the other, yielded upon terms, and was by order pulled down, and rendered incapable of being any more a garrison.

Poyntz now quartered all his horse in the towns about Newark, and in regard he had no peculiar regiment of his own, the governor's regiment served him for his guards. The Scots also came and quartered on the other side of the town, towards the north.

All that winter the governor lay at the Leaguer, and about Christmas time, writs were sent down for new elections to fill up the parliament. There being a burgess-ship void at Nottingham, the town would needs, in a compliment, make the governor free, in order to an election of him for the parliament. Mr. Francis Pierrepont hearing this, wrote to the governor to desire that he would rather come into his father's place in the county, and give him his assistance in this, as he should engage his own and all his friends' interest for him in the county. The governor, who was ever ready to requite injuries with benefits, employed his interest in the town, to satisfy the gentleman's desire, and having very many that had voices in his regiment, he sent for them all home the night before the day of election; which had like to have been a very sad one, but that by the mercy of God, and the courage of Poyntz, and the lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Poulton, it had not so bad event. The Newarkers, hearing that so many of the regiment were away, fell into their quarters, and most of the men being surprised, were rather endeavouring flight than resistance, when the lieutenant-colonel and Capt. Poulton rallied all they could find, lined some pales with musketeers, and beat the enemy again out of the quarters, and Poyntz, mounting with as many horse as were about him, which was very few, followed them in the nigh up to the very works of Newark. Some loss there was in the quarters, but nothing considerable; some soldiers ran away home, and brought the governor word they were all cut off, but his brother sent a messenger to acquaint him the contrary. Hereupon, immediately after the election, he returned back again with his men. Not long after, the elections were made for the county, who all pitched upon the governor in his father's room. White, whose envy never died, used all the endeavours he could to have hindered it, but when he saw he could do no harm, with a sad heart, under a false face, he came and took his part of a noble dinner the new knights had provided for the gentlemen of the country. Without any competition Mr. Hutchinson had the first voice, in the room of his father, and Mr. Pigott the second, in the room of Mr. Sutton, now a commissioner at Newark. About the same time, Col. Thornhagh was chosen burgess for the town of Retford; but none of them went up to their places in parliament till the siege of Newark was finished.

Poyntz drew a line about the town, and made a very regular intrenchment and approaches in such a soldier-like manner, as none of them who attempted the place before had done. Most of that winter they lay in the field, and the governor, carried on by the vigour and greatness of his mind, felt no distemper then by that service, which all his captains and the soldiers themselves endured worse than he. Besides daily and hourly providences, by which they were preserved from the enemy's cannons and sallies, there were some remarkable ones, by which God kept the governor's life in this Leaguer. Once as Poyntz and he and another captain were riding to view some quarter of the town, a cannon bullet came whizzing by them, as they were riding all abreast, and the captain, without any touch of it, said he was killed; Poyntz bid him get off, but he was then sliding down from his horse, slain by the wind of the bullet; they held him up till they got off from the place, but the man immediately turned black all over. Another time the governor was in his tent, and by chance called out; when he was scarce out of it, a cannon bullet came and tore up the whole tent, and killed the sentinel at the door. But the great peril, wherein all of the English side were, was the treachery of the Scots, which they had very good reason to apprehend might have been the cutting off of all that force. Sir Thomas Fairfax had now besieged Oxford, and the king was stolen out of the town and gone in disguise, no man knew whither, but at the length he came into the Scots army. They had before behaved themselves very oddly to the English, and been taking sundry occasions to pick quarrels, when at the last certain news was brought to the English quarters that the king was come to the Scots, and by them received at Southwell. The English could then expect nothing but that the Scots, joining with those that were in Newark, would fall upon them, who were far inferior in number to the other, and therefore they all prepared themselves, as well as they could, to defend themselves in their trenches. The governor had then very fine horses at the Leaguer, which he sent home to the garrison; but while they were

in expectation of being thus fallen upon, the king had more mind to be gone, and because the Scots knew not how to break up their quarters while the town was not taken, the king sent to my Lord Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender up the place immediately, which he did upon pretty handsome terms, but much discontented that the king should have no more regard to them who had been so constant to his service *. The governor with his regiment was appointed to receive the town and the arms, and to quarter in it; where now he went upon the greatest danger of all, for the town was all over sadly infected with the plague; yet it so pleased God that neither he nor any of these fresh men caught the infection, which was so raging there that it almost desolated the place.

Whether the king's ill counsel or destiny led him, he was very failing in this action, for had he gone straight up to the parliament and cast himself upon them, as he did upon the Scots, he had in all probability ruined them, who were highly divided between the presbyterian and independent factions; but in putting himself into the hands of their mercenary Scotch army, rather than the parliament of England, he showed such an embittered hate to the English nation, that it turned many hearts against him. The Scots in this business were very false both to the parliament and the king. For them to receive and carry away the king's person with them, when they were but a hired army, without either the consent or knowledge of the parliament, was a very false carriage of them; but besides that, we had *certain evidences* that they were prepared, and had an intent, to have cut off the English army who beleaguered Newark, but that God changed their counsels and made them take another course, which was to carry the king to Newcastle, where they again sold him to the parliament for a sum of money.

The country now being cleared of all the enemy's garrisons, Col. Hutchinson went up to London to attend his duty there, and to serve his country as faithfully, in the capacity of a senator, as he had before in that of a soldier. When he came there, he found a very bitter spirit of discord and envy raging, and the presbyterian faction, of which were most of those lords and others that had been laid aside by the self-denying ordinance, endeavouring a violent persecution, upon the account of conscience, against those who had in so short a time accomplished, by God's blessing, that victory which he was not pleased to bestow on them. Their directory of worship was at length sent forth for a three years' trial; and such as could not conform to it marked out with an evil eye, hated and persecuted, under the name of separatist. Col. Hutchinson, who abhorred that malicious zeal and imposing spirit which appeared in them, was soon taken notice of for one of the independent faction †, [whose heads were accounted Pierrepont, Vane, St. Johns, and some few other grandees, being men that excelled in wisdom and utterance, and the rest believed to adhere to them only out of faction: as if those who did not vaingloriously lay out themselves without necessity, but chose rather to hear and vote, had had no understanding of right and wrong, but from the dictates of these great oracles!] Though, to speak the truth, they very little knew Col. Hutchinson, that could say he was of any faction, for he had a strength of judgment able to consider things himself and propound them to his conscience; which was so upright that the veneration of no man's person alive, nor the love of the dearest friend in the world, could make him do the least thing, without a full persuasion that it was his duty so to act. He very well understood men's gifts and abilities, and honoured those most whom he believed to manage them with most uprightness of soul for God's glory and the good of his country, and was so far from envying the just renown any man acquired, that he rejoiced in it. He never was any man's sectary, either in religious or civil matters, farther than he apprehended them to follow the rules of religion, honour, and virtue; nor any man's antagonist, but as he opposed that which appeared to him just and equal. If the greatest enemy he had in the world had propounded anything profitable to the public, he would promote it; whereas some others were to blame in that particular, and chiefly those of the presbyterian faction, who would obstruct any good rather than those they envied and hated should have the glory of procuring it; the sad effects of which pride grew at length to be the ruin of the most glorious cause that ever was contended for. At the first many gentlemen, eminent in gifts and acquirements, were as eminent in zealous improvement of them, for the advantage of God's and their country's interest, whereby they obtained just glory and admiration among all good men; but while the creature was so magnified, God, that was the principal author, was not looked upon, and gave them therefore up to become their own and others' idols, and so to fall.

And now it grew to a sad wonder, that the most zealous promoters of the cause were more spitefully carried against their own faithful armies, by whom God had perfected their victory over their enemies, than against the vanquished foe; whose restitution they henceforth secretly endeavoured, by all the arts of treacherous, dissembling policy, only that they might throw down those whom God had exalted in glory and power to resist their tyrannical impositions. At that time, and long after, they prevailed not, till that pious people too began to admire themselves for what God had done by them, and to set up themselves above their brethren, and then the Lord humbled them again beneath their conquered vassals.

So long as the army only resisted unjust impositions, and remained firm to their first pious engagement, Mr. Hutchinson adhered to that party which protected them in the parliament-house. His attendance there, changing his custom of life into a sedentary employment, less suitable to his active spirit, and more prejudicial to his health, he fell into a long and painful sickness which many times brought him near the grave, and was not perfectly cured in four years. The doctors could not find a name for it; but at the length resolved upon the running gout, and a

* Among the names of those who signed the capitulation on the part of the parliament (as it appears in Rushworth) are those of Col. Hutchinson and Col. Twisseleton.

† All that is contained between these two brackets had lines struck through it in the manuscript, and one of the names defaced.

cure proper for that disease being practised on him, took effect.

The truth is, his great mind so far surmounted the frailty of his flesh, that it would never yield to the tenderness of his constitution, nor suffer him to feel those inconveniences of martial toils, which often cast down his captains, men of more able bodies and healthful complexions, while the business was in hand; but when that was finished he found, what he had not leisure to consider before, that his body's strength was far unequal to the vigour of his soul.

After the surrender of Newark, Nottingham town and castle was continued a garrison for some time; between this and his greater employment at London, the governor divided himself. Meanwhile, upon the 15th day of July, 1646, propositions were sent to the king, then with the Scots at Newcastle, little higher than those which had been made him at Uxbridge, but he wove out delays and would not assent to them, hoping a greater advantage by the difference between the two nations, and the factions in the city and parliament, which both he and all his party employed their utmost industry to cherish and augment. Both parliaments perceiving this, and not yet senseless of approaching destruction from the common enemy, began to be cemented by the king's averseness to peace, and to consider how to settle the kingdoms without him, and when they had agreed that the Scots should deliver up the English garrisons for a certain sum of money, it fell into debate how to dispose of the king's person; where the debate was, not who should, but who should not have him. At the length, about January of the same year, two hundred thousand pounds was carried down by part of the army to Newcastle, and upon the payment of it, the Scots delivered their garrisons to the soldiers, and the king to certain commissioners of both houses of parliament, who conducted him honourably to his own manor of Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

During this time Sir Thomas Fairfax himself lay at Nottingham, and the governor was sick in the castle. The general's lady was come along with him, having followed his camp to the siege of Oxford, and lain at his quarters all the while he abode there. She was exceedingly kind to her husband's chaplains, independent ministers, till the army returned to be nearer London, and then the presbyterian ministers quite changed the lady into such a bitter aversion against them, that they could not endure to come into the general's presence while she was there, and the general had an unquiet, unpleasant life with her, who drove away from him many of those friends, in whose conversation he had found such sweetness. At Nottingham they had gotten a very able minister into the great church, but a bitter presbyterian; him and his brethren my lady Fairfax caressed with so much kindness, that they grew impudent to preach up their faction openly in the pulpit, and to revile the others, and at length would not suffer any of the army chaplains to preach in the town. They then coming to the governor and complaining of their unkind usage, he invited them to come and preach in his house, which when it was known they did, there was a great concourse of people came thither to them; and the presbyterians, when they heard it, were mad with rage, not only against them, but against the governor, who accidentally gave them another occasion about the same time, a little before the general came. When formerly the presbyterian ministers had forced him for quietness sake to go and break up a private meeting in the cannoneers' chamber, there were found some notes concerning pedobaptism, which being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife having then more leisure to read than he, having perused them and compared them with the scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted, concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants: but being then young and modest, she thought it a kind of virtue to submit to the judgment and practice of most churches, rather than to defend a singular opinion of her own, she not being then enlightened in that great mistake of the national churches: but in this year, she happening to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desired him to endeavour her satisfaction; which while he did, he himself became as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied against it. First, therefore, he diligently searched the scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground at all for that practice; then he bought and read all the eminent treatises on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was cleared in the error of the pedobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might, if possible, give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt, and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church, from the primitive times, and their main buckler of federal holiness, which Tombs and Denne had excellently overthrown. He and his wife then, professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desired their opinions, what they ought to do. Most answered, to conform to the general practice of other Christians, how dark soever it were to themselves; but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the assembly, said that except they were convinced of the warrant of that practice from the Word, they sinned in doing it: whereupon that infant was not baptised. And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsook not their assemblies, nor retracted their benevolences and civilities from them, yet were they reviled by them, called fanatics and anabaptists, and often glanced at in their public sermons. And not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceived implacable malice against them, upon this account; which was carried on with a spirit of envy and persecution to the last, though he, on his side, might well have said to them, as his Master to the old pharisees: "Many good works have I done among you, for which of these do you hate me?" Yet the generality, even of that people, had a secret conviction upon them, that he had been faithful to them, and deserved their love; and in spite of their own bitter zeal, could not but have a reverent esteem for him, whom they often railed at, for not thinking and speaking according to their opinions.

This year Sir Allen Apsley, governor of Barnstable for the king, after the surrender of that garrison came and retired to the governor's house till his composition with the parliament was completed, the governor's wife being his sister,

and the governor's brother having married the other sister: and this was another occasion of opening the mouths of the malignants, who were ready to seize any one to his prejudice. Sir Allen Apsley had not his articles punctually performed, by which he suffered great expense and intolerable vexation; and the governor, no less concerned in the injustice done to him than if he had suffered it himself, endeavoured to protect him only in that which was just, and for this was called a cavalier, and said to have changed his party, and a thousand more injuries; in which none were so forward as those who had all the while been disaffected to the whole parliament party, but after they were conquered, burying their spite against the cause in their own bosoms, suffered that secret fire to rise up in a black smoke against the most faithful assertors of it.

When the commissioners went down to fetch up the king from the Scots, one of the lords coming to visit the governor, and finding him at that time very sick, persuaded him to make use of one of the king's physicians that was with them, who was called Dr. Wilson, and was a very able physician, but mistook the method of his cure, and made issues in both his arms, which rather wasted his strength than his disease, and when he was cured were stopped up. That spring, growing a little better for the present, he went to London, and having ineffectually tried several physicians, Sir Allen Apsley persuaded him to make use of Dr. Frazier, with whom he began a course of physic, in the midst of which the doctor came and acquainted him that he was likely to be imprisoned upon suspicion of carrying on designs against the parliament underhand, for now the Scots were threatening invasion and open war: he professed his innocence with many protestations, and desired Mr. Hutchinson to oblige him so far as to engage for him that he managed no design but his calling; which the colonel believing, undertook for him to the committee of Derby-house; when the false Scot, having thus abused him, left a letter of lame excuse to him, and stole away out of England to the princes, then beyond the seas, leaving a blot upon Mr. Hutchinson for having undertaken for him: but he, acknowledging his error to have been so abused, was thereby warned from credulity of any of that false nation any more. That summer he attended the service of the house, being freed for a while from his distemper during the summer till the fall of the leaf, that it returned again. In the mean time jealousies were sown between the parliament, the city of London, and the army. The presbyterian faction were earnest to have the army disbanded; the army resented the injury, and being taught to value their own merit, petitioned the general that they might be satisfied, not only in things relating to themselves particularly as an army, but the general concernments and liberties of the good people of the nation, which they had fought for. The presbyterians were highly offended at this, and declared it with such violence as gave the army cause to increase their jealousies. The soldiers, led on to it by one Cornet Joyce, took the king from Holmby out of the parliament commissioners' hands, and carried him about with them. The parliament voted that the king should come to Richmond, attended by the same persons that attended him at Holmby; but the army, instead of obeying, impeached eleven members of the house of commons of high treason, and petitioned that those impeached members might be secluded the house, till they had brought in their answer to the charge; which being violently debated, they made a voluntary secession for six months. The general also entreated that the king might not be brought nearer to London than they would suffer the army to quarter. So he was carried with them to Royston, Hatfield, Reading, and at last to Owborne, till about July 1647, when London grew into a tumult, and made a very rude violation upon the parliament houses which caused them to adjourn; when understanding the fury of the citizens, the greatest part of the members with the speaker withdrew and went to the army, among whom was Col. Hutchinson. The presbyterian members who staid behind chose new speakers, and made many new votes, and vigorously began to levy forces to resist the army, which were conducted by Massy and Poyntz. The parliament that was with the army made an order against the proceedings of the members at London, and advanced with the general, which when the city heard of, their stomachs would not serve them to stand it out, but they sent commissioners, and, by the consent of the members with the general, obtained a pacification, upon condition the city should disband all their new forces, deliver up their Tower and their forts to the general, and desert the members now sitting. They daring to deny nothing, the general came triumphantly to Westminster, and brought back both the speakers and the members, and put them again in their seats. The general had solemn thanks from both houses, and then, with all his chief officers marched through the city, from the western parts of it to the Tower, where many commands were changed, the presbyterian party depressed, and their generals, Poyntz and Massy, with all the remaining officers of that faction, forced to retire, who most of them then changed their party, and never more appeared on the parliament side. Yet was there still a presbyterian faction left in the house of such as were moderate, and not, by the bitterness of their zeal, carried out to break their covenant with God and men, and renew a league with the popish interest, to destroy that godly interest which they had at first so gloriously asserted. After this tumult at London was quieted, about August of that year the king was brought to one of his stately palaces at Hampton Court, near London, and the army removed to quarters about the city, their head-quarters being at Putney. The king, by reason of his daily converse with the officers, began to be tampering with them, not only then but before, and had drawn in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him: but to speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so uncorruptibly faithful to his trust and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual and natural dissimulations on this occasion. His son-in-law, Ireton, that was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found to the contrary) but that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his own violent will; but, upon some discourses with him,

the king uttering these words to him, "I shall play my game as well as I can," Ireton replied, "If your majesty have a *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours." Col. Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the king, Ireton's expressions were these: "He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail, by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight."

The king lived at Hampton-court rather in the condition of a guarded and attended prince, than as a conquered and purchased captive: all his old servants had free recourse to him; all sorts of people were admitted to come to kiss his hands and do him obeisance as a sovereign. Ashburnham and Berkley, by the parliament voted delinquents, came to him from beyond the seas, and others by permission of the army, who had hoped they might be useful to incline him to wholesome counsels.; but he, on the other side, interpreting this freedom wherein he was permitted to live, not to the gentleness and reconcilableness of his parliament, who, after all his injuries, yet desired his restitution, so far as it might be without the ruin of the good people of the land, but rather believing it to proceed from their apprehension of their own declining and his re-advancing in the hearts of the people, made use of this advantage to corrupt many of their officers to revolt from them and betray them; which some time after they did, and paid the forfeiture with their lives*. When the king was at Hampton-court, the lords formerly of his privy council at Oxford also repaired to him, to be as a council attending him, but this was so much disgusted at London, that they retreated again; but the Scotch lords and commissioners having free access to him, he drew that nation into the design of the second war; which furiously brake out the next summer, and was one of the highest provocations which, after the second victory, brought him to the scaffold. But I shall respite that, to return to his affairs whom I principally trace.

After the parliament were by the general restored to their seats, Col. Hutchinson came down to the garrison at Nottingham, which, the war being ended, was reduced only to the castle, the works at the town and the bridges slighted, the companies of the governor's regiment, all but two, disbanded, and he thinking, now in a time when there was no opposition, the command not worthy of himself or his brother, gave it over to his kinsman, Capt. Poulton. With the assistance of his fellow-parliament men he procured an order from the parliament for five thousand pounds, that had been levied for the Scotch army, but which they, departing with too much haste, had not received, to be distributed among the officers and soldiers of his regiment that were at this time disbanded, in part of their arrears, and, that it might go the farther amongst them, himself had none of it. The garrison at Nottingham being reduced, Col. Hutchinson removed his family back to his own house at Owthorpe, but found that, having stood uninhabited, and been robbed of everything which the neighbouring garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton could carry from it, it was so ruinated that it could not be repaired, to make a convenient habitation, without as much charge as would almost build another. By reason of the debt his public employment had run him into, not being able to do this at present while all his arrears were unpaid, he made a bad shift with it for that year. At this time his distemper of rheum was very sore upon him, and he so afflicted with pains in his head, which fell down also with violent torture upon all his joints, that he was not able to go for divers weeks out of his chamber; and here we had a notable example of the victorious power of his soul over his body. One day, as he was in the saddest torture of his disease, certain horse came somewhat insolently and injuriously, exacting quarters or moneys in the town, whom he sent for, and telling them he would not suffer such wrong to be done to his tenants, they seeing him in so weak a condition, would not be persuaded to forbear violent and unjust actions, but told him his government was expired, and they no more under his command; with which, and some other saucy language, being provoked to be heartily angry, he felt not that he was sick, but started out of his chair and beat them out of the house and town, and returned again laughing at the wretched fellows and at himself, wondering what was become of his pain, and thinking how strangely his feebleness was cured in a moment: but while he and those about him were in this amazement, it was not half an hour before, as his spirits cooled, that heat and vigour they had lent his members retired again to their noble palace, his heart; those efforts, wherein they had violently employed his limbs, made them more weak than before, and his pain returned with such redoubled violence that we thought he would have died in this fit.

While he was thus distempered at home, Major-General Ireton sent him a letter, with a new commission in it, for the resuming his government of Nottingham castle, which the principal officers of the army, foreseeing an approaching storm, desired to have in the same hand wherein it had before been so prosperously and faithfully preserved; but the colonel sent them word, that as he should not have put his kinsman into the place, but that he was assured of his fidelity, so he would never join with those who were so forgetful of the merits of men, that had behaved themselves well, as to discourage them without a cause. Hereupon they suffered Capt. Poulton to remain in his com-

* This is one of the places where we find reason to regret Mrs. Hutchinson's being so summary in her account of public affairs. This matter of endeavouring to bring the king to reason, and his perverting the good intentions of friends as well as foes, is treated much at length by Ludlow, in his first volume, from p. 194 to 204, and he agrees with Mrs. Hutchinson in most particulars; but it seems extraordinary that he should attribute a very considerable and active part in this business to Sir Allen Apsley, and his sister should make no mention of him in it. The candour and benevolence of Ireton, who is so generally represented as a cynic, are equally apparent in both places, as likewise are the obstinacy and duplicity of the king. If Ireton is by any supposed to have been too favourably represented by Mrs. Hutchinson, it will not be thought that he is likewise favoured by Walker in his Hist. of the Independ., yet p. 164, he reports thus:—Ireton said the king had committed crimes enough to *depose and imprison him*, and crown the Duke of York, then a child, in his stead (*not to kill the king*), and that if any thought their treatment of the king severe, they would applaud their clemency to the Duke of York.

mand; but while the house was highly busy in faction, they took no care of any of the garrisons, especially of such as were likely to continue firm to the cause, the presbyterian faction having a design to weaken or corrupt them all, that they might be prepared for the great revolt from the parliament, which was now working in all countries. In Nottinghamshire, a brother of the Lord Biron's, Col. Gilbert Biron, meeting Capt. Poulton, began to insinuate into him, and tempt him to betray Nottingham castle; which proposition, when he heard, he thought not fit utterly to reject, lest the castle, being then in a weak condition, and the soldiers discontented, some of his under officers might more readily embrace it and betray both the place and him. He therefore took a little time to consider of it, and came to Col. Hutchinson and acquainted him with it. He advised to hold his cousin Biron on in the treaty, till he himself could go to London and provide for the better securing of the place, which, his distemper of health a little abating, he did; and when the place was well provided, Capt. Poulton, who was too gentle-hearted to cut off Mr. Biron under a pretence of assenting to him, sent to him to shift for himself, which Mr. Biron accordingly did; and now the insurrection began everywhere to break out.

In the mean time, some months before, when the king had laid the design of the second war with the Scots, and employed all his art to bring the English presbyters to a revolt, and was now full of hopes to bring about *his game*, and conquer those who had conquered him, while he was amusing the parliament with expectations of a treaty, he privily stole away from Hampton Court by the assistance of Ashburnham and Berkley, no man knew whither: but these wise men had so ordered their business, that instead of going beyond seas, which was his first intent, he was forced to give himself up to Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who immediately gave notice to the parliament, and they sent him thanks for his fidelity, and ordered that the king should be honourably attended and guarded there in Carisbrook Castle. The parliament were again sending him propositions there, when they received a letter from him, urging that he might come to a personal treaty at London. Hereupon the two houses agreed on four propositions to be sent him, to pass as bills; upon the passing of which, they were content he should come to a personal treaty for the rest. The four propositions were, 1st. That a bill should pass for the settling the militia of the kingdom. 2dly. That all oaths, declarations, &c. against the parliament and their adherents should be called in. 3dly, That the lords made by the great seal at Oxford, should not be capable of sitting in the house of peers thereby. 4thly, That the parliament may have power to adjourn, as the two houses think fit. The Scotch commissioners opposed the sending these bills to the king, and urged his coming to a personal treaty at London. The king understanding their mind and the factions in London, absolutely refused to sign them. Wherefore the houses debating upon the king's denial, at length these votes were passed by both houses on the 17th day of January.—That they would make no more addresses, nor applications to the king; that no person whatsoever should make address or application to him; that whoever should break this order, should incur the penalty of high treason: that they would receive no more messages from the king, and that no person should presume to bring any to either house, or any other person. Upon these votes the army put forth a declaration, promising to stand by the houses in them, which was signed by the general and all his officers, at Windsor, Jan. 19, 1647. But in May following, first tumults began in London, then the Surrey men came with a very insolent petition, and behaved themselves so arrogantly to the parliament, killing and wounding some of the guards, that a troop of horse were fetched from the Mews, and were forced to kill some of them, before they could quiet them. After this, the parliament were informed of another insurrection in Kent, coming under the face of a petition, and sent out General Fairfax with seven regiments to suppress them, who pursued them to Rochester. A great company of these Kentish men were gotten together about Gravesend, with fifteen knights, and many commanders of the king's army to head them, who, although they were more in number then Fairfax's men, yet durst not bide his coming. Some of them went to Dover Castle and besieged it, but the general sent out Sir Michael Livesey, who happily relieved that place, and raised the siege; others went to Maidstone, and a few kept together about Rochester. The general himself went to Maidstone, where two thousand of them were gotten into the town, and resolved to keep it; whom the general assaulted, and with difficulty entered the town and fought for every street, which were barricadoed against him and defended with cannon. Yet at length he killed two hundred, and took fourteen hundred prisoners. Four hundred horse broke away to an army of their friends, bigger than Fairfax's, who saw the town taken, yet had not the courage to engage against the general in the relief of it, but after they saw his victory dispersed. The Lord Goring then, having rallied about two thousand of these Kentish men, led them to Greenwich, from whence he sent to try the affections of the Londoners; but while he stayed there expecting their answer, some troops of the army came, upon the sight of whom, he and his men fled,—the Kentish men, most of them, to their own houses; himself, with about five hundred horse, getting boat, crossed the Thames into Essex, where the Lord Capel with forces out of Hertfordshire, and Sir Charles Lucas with a body of horse at Chelmsford, joined him; to whom in a short time, divers that had been the king's soldiers, many Londoners, and other malignants, flocked in. General Fairfax with part of his forces crossed the Thames at Gravesend, and sending for all the rest out of Kent and London, pursued the enemies and drove them into Colchester, where he besieged them, and lay before them three months. At last, hearing of the defeat of Duke Hamilton and the Scots, and other of the king's partisans, and being reduced to eating horse-flesh, without hopes of relief, they yielded to mercy. The general shot Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle to death upon the place, and reserved Goring, Capel, and others, to abide the doom of the parliament. While Fairfax was thus

ayed in Kent and Essex, Langhorne, Powell, Poyer, celebrated commanders of the parlia- side, revolted with the places in their com- , and got a body of eight thousand Welchmen, a Col. Horton, with three thousand, encoun- , vanquished, routed, and took as many ers as he had soldiers; but Langhorne and ll escaped to Poyer, and shut up themselves him in Pembroke Castle, a place so strong hey refused all treaty; and thereupon were ed by Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to at length, after some months' siege, it sur- red at the conqueror's mercy. In divers countries at the same time, were several rections and revolts, but those of the parlia- party, as if they had lost courage and con- ce at once, could no more behave themselves that valour which had before renowned them, were slain or taken, losing the places they betrayed, to their old companions, whose ty was crowned with success everywhere. ng the rest Colonel Gilbert Biron was risen, other gentlemen of Nottinghamshire and dnshire, and had gotten together about five red horse; wherewith, after he failed of his s of corrupting the governor of Nottingham, intended to go and join themselves with s that were up in other countries: and this o suddenly and secretly done, that they were their march before the rising was suspected. governor of Nottingham had not time enough d a messenger to be before them with Col. Hut- on at his house, therefore shot off a piece of n, which Col. Hutchinson hearing as he sat ner, and believing some extraordinary thing in it, commanded horses to be made ready, vent to Nottingham; but met the messenger came to give him notice of the enemy's ap- h. The news being sent home in haste, his and writings, and other things of value, put in a cart and sent away; which was not gone but the enemy marched by the house, keeping their body on a hill at the town's end, sent a party to the house to fetch them what sions of meat and drink they found there, es which, they took nothing but a groom two horses, who being ridden out to air them, nto their mouths, because he could not be ly found when the rest of the horses were away. The reason why no more mischief done by the cavaliers to his family, at that was partly because Col. Gilbert Biron had manded not to disturb them, if he were not , and partly because they were so closely ied by the Lincolnshire troops, that they l not stay to take nor would burden them- s with plunder, now they saw it unlikely to ff without fighting. This they did the next t Willoughby within three miles of Owthorpe, vere there totally routed, killed, and taken, by ty under Col. Rossiter's command, by whom Biron was carried prisoner to Belvoir Castle. e being in distress although he was an ene- and had dealt unhandsomely with Col. Hut- on, in endeavouring to corrupt one for whom as engaged, yet the colonel sent him a sum of y for his present relief, and after procured a release and composition with the parlia- . The greatest of all these dangers seemed to be in the north, where Duke Hamilton's faction being prevalent in Scotland, he had raised an army, and was marched into England. Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Glenham, having already raised some men in those parts, whom Lambert, with the assistance of some Lincolnshire forces, joined to his Yorkshire brigade, kept in play: but they reserved themselves to join with Hamil- ton. Argyle, and others of the kirk party, pro- tested against him, and many of the ministers cursed his attempt, but were silenced for it, although God heard them. The presbyterians in London secretly prayed for his success, and hard- ly could the house of lords be brought to join with the house of commons, in voting all the English traitors that should join with the Scots, which yet at the last they did.

Col. Hutchinson having been about this time at London, and wanting a minister for the place where he lived, and for which he had procured an augmentation, repaired to some eminent minis- ters in London to recommend a worthy person to him for the place. They, with a great testimonial preferred a Scotchman to him, whom the colonel brought down: but having occasion to be with the committee at Nottingham, to take order for the security of the county in these dangerous times; while he was out, the man made strange prayers in the family, which were couched in dark expressions; but Mrs. Hutchinson understanding them to be intended for the prosperous success of those who were risen against the parliament, and of his nation, that were coming to invade ours, told her husband at his return, that she could not bear with nor join in his prayers. The next day, being the Lord's Day, the colonel heard his ser- mon, which was so spiritless and so lamentable, that he was very much vexed the ministers should have put such a man to him: withal he publicly made the same prayers he uttered in the family, for the success of the Scots; whereupon, after dinner, the colonel took him aside, and told him that he had done very sinfully to undertake an office to which he was so ill gifted, and desired him to depart in peace again the next day, and to for- bear any further employment in his house. The man at first was very high, and told the colonel he was there by authority of parliament, and would not depart; the colonel then dealt high with him, and told him he would declare to them the expressions of his prayers, and so confounded the man, that he besought him to have pity, and confessed that he was fled from his own country for having been of Montrose's party, and that covetousness, against his conscience, had drawn him to dissemble himself to be of the parliament's principle, but that God had judged him for his hypocrisy, and withdrawn his spirit from him since he practised it; and submitted himself to go quietly and silently away, begging it as a favour of the colonel that he would permit him so to do. He did it with such a counterfeit sorrow and con- viction, that the colonel, being of a most placable nature, freely forgave him, and sent him not away empty, for he had fifteen pounds for only a fort- night's service; yet this rogue, before he went out of the country, went to the presbyters of Notting- ham, and told them his conscience would not permit him to stay in the colonel's house, because he and his wife were such violent sectaries, that no ortho- dox man could live comfortably with them; and this

scandal those charitable priests were ready to receive and more largely spread it. They themselves, with divers of their zealous disciples, whom they had perverted, among whom were Col. Francis Pierrepont, Captains Rosse, White, Chadwick, and many others, were watching opportunity to break their covenant and rise against that parliament, under which they had served and sworn to assist them, till all delinquents, as well greater as less, were brought to condign punishment.

At London, things were in a very sad posture, the two factions of presbytery and independency being so engaged to suppress each other, that they both left off to regard the public interest, insomuch that at that time a certain sort of public-spirited men stood up in the parliament and the army, declaring against these factions and the ambition of the grandees of both, and the partiality that was in these days practised, by which great men were privileged to do those things which meaner men were punished for, and the injustice and other crimes of particular members of parliament rather covered than punished, to the scandal of the whole house. Many got shelter in the house and army against their debts, by which others were defrauded and undone. The lords, as if it were the chief interest of nobility to be licensed in vice, claimed many prerogatives, which set them out of the reach of common justice, which these good-hearted people would have equally to belong to the poorest as well as the mighty; and for this and such other honest declarations, they were nicknamed Levellers. Indeed as all virtues are mediums, and have their extremes, there arose up after in that name a people, who endeavoured the levelling of all estates and qualities, which these sober levellers were never guilty of desiring, but were men of just and sober principles, of honest and religious ends, and therefore hated by all the designing self-interested men of both factions. Col. Hutchinson had a great intimacy with many of these; and so far as they acted according to the just, pious, and public spirit which they professed, owned them and protected them as far as he had power. These were they who first began to discover the ambition of Lieutenant-general Cromwell and his idolaters, and to suspect and dislike it. About this time, he was sent down, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north. When he went down, the chief of these levellers, following him out of the town, to take their leaves of him, received such professions from him, of a spirit bent to pursue the same just and honest things that they desired, as they went away with great satisfaction, till they heard that a coachful of presbyterian priests, coming after them, went away no less pleased; by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his credit with both.

When he came to Nottingham, Col. Hutchinson went to see him, whom he embraced with all the expressions of kindness that one friend could make to another, and then retiring with him pressed him to tell him what thought his friends, the Levellers, had of him. The colonel, who was the freest man in the world from concealing truth from his friend, especially when it was required of him in love and plainness, not only told him what others thought of him, but what he himself conceived, and how much it would darken all his glories, if he should become a slave to his own ambition, and be guilty of what he gave the world just cause to suspect, and therefore begged of him to wear his heart in his face, and to scorn to delude his enemies, but to make use of his noble courage, to maintain what he believed just, against all great opposers. Cromwell made mighty professions of a sincere heart to him, but it is certain that for this and such like plain-dealing with him, he dreaded the colonel, and made it his particular business to keep him out of the army; but the colonel never desiring command to serve himself, but his country, would not use that art he detested in others, to procure himself any advantage.

At this time Col. Thornhagh marched with Cromwell, and at his parting with Col. Hutchinson took such a kind leave of him, with such dear expressions of love, such brotherly embraces, and such regret for any rash jealousies he had been wrought into, that it took great impression in the colonel's kind heart, and might have been a presage to him that they should meet no more, when they parted with such extraordinary melting love; but that Col. Hutchinson's cheerful and constant spirit never anticipated any evil with fear. His prudence wanted not foresight that it might come, yet his faith and courage entertained his hope, that God would either prevent, or help him to bear it.

This summer the revolt was no greater at land than at sea. Many of the great ships set the vice-admiral on shore, and sailed towards Holland to Prince Charles: to whom the Duke of York was come, having, by his father's advice, privately stolen away from London, where the parliament had received and treated him like a prince, ever since the surrender of Oxford. To reduce these revolted ships, and preserve the rest of the navy from the like, the Earl of Warwick was made lord high admiral of England. But at the same time his brother the Earl of Holland, who had floated up and down with the tide of the times, rose also against the parliament, and appeared in arms, with the young Duke of Buckingham and Lord Francis Villars his brother, and others, making about five hundred horse, at Kingston-upon-Thames. Here some of the parliament troops, assailing them before they had time to grow, they were totally routed and dispersed. The Lord Francis Villars was slain; the Earl of Holland, flying with those he could rally, was fought with at St. Neots, Dalbier and others of his associates slain, and himself taken prisoner and carried to Warwick Castle. Buckingham fled, and at last got beyond seas, with a blot of base ingratitude and treachery, which began then to appear, and hath since marked out all his life. For these two lords being pupils, and under the king's tuition, were carried with him to Oxford, where they remained till the rendition of the place, and then coming to London, in regard they were under age, had all their father and mother's great estates, freely, without any sequestration or composition, and while they enjoyed them, their secret intentions of rising being discovered to the parliament, the parliament would not secure them, as some advised, but only sent a civil warning to the duke, minding him how unhandsome it would be, if the information should prove true; whereupon the duke protested he had no such intention, but

utterly detested it, making all the expressions of just gratitude to them that could be, and yet, within very few days after, openly showed himself in arms, to tell the world how perfidious an hypocrite he was; for which the parliament exempted him from pardon, and ever after detested his name, as one that rose only to fall into contempt and obloquy.

And now was Cromwell advanced into Lancashire, where Lambert retreating from the invading Scots, joined with him and made up an army of about ten thousand; which were but few to encounter five-and-twenty thousand, led by Hamilton, Langdale, and other English joined with them. Yet near Preston, in Lancashire, they fought, and Cromwell gained an entire victory, about the end of August, and had the chase of them for twenty miles, wherein many fell, and many were taken prisoners. Hamilton himself, with a good party of horse, fled to Uttoxeter, and was there taken by the Lord Grey. But, in the beginning of this battle, the valiant Col. Thornhagh was wounded to death. Being at the beginning of the charge on a horse as courageous as became such a master, he made such furious speed to set upon a company of Scotch lancers, that he was singly engaged and mortally wounded, before it was possible for his regiment, though as brave men as ever drew sword, and too affectionate to their colonel to be slack in following him, to come time enough to break the fury of that body, which shamed not to unite all their force against one man: who yet fell not among them, but being faint and all covered with blood, of his enemies as well as his own, was carried off by some of his own men, while the rest, enraged for the loss of their dear colonel, fought not that day like men of human race: deaf to the cries of every coward that asked mercy, they killed all, and would not a captive should live to see their colonel die; but said the whole kingdom of Scotland was too mean a sacrifice for that brave man. His soul was hovering to take her flight out of his body, but that an eager desire to know the success of that battle kept it within, till the end of the day, when the news being brought him, he cleared his dying countenance, and said, "I now rejoice to die, since God hath let me see the overthrow of this perfidious enemy; I could not lose my life in a better cause, and I have the favour from God to see my blood avenged." So he died, with a large testimony of love to his soldiers, but more to the cause, and was by mercy removed, that the temptations of future times might not prevail to corrupt his pure soul. A man of greater courage and integrity fell not nor fought not in this glorious cause; he had also an excellent good nature, but easy to be wrought upon by flatterers, yet as flexible to the admonitions of his friends; and this virtue he had, that if sometimes a cunning insinuation prevailed upon his easy faith, when his error was made known to him, notwithstanding all his great courage, he was readier to acknowledge and repair, than to pursue his mistake.* Col. Thornhagh's regiment, in the reducing of the garrison forces, had one Major Saunders (a Derbyshire man, who was a very godly, honest, country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a great soldier) assigned them for their major, and with him he brought in about a troop of Derbyshire horse; but the Nottinghamshire horse, who certainly were as brave men as any that drew swords in the army, had been animated in all their service by the dear love they had to their colonel, and the glory they took in him, and their generous spirits could not take satisfaction in serving under a less man, which they all esteemed their major to be; but remembering their successes under Col. Hutchinson, and several other things that moved them to pitch their thoughts upon him, the captains addressed themselves to Cromwell, and acquainted him with the discouragement and sorrow they had by the death of their colonel, for whom nothing could comfort them but a successor equal to himself, which they could not hope to find so as they might in the person of Col. Hutchinson, with whose worth and courage they were well acquainted, and he was now out of employment: the only difficulty was, whether he would accept the command or no, which they hoped to prevail in, if he would oblige them by sending to Lord Fairfax, to stop all other ways that might be thought of for disposing it, till they could know whether Col. Hutchinson would accept it, for which they had prepared a messenger to send to his house. Cromwell, with all the assentation imaginable, seemed to rejoice they had made so worthy a choice, and promised them to take care the regiment should not be disposed of, till they received Col. Hutchinson's answer; whereupon the captains severally writ to Col. Hutchinson, with most earnest entreaties, that he would give them leave to procure a commission for him to conduct them, which the lieutenant-general had already promised to send for, if he pleased to accept it.

The colonel, though he had more inclination at that time, by reason of the indisposition of his health, to rest, yet not knowing whether the earnest desires of his countrymen were not from a higher call, wrote them word that he preferred the satisfaction of their desires before his own, and if the commission came to him to be their leader, he would not refuse it, though he should not do anything himself to seek any command. Meanwhile Cromwell, as soon as the Nottinghamshire men had imparted their desires to him, sent for Saunders, and cajoling him, told him, none was so fit as himself to command the regiment, but that the regiment thought not all of them so, but were designing to procure themselves another colonel, which he advised him to prevent, by sending speedily to the general, to whom Cromwell also writ to further the request, and before the messenger came back from Owthorpe procured the commission for Saunders. When it came, he used all his art to persuade the captains to submit to it, and to excuse himself from having any hand in it; but they perceived his dissimulation, and the troops were so displeased with it, that they thought to have flung down their arms; but their captains persuaded them to rest contented till the

* The valour of this gentleman seems to have been a favourite topic of admiration and praise among his brother warriors. In Cromwell's letter (preserved by Whitelock) wherein he gives an account of his victory, he laments "the death of this *too brave gentleman*." Ludlow is full in his praises of him, and adds a very picturesque circumstance: "that as he lay wounded among his soldiers, he made them open to the right and left, that he might see the enemy run."

present expedition were over. But they had not only this cheat and disappointment by Cromwell, but all the Nottingham captains were passed over, and a less deserving man made major of the regiment. The new colonel and major made it their business to discountenance and affront all that had showed any desire of Col. Hutchinson, and to weary them out, that they might fill up their rooms with Derbyshire men; but as soon as they got to London, all that could otherwise dispose of themselves, went voluntarily off; and the rest that were forced to abide, hated their commanders, and lived discontentedly under them. The reasons that induced Cromwell to this, were two: first, he found that Col. Hutchinson understood him, and was too generous either to fear or flatter him; and he carried, though under a false face of friendship, a deep resentment of the colonel's plain-dealing with him at Nottingham. He had besides a design, by insinuating himself into Col. Saunders, to flatter him into the sale of a town of his called Ireton, which Cromwell earnestly desired to buy for Major General Ireton, who had married his daughter, and when at last he could not obtain it, in process of time, he took the regiment away from him again *. Col. Hutchinson was not at all displeased that the regiment was not given to him, but highly resented it that the men were ill used for their affections to him; and was sorry that this particular carriage of Cromwell's gave him such a proof of other things suspected of him, so destructive to the whole cause and party, as it afterwards fell out.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after the rout of Hamilton, came, with two or three other officers, to a little ale-house which was upon Col. Hutchinson's land, and there were so circumspect, that some country fellows, who saw them by chance, suspecting they were no ordinary travellers, acquainted Mr. Widmerpoole, who lived within two or three miles, and had been major to the colonel in the first war: whereupon he came forth, with some few others, and sent down to the colonel to acquaint him that some suspicious persons were at the lodge. The colonel, hearing of it, took his servants out, and was approached near the house, when Major Widmerpoole, being beforehand in the house, had given Langdale some jealousy that he might be surprised; therefore one of his company went out to fetch out his horses, which were stopped for the present, and they seeing the colonel coming up towards them, rendered themselves prisoners to Major Widmerpoole, and were sent to Nottingham Castle, where they continued some months, till at last Langdale, finding an opportunity, corrupted one of the guard, who furnished him with a soldier's disguise, and ran away with him. The major, who had been baffled by these persons if the colonel had not come in, had all the booty, which the colonel never took share of anywhere: but the major, thinking the best of his spoils justly due to him, presented him with a case or two of very fine pistols, which he accepted.

About this time, the gentlemen that were commissioners for the king at Newark, fell into disputes one with another; nor only so, but suits were commenced in the chancery upon this occasion. One Atkins, and several other rich men at Newark, when that garrison began to be fortified for the king, lent certain sums of money, for the carrying on of that work, to the commissioners of array, for which those gentlemen became bound to the Newarkers. After the taking in of that town by the parliament, they, as other persons, coming in within the set time, were admitted to composition. Having been so cunning as to put out their money in other names, they ventured to leave out these sums, believing they were put into such sure hands, that it would never be discovered. Mr. Sutton, Sir Thomas Williamson, Sir John Digby, Sir Gervas Eyre, the Lord Chaworth, Sir Thomas Blackwell, Sir Roger Cowper, Sir Richard Biron, and others, had given bond for this money, which Mr. Sutton presenting to the king, as a sum that *he* had raised to signalize his loyalty, the king, to reward him, made him a baron. The whole sum thus taken up for the king's service, was eight or ten thousand pounds; fifteen hundred of it, that was lent by Atkinson, being demanded, would have been paid, but they would not take the principal without the interest. Sir Thomas Williamson was openly arrested for it in Westminster Hall; upon which Mr. Sutton and he, being madded, put in a bill in chancery against Atkinson and others, praying that they might set forth to what ends and uses this money was lent to the said gentlemen, &c. &c.

The parliament had made a law, that all estates of delinquents, concealed and uncompounded for, should be forfeited, one half to the state, and the other half to the discoverer, if he had any arrears due to him from the parliament, in payment of them. There were clerks and solicitors, who in those days made a trade of hunting out such discoveries, and making them known to such as had any arrears due to them. Col. Hutchinson at that time had received no pay at all. One of the clerks of that committee which was appointed for such discoveries, sent him word that two officers of the army were, upon this chancery bill, endeavouring to make a discovery of certain concealed moneys in Nottinghamshire, which being his own country, he thought might be more proper for him. Col. Hutchinson, who had never any mind to disadvantage any of the gentlemen of the country, demurred upon this information, and did nothing in it, till some came to him, intimating a desire of my Lord Lexington's, that the colonel would pitch upon that for the payment of his arrears, that so they might fall into the hands of a neighbour, who would use them civilly, rather than of a stranger. After that the colonel was thus invited, by the gentlemen themselves, to pitch upon this money, he waived all the rest, and only entered as his discovery, that money which these townsmen of Newark had lent; and upon full search and hearing at the committee, the money was found to be forfeited money, and the debtors were ordered to pay it into the committee, and Col. Hutchinson had also an order to receive his arrear from that committee of Haberdasher's Hall. Hereupon Sir Thomas Williamson and Lord Lexington, who being the men of the best estates, were principally looked upon for the debt, applied themselves to Col. Hutchinson, begging as a favour that he would

* This gentleman is mentioned in Granger's Biography: and there is a print of him in the hands of some curious collectors, peculiarly of John Towneley, Esq. He is said to be of Ireton, in Derbyshire; but Ireton is believed to be in the Vale of Belvoir.

undertake the management of the order of sequestration, given out upon their estates, and would also oblige them, by bringing in several other gentlemen, that were bound to bear proportionable shares. The colonel, to gratify them, got the order of sequestration, and brought them to an accommodation, wherein every man, according to his ability, agreed upon an equal proportion; and the gentlemen, especially Mr. Sutton, acknowledged a very great obligation to the colonel, who had brought it to so equal a composition among them; and then, upon their own desires, the order of sequestration was laid upon their estates, but managed by one of their own bailiffs, only to free them from inconveniences, that otherwise would have come upon them. Some of them made use of it to get in arrears of rent, which they knew not how else any way to have gotten, and for which at that time they pretended the greatest sense of gratitude and obligation imaginable. The colonel also procured them days of payment, so that whereas it should have been paid this Michaelmas 1648, it was not paid till a year after; and for these and many other favours on this occasion, was then courted as their patron, though afterwards this civility had like to have been his ruin. And now, about Michaelmas 1648, he went to attend his duty at the parliament, carrying his whole family with him, because his house had been so ruined by the war that he could no longer live in it, till it were either repaired or new built. On coming to London, he himself fell into his old distemper of rheum, with more violence than ever, and being weary of those physicians he had so long, with so little success, employed, he was recommended to a young doctor, son to old Dr. Rudgely, whose excellence in his art was everywhere known, and his son being a very ingenious person, and considering himself, and consulting with his father, believed that all the other physicians who had dealt with him had mistaken his disease, which he finding more truly out, in a short space perfectly cured him of the gout, and restored him, by God's blessing on his endeavours, to such a condition of health as he had not enjoyed for two years before. When he was well again to attend the house, he found the presbyterian party so prevalent there, that the victories obtained by the army displeased them, and so hot they grew in the zeal of their faction, that they from thenceforth resolved and endeavoured to close with the common enemy, that they might thereby compass the destruction of their independent brethren. To this end, and to strengthen their faction, they got in again the late suspended members; whereof it was said, and by the consequence appeared true, that Mr. Hollis, during his secession, had been in France, and there meeting with the queen, had pieced up an ungodly accommodation with her: although he were the man that, when at the beginning, some of the soberer men, who foresaw the sad issues of war and victory on either side, were labouring an accommodation, openly in the house said, "He abhorred that word Accommodation." After these were gotten in again, and encouraged by the presbyterian ministers and the people in the city, they procured a revocation of the votes formerly made, with such convincing reasons publicly declared for the same, why they had resolved of no more addresses to be made to the king. And now nothing was agitated with more violence than a new personal treaty, with honour and freedom; and even his coming to the city, before any security given, was laboured for, but that prevailed not. Such were the heats of the two parties, that Mr. Hollis challenged Ireton, even in the house; out of which they both went to have fought, but that one who sat near them overheard the wicked whisper, and prevented the execution of it.

Amidst these things, at last a treaty was sent to the king by commissioners, who went from both houses to the Isle of Wight; and although there were some honourable persons in this commission, yet it cannot be denied but that they were carried away by the other, and concluded, upon most dangerous terms, an agreement with the king. He would not give up bishops, but only lease out their revenues; and upon the whole, such were the terms upon which the king was to be restored, that the whole cause was evidently given up to him. Only one thing he assented to, to acknowledge himself guilty of the blood spilt in the late war, with this proviso, that if the agreement were not ratified by the house, then this concession should be of no force against him.* The commissioners that treated with him had been cajoled and biassed with the promises of great honours and offices to every one of them, and so they brought back their treaty to be confirmed by the houses; where there was a very high dispute about them, and they sat up most part of the night, when at length it was voted to accept his concessions, the dissenting party being fewer than the other that were carried on in the faction. Col. Hutchinson was that night among them, and being convinced in his conscience that both the cause, and all those who with an upright honest heart asserted and maintained it, were betrayed and sold for nothing, he addressed himself to those commissioners he had most honourable thoughts of, and urged his reasons and apprehensions to them, and told them that the king, after having been exasperated, vanquished, and captived, would be restored to that power, which was inconsistent with the liberty of the people, who for all their blood, treasure, and misery, would reap no fruit, but a confirmation of bondage, and that it had been a thousand times better never to have struck one stroke in the quarrel, than, after victory, to yield up a righteous cause; whereby they should not only betray the interest of their country and the trust reposed in them, and those zealous friends who had engaged to the death for them, but be false to the covenant of their God, which was to *extirpate prelacy*, not to *lease* it.† They acknowledged to him that the conditions were not so secure as they ought to be; but in regard of the growing power and insolence of the army, it was best to accept them. They further said, that they enjoying those trusts and

* Certainly there are many strange things to be found in the history of diplomacy, but perhaps none so strange as that an assertion should be admitted to be *provisionally true*.

† There is, among Clarendon's State Papers, a letter from the queen to the king, assuring him that those with whom he had to deal were too penetrating to be duped by this artifice; if they were, or pretended to be, the queen was not.

places which they had secured for themselves and other honest men, should be able to curb the king's exorbitances; and such other things they said, wherewith the colonel dissatisfied, opposed their proceedings as much as he could. When the vote was passed, he, telling some men of understanding, that he was not satisfied in conscience to be included with the major part, in this vote, which was contrary to their former engagements to God, but thought it fit to testify their public dissent, he and four more entered into the house-book a protestation against that night's votes and proceedings.* Whether it yet remains there, or whether some other of them got it out, he knew not, but he much wondered, after the change and scrutiny into all these things, that he never heard the least mention of it.

By this violent proceeding of the presbyterians they finished the destruction of him in whose restitution they were now so fiercely engaged, for this gave heart to the vanquished cavaliers, and such courage to the captive king that it hardened him and them to their ruin. On the other side it so frighted all the honest people, that it made them as violent in their zeal to pull down, as the others were in their madness to restore, this kingly idol; and the army, who were principally levelled and marked out for the sacrifice and peace-offering of this ungodly reconciliation, had some colour to pursue their late arrogant usurpations upon that authority which it was their duty rather to have obeyed than interrupted; but the debates of that night, which produced such destructive votes to them and all their friends, being reported to them, they the next morning came and seized about† forty of the members as they were going to the house, and carried them to a house hard by, where they were for the present kept prisoners. Most of the presbyterian faction, distasted at this insolence, would no more come to their seats in the house; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction, or of none at all, but looked upon themselves as called out to manage a public trust for their country, forsook not their seats while they were permitted to sit in the house.‡ Col. Hutchinson was one of these who infinitely disliked the action of the army, and had once before been instrumental in preventing such another rash attempt, which some of the discerning and honest members having a jealousy of, sent him down to discover. When he came, going first to commissary Ireton's quarters, he found him and some of the soberer officers of the army in great discontent, for that the *lieutenant-general* had given order for a sudden advance of the army to London, upon the intelligence they had had of the violent proceedings of the other party, whereupon Cromwell was then in the mind to have come and broken them up; but Col. Hutchinson, with others, at that time persuaded him that, notwithstanding the prevalency of the presbyterian faction, yet there were many who had upright and honest hearts to the public interest, who had not deserved to be so used by them, and who could not join with them in any such irregular ways, although in all just and equitable things they would be their protectors. Whereupon at that time he was staid;§ but having now drawn the army nearer London, they put this insolent force upon the house. Those who were suffered to remain, not at all approving thereof, sent out their mace to demand their members, but the soldiers would not obey. Yet the parliament thought it better to sit still and go on in their duty than give up all, in so distempered a time, into the hands of the soldiery, especially there having been so specious a pretext of the necessity of securing the whole interest and party from the treachery of those men who contended so earnestly to give up the victors into the hands of their vanquished enemies. Many petitions had been brought to the parliament from thousands of the well-affected of the city of London and Westminster and borough of Southwark, and from several counties in England, and from the several regiments of the army, whereof Col. Ingoldsby's was one of the first, all urging them to perform their covenant, and bring delinquents, without partiality, to justice and condign punishment, and to make inquiry for the guilt of the blood that had been shed in the land in both wars, and to execute justice; lest the not improving the mercies of God should bring judgments in their room.

Then also a declaration to the same purpose was presented to the house from the lord general Fairfax and his council of officers, and strange it is how men that could afterwards pretend such reluctancy and abhorrence of those things that were done, should forget they were the effective answer of their petitions.

After the purgation of the house, upon new debate of the treaty at the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realm and destructive to the better interest, and the trial of the king was determined. He was sent for to Westminster, and a commission given forth to a court of high justice, whereof Bradshaw, serjeant-at-law, was president, and divers honourable persons of the parliament, city, and army, nominated commissioners. Among them Col. Hutchinson was one, who, very much against his own will, was put in,

* Ludlow says, he wished to do this very thing, but could not.

† Dugdale gives a list of the secluded members, forty-one in number, and hence we are furnished with some names which will serve to establish a peculiar fact stated at the latter end of the history of the republic.

‡ Whitelock, who was exactly in the same predicament, acted in the same manner, and gives the same reasons for it.

§ Mrs. Hutchinson does Ireton that justice which Whitelock refuses him, who seems to consider him in the light of an *instigator*: but this is clearly decided by Ludlow, who declares that "he himself, being sensible that the presbyterian party were determined to sacrifice the common cause to the pleasure of triumphing over the independents and the army, by agreeing with the king, or by any means, went down to apprise Fairfax and Ireton, then at the siege of Colchester, of this design, and to court the interposition of the army. Fairfax readily agreed, but Ireton demurred to interfering till the king and presbyterians should have actually agreed, and the body of the nation been convinced of the iniquity of their coalition." Additional provocations and imperious circumstances afterwards constrained him, but he acted no conspicuous part in the business. In this difference of opinion respecting the interference of the army we may see the source of the dissension which more openly took place afterwards between Col. Hutchinson and Ludlow, and caused the latter to calumniate Col. Hutchinson as he did.

but looking upon himself as called hereunto, durst not refuse it, as holding himself obliged by the covenant of God and the public trust of his country reposed in him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he ran as the condition of things then was.

In January 1648 the court sat; the king was brought to his trial, and a charge drawn up against him for levying war against the parliament and people of England, for betraying their public trust reposed in him, and for being an implacable enemy to the commonwealth. But the king refused to plead, disowning the authority of the court, and after three several days persisting in contempt thereof, he was sentenced to suffer death. One thing was remarked in him by many of the court, that when the blood spilt in many of the battles where he was in his own person, and had caused it to be shed by his own command, was laid to his charge, he heard it with disdainful smiles, and looks and gestures, which rather expressed sorrow that all the opposite party to him was not cut off, than that any were: and he stuck not to declare in words that no man's blood spilt in this quarrel troubled him but only one, meaning the Earl of Strafford. The gentlemen that were appointed his judges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruin of all that opposed him, and of all the righteous and just things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them that if they did not execute justice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensue by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands. Although the malice of the malignant party and their apostate brethren seemed to threaten them, yet they thought they ought to cast themselves upon God, while they acted with a good conscience for him and their country. Some of them after, to excuse, belied themselves, and said they were under the awe of the army, and over-persuaded by Cromwell, and the like; but it is certain that all men therein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither persuaded nor compelled; and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined it if they would, when it is apparent they should have suffered nothing by so doing. For those who then declined were afterwards, when they offered themselves, received in again, and had places of more trust and benefit than those who ran the utmost hazard; which they deserved not, for I know upon certain knowledge that many, yea the most of them, retreated not for conscience, but for fear and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolence of the army might grow to that height as to ruin the cause, and reduce the kingdom into the hands of the enemy; and then those who had been most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims. These poor men did privately animate those who appeared most publicly, and I knew several of them in whom I lived to see that saying of Christ fulfilled, "He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that for my sake will lose his life shall save it;" when after it fell out that all their prudent declensions saved not the lives of some nor the estates of others. As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet here being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that, if through any human frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right-enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate, both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king. Although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be again disputed among men, yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies, and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalise his favour afterwards to him.

After the death of the king, it was debated and resolved to change the form of government from monarchical into a commonwealth, and the house of lords was voted dangerous and useless thereunto, and dissolved. A council of state was to be annually chosen for the management of affairs, accountable to the parliament, out of which, consisting of forty counsellors and a president, twenty were every year to go off by lot, and twenty new ones to be supplied. It is true that at that time every man almost was fancying a form of government, and angry, when this came forth, that his invention took not place; and among these John Lilbourne, a turbulent-spirited man, that never was quiet in anything, published libels, and the levellers made a disturbance with a kind of insurrection, which Cromwell soon appeased, they indeed being betrayed by their own leaders.

But how the public business went on, how Cromwell finished the conquest of Ireland, how the angry presbyterians spit fire out of their pulpits, and endeavoured to blow up the people against the parliament, how they entered into a treasonable conspiracy with Scotland, who had now received and crowned the son of the late king, who led them in hither in a great army, which the Lord of hosts discomfited; how our public ministers were assassinated and murdered in Spain and Holland; and how the Dutch, in this unsettlement of affairs, hoped to gain by making war, wherein they were beaten and brought to sue for peace,—I shall leave to the stories that were then written, and only in general say that the hand of God was mightily seen in prospering and preserving the parliament, till Cromwell's ambition unhappily interrupted them. Mr. Hutchinson was chosen into the first council of state, much against his own will; for, understanding that his cousin Ireton was one of the commissioners to nominate that council, he sent his wife to him, before he went to the house, that morning they were to be named, to desire him, upon all the scores of kindred and kindness that had been between them, that he might be left out, in regard

that he had already wasted his time and his estate in the parliament service, and having neither had recompense for his losses, nor any office of benefit, it would finish his ruin to be tied by this employment to a close and chargeable attendance, besides the inconvenience of his health, not yet thoroughly confirmed, his constitution more suitable to an active than to a sedentary life: these and other things he privately urged to him; but he, that was a man regardless of his own or any man's private interest, wherever he thought the public service might be advantaged, instead of keeping him out, got him in, when the colonel had prevailed with others to have indulged him that ease he desired. Mr. Hutchinson, after he had endeavoured to decline this employment and could not, thought that herein, as in other occasions, it being put upon him without his own desire, God had called him to his service in councils as formerly in arms, and applied himself to this also, wherein he did his duty faithfully, and employed his power to relieve the oppressed and dejected, freely becoming the advocate of those who had been his late enemies, in all things that were just and charitable. Though he had now an opportunity to have enriched himself, as it is to be feared some in all times have done, by accepting rewards for even just assistances, and wanted not many who offered them and solicited him therein, yet such was his generous nature that he abhorred the mention of any thing like reward, though never so justly merited; and although he did a thousand highly obliging kindnesses for many, both friends and enemies, he never had anything in money or presents of any man*. The truth is, on the contrary, he met with many that had not the good manners to make so much as a civil verbal acknowledgment. Among the rest, one Sir John Owen may stand for a pillar of ingratitude. This man was wholly unknown to him, and with Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Goring, condemned to death by a second high court of justice. Of this, though the colonel was nominated a commissioner, he would not sit, his unbloody nature desiring to spare the rest of the delinquents, after the highest had suffered, and not delighting in the death of men, when they could live without cruelty to better men. The parliament also was willing to show mercy to some of these, and to execute others for example; whereupon the whole house was diversely engaged, some for one, and some for another of these lords, and striving to cast away those they were not concerned in, that they might save their friends. While there was such mighty labour and endeavour for these lords, Col. Hutchinson observed that no man spoke for this poor knight, and, sitting next to Col. Ireton, he expressed himself to him, and told him, that it pitied him much to see that, while all were labouring to save the lords, a gentleman, that stood in the same condemnation, should not find on to ask his life; "and so," said he, "am I with compassion that, if you will second m resolved to speak for him, who, I perce stranger and friendless." Ireton prom second him, and accordingly inquiring fu the man's condition, whether he had not a in any member's hand, he found that his had brought one to the clerk of the ho the man had not found any one that would themselves for him, thinking the lords' lit much more concernment than this gent This the more stirred up the colonel's pity, and he took the petition, delivered for him so nobly, and was so effectually s by Ireton, that they carried his pardo Yet, although one who knew the whole stance of the business, how Mr. Hutchinso by mere compassion and generosity, had p his life, told him, who admired his own how it came about, he never was the m so much as once came to give him than was his fellow-prisoner, Goring, for wh colonel had also effectually solicited, more

Some of the army, being very desirou among them a person of whose fidelity an rity to the cause they had so good exp had moved it to the general, my lord who had commanded to have it inquir way he would choose to be employed; an he had told them that, in regard of his which he would not willingly be much from, he should rather accept the govern some town than a field employment, four ments were brought to him, to elect w would have; whereof Plymouth and Port and one more in the west, being at a vast from his own country, Hull in the north, a less beneficial charge than the other, l choice of, thinking they had not offered h thing but what was fairly fallen into their Soon after this the lieutenant-general, C desired him to meet him one afternoon a mittee, where, when he came, a malicious tion against the governor of Hull was prosecuted by a fierce faction in that to this the governor had sent up a very honest defence, yet most of the committ favouring the adverse faction, were labo cast out the governor. Col. Hutchinson he knew him not, was very earnest in his whereupon Cromwell drew him aside, an him what he meant to contend so, to keep governor! (it was Overton). The colo him, because he saw nothing proved agai worthy of being ejected. "But," said C "we like him not." Then said the colon it upon that account, and blemish not a m is innocent upon false accusations, beca like him not." "But," said Cromwell, "w have him out, because the government is for you, and except you put him out you have the place." At this the colonel w angry, and with great indignation told there was no way to bring him into the but by casting out others unjustly, h rather fall naked before his enemies, than to put himself into a posture of defence returning to the table, he so eagerly un the injured governor's protection that h

* The lists of the first two councils, which embraced almost the whole duration of the republic, are preserved by Whitelock, and Col. Hutchinson is in each of them: he went out at the formation of the third. It is extremely to be regretted that Mrs. Hutchinson should have been so concise in this part of her history, it being a period which naturally excites much curiosity, but of which we have only indistinct, and, generally speaking, invidious and partial accounts.

his enemies, and the governor was confirmed in his place. This so displeased Cromwell that, as before, so much more now, he saw that even his own interest would not bias him into any unjust faction, he secretly laboured to frustrate the attempts of all others who, for the same reason that Cromwell laboured to keep him out, laboured as much to bring him in.

But now had the poison of ambition so ulcerated Cromwell's heart, that the effects of it became more apparent than before, and while as yet Fairfax stood an empty name, he was moulding the army to his mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, both officers and soldiers, and filling up their rooms with rascally turn-coat cavaliers, and pitiful sottish beasts of his own alliance, and others such as would swallow all things, and make no question for conscience sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceived by all that were not of very penetrating eyes; and those that made the loudest outcries against him lifted up their voices with such apparent envy and malice that, in that mist, they rather hid than discovered his ambitious minings. Among these Col. Rich, and Commissary Staines, and Watson, had made a design even against his life, and the business was brought to the examination of the council of state. Before the hearing of it, Col. Rich came to Col. Hutchinson and implored his assistance with tears, affirming all the crimes of Cromwell, but not daring to justify his accusations, although the colonel advised him if they were true to stand boldly to it, if false to acknowledge his own iniquity. The latter course he took, and the council had resolved upon the just punishment of the men, when Cromwell, having only thus in a private council vindicated himself from their malice, and laid open what pitiful, sneaking, poor knaves they were, how ungrateful to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate, and made it his suit they might be no farther published or punished. This being permitted him, and they thus rendered contemptible to others, they became beasts and slaves to him, who knew how to serve himself of them without trusting them. This generosity, for indeed he carried himself with the greatest bravery that is imaginable herein, much advanced his glory, and cleared him in the eyes of superficial beholders; but others saw he crept on, and could not stop him, while fortune itself seemed to prepare his way on sundry occasions. All this while he carried to Mr. Hutchinson the most open face, and made the most obliging professions of friendship imaginable; but the colonel saw through him, and forbore not often to tell him what was suspected of his ambition, what dissimulations of his were remarked, and how dishonourable to the name of God and the profession of religion, and destructive to the most glorious cause, and dangerous to overthrow all our triumphs, these things which were suspected of him would be, if true. He would seem to receive these cautions and admonitions as the greatest demonstrations of integrity and friendship that could be made, and embrace the colonel in his arms, and make serious lying professions to him, and often inquire men's opinions concerning him, which the colonel never forbore to tell him plainly, although he knew he resented it not as he made show, yet it pleased him so to discharge his own thoughts *.

The islanders of Jersey wanting a governor, and being acquainted, through the familiarity many of their countrymen had with the abilities and honour of Col. Hutchinson, they addressed themselves to my Lord General Fairfax, and petitioned to have him for their governor, which my lord assented to; and accordingly commanded a commission to be drawn up, which was done; but the colonel made not haste to take it out. But my lord, having ordered the commission, regarded him as governor, and when the model of the castle was brought to my lord to procure orders and money for the repair of the fortifications, he sent it to the colonel, and all other business concerning the island.

In the meantime, the Scots having declared open war against the parliament of England, it was concluded to send an army into Scotland, to prevent their intended advance hither. But when they were just marching out, my Lord Fairfax, persuaded by his wife and her chaplains, threw up his commission at such a time, when it could not have been done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. Col. Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus level the way to Cromwell's ambitious designs, went to him and laboured to dissuade him; which they had effected, but that the presbyterian ministers wrought with him to do it. He expressed that he believed God laid him aside, as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him.

To speak the truth of Cromwell, whereas many said he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Col. Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importuned him to keep his commission, lest it should discourage the army and the people in that juncture of time, but could by no means prevail, although he laboured it almost all the night with most earnest endeavours†. But this great man was then as immoveable by his friends, as pertinacious in obeying his wife; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out. When his commission was given up, Cromwell was made general, and new commissions taken out by all the officers from him. He finding that Col. Hutchinson's commission for the island was not taken out, and that he addressed not to him, made haste to prevent the islanders, and gave a commission for the government to one of his own creatures. At this time the Lady Dormer being

* Men who think superficially will instantly proclaim the simplicity of Col. Hutchinson and the shrewdness of Cromwell; those who think deeper, will in that simplicity see wisdom, in that shrewdness a more exquisite folly. In life, in death, and in reputation, which of these two was the happier?

† Whitelock tells the same story nearly in the same manner, but thinks Cromwell was not sincere: yet certainly he took all the same steps with those who were unquestionably so. How little soever Cromwell might wish to succeed, there was good policy in attending this conference, as it might in some degree serve to diminish the suspicions entertained of his own ambitious views, and prevent their being urged in argument to Fairfax, which if he had been absent they most likely would have been.

dead, had left to her grandchild, a papist, the Lady Anne Somerset, daughter to the Marquis of Worcester, a manor in Leicestershire, which the lady, being more desirous of a portion in money, had a great mind to sell, and came and offered it to Col. Hutchinson, with whom she had some alliance; but he told her he was not in a purchasing condition, whereupon she earnestly begged him, that if he would not buy it himself, he would procure of the parliament that she might have leave to sell it. This he moved and was repulsed, whereupon both the lady, and one that was her priest, who negotiated for her, and other friends, most earnestly solicited Col. Hutchinson to buy it; who urging that he had not money for such a purchase, they offered him time of payment, till he could sell his own land, and assured him it should be such a pennyworth, as he should not repent the selling his own land to buy it. He urged to them the trouble and difficulty it would be to obtain it, and that it might so fall that he must lay a weight upon it, more than the thing would be worth to him, he never having yet made any request to the house, and having reason to expect recompenses for the loss of his estate, as well as others. But my lady still importuned him, promising a pennyworth in it, that should countervail the difficulty and the trouble; whereupon, at the last, he contracted with her, upon both her and her brother's desire, the Lord Herbert, who was her next heir, and was then at full age, and gave a release of all claim to it, under his hand and seal; and my lady, being between nineteen and twenty years old, then passed a fine, and covenanted at her coming to full age to pass another, and absolutely bargained and sold the land to Col. Hutchinson, who secured the price of it to the Marquis of Dorchester, whom the lady and her friends had a great hope and desire to compass for a husband, and had thoughts, that when the portion was secured in his hands, it would be easily effected. This they afterwards entrusted to Col. Hutchinson, and desired his assistance to propound the business to my lord, as from himself, out of mutual well-wishes to both parties; but my lord would not hearken to it, though the colonel, willing to do her a kindness, endeavoured to persuade him, as much as was fitting. In the mean time the colonel could not, by all the friends and interest he had in the house, procure a composition and leave for my lady to sell her land, because they said it would be a precedent to other papists, and some moved, that what service he had done, and what he had lost, might be some other way considered, rather than this any way suffered. But he vigorously pursuing it, and laying all the weight of all his merits and sufferings upon it, all that he could obtain at last was, to be himself admitted, in his own name, for taking off the sequestration, after he had bought it, which he did; and they took two thousand pounds of him for his composition. By the interest of Sir Henry Vane and several others of his friends, powerful in the house, this too was with much difficulty wrought out, though violently opposed by several others. Of these Major-general Harrison was one, and he, when he saw that he could not prevail, but that in favour particularly to Col. Hutchinson, it was carried out by his friends; after the rising of the house, meeting the colonel, he embraced him, and desired him not to think he did it in any personal opposition to him, but in his judgment, who thought it fit the spoil should be taken out of the enemy's hands, and no composition admitted from idolaters. Whatever might be particular advantage to him, he envied not, but rejoiced in, only he so dearly loved him, that he desired he would not set his heart upon the augmenting of outward estate, but upon the things of the approaching kingdom of God, concerning which he made a most pious and seeming friendly harangue, of at least an hour long, with all the demonstrations of zeal to God and love to the colonel that can be imagined. But the colonel, having reason to fear that he knew not his own spirit herein, made him only a short reply, that he thanked him for his counsel, and should endeavour to follow it, as became the duty of a Christian, and should be glad to be as effectually instructed by his example as his admonition. For at that time the major-general, who was but a mean man's son, and of a mean education, and no estate before the war, had gathered an estate of two thousand a year, besides engrossing great offices, and encroaching upon his under officers, and maintained his coach and family, at a height as if they had been born to principality.

About the same time a great ambassador was to have public audience in the house; he came from the king of Spain, and was the first who had addressed to them owning them as a republic. The day before his audience, Col. Hutchinson was set in the house, near some young men handsomely clad, among whom was Mr. Charles Rich, since Earl of Warwick; and the colonel himself had on that day a habit which was pretty rich but grave, and no other than he usually wore. Harrison addressing particularly to him, admonished them all, that now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness, and justice, and not in gold and silver and worldly bravery, which did not become saints; and that the next day when the ambassadors came they should not set themselves out in gorgeous habits, which were unsuitable to holy professions. The colonel, although he was not convinced of any misbecoming bravery in the suit he wore that day, which was but of sad coloured cloth trimmed with gold, and silver points and buttons; yet because he would not appear offensive in the eyes of religious persons, the next day he went in a plain black suit, and so did all the other gentlemen, but Harrison came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant*, that scarcely could one discern the ground, and in this glittering habit, set himself just under the speaker's chair; which made the other gentlemen think that his godly speeches, the day before, were but made, that he alone might appear in the eyes of strangers. But this was part of his weakness; the Lord at last lifted him above these poor earthly elevations, which then and sometime after prevailed too much with him†.

After the colonel had bought my lady's land,

* Clinquant; *French*, foil.

† Ludlow gives very extraordinary accounts of his devotion to that which he thought the cause of God, as well as of his readiness to suffer martyrdom for it when it was in his power to avoid that severe trial.

some that were extremely vexed at her having that sum of money, dealt with the colonel to permit them to sequester it in his hands, and offered him he should have it all himself, which, he told them, he would be torn to pieces before he would do, and that it was a treachery and villany that he abhorred. Though, notwithstanding this, he was much pressed he would not yield, and to prevent force, which they threatened, after moving in the house how dangerous it was to suffer such a sum of money to be in the hands of the daughter of an excepted person, especially at such a time (for now the king was crowned in Scotland, and the Scots ready to invade, and the presbyters to join with them), the colonel put the money out of his own hands, to preserve it for my lady. All that time both she and her brother, and other friends, made all the acknowledgments of obligation that was possible. Not to confound stories, I finish the memorial of this here.

After the parliament was broken up by Cromwell, and after that my lady, seeing her project of marrying with my Lord Dorchester would not take, had embraced an offer of Mr. Henry Howard, second son to the Earl of Arundel; and when, in the protector's time, the papists wanted not patrons, she began to repent the selling of her land, which before she thought such a blessing, and told her husband false stories, as he alleged, though his future carriage made it justly suspicious he was as unworthy as she.

The colonel, presently after he had that land, had very much improved it, to a fourth part more than it was at when he bought it, and they, envying his good bargain, desired to have it again out of his hands, nor dealt fairly and directly in the thing, but employed a cunning person, Major Wildman, who was then a great manager of papists' interests, to get the land again, which he was to have four hundred pounds for, if he could do it. Whereupon he presently got money and came to the gentleman who had a mortgage upon it, for three thousand pounds taken up to pay my lady, and tendered it. But Mr. Ash, a great friend of the colonel's, was so faithful that he would not accept it, and then Wildman began a chancery suit, thinking that the colonel, being out of favour with the present powers, would be necessitated to take any composition. When he had put the colonel to a great deal of vain charge, and found he could do no good, at last they desired to make up the business, and the lady and Mr. Howard passed a new fine to confirm the title, and the colonel was delivered from further trouble with them, till after the change and the return of the king. Then, when the parliament-men began to come into question for their lives, my Lord of Portland and Mr. Howard came to Mrs. Hutchinson's lodgings three or four times, while she was out soliciting for her husband, and my lord left her a message, that he must needs speak with her, upon a business of much concernment; whereupon she sought out my lord, knowing that he had professed much kindness and obligation to her husband, and thinking he might have some design now to acknowledge it by some real assistance. But when she came to him, he told her, her husband was in danger of his life, and that if he would resign back Loseby to Mr. Howard, he would help him to a good sum of money to fly, and Mr. Howard would stand to the hazard of buying it; but she being vexed that my lord should interrupt her with this frivolous proposition, told my lord she would hazard it with the rest of her estate, rather than make up such desperate bargains. When Mr. Howard saw this would not do, he prepared a petition to get it excepted out of the act of oblivion, pretending that his wife being under age, the colonel had by power and fraud wrested her out of her estate. But when he showed this petition to his friends, they being informed of the falseness of the allegations, would none of them undertake either to deliver or back it. Only one Sir Richard Onslow was a violent man, railing against the colonel concerning this, but he not long after died by a blast of lightning. Others of his friends, when they understood that he himself had joined in the confirmation of the fine, after the colonel was retired, in the protector's reign, bade him for shame no more make mention of his lady's being fooled or frightened to an act which he had voluntarily done. Many told the colonel how unsafe it was to displease a person who had so many powerful allies that might mischief him, but the colonel would neither be frighted nor flattered to give away his estate, which when Mr. Howard found, he let fall his purpose, and made no more vain endeavours.

And now to return to his story where I left it, I shall not mention every particular action of his in the employment of a senator and counsellor of the realms, but only some which were more remarkable, to show the honour and excellency of his nature, among which this was one. When his old opposites and enemies of the Nottingham committee had entered into the presbyterian conspiracy, so deep, that their lives were forfeit to the law, had they been brought to public trial, and this was discovered to him; and also that Col. Pierrepont was the chief of them, he took care to have the business so managed that Col. Pierrepont was passed by in the information, and others so favourably accused, that they were only restrained from the mischief they intended, and kept prisoners till the danger was over, and after, through his mediation released, without any further punishment on their persons and estates, though Chadwick's eldest son was one of these. For Col. Pierrepont, he only privately admonished him, and endeavoured to reclaim him, which the man, being good-natured, was infinitely overcome with, insomuch that ever after, to his dying day, all his envy ceased, and he professed all imaginable friendship and kindness to the colonel. Indeed his excellent gentleness was such, that he not only protected and saved these enemies, wherein there was some glory of passing by revenge, but was compassionately affected with the miseries of any poor women or children, who had been unfortunately, though deservedly, ruined in the civil war; and without any interest of his own in the persons, whenever any ruined family came to seek relief, where he was in power, he was as zealous in assisting all such, as far as it might be done with the safety of the commonwealth, as if they had been his brothers. As it was a misery to be bewailed in those days, that many of the parliament party exercised cruelty, injustice, and oppression to their conquered enemies, wherever he discovered it he violently opposed it, and de-

fended even those enemies that were by might oppressed and defrauded of the mercies of the parliament. Upon this account he had contests with some good men, who were weak in these things, some through too factious a zeal, and others blinded with their own or their friends' interests. Among these Col. Hacker's father, having married my Lady Biron's mother, was made a trustee for the estate of her son, which she had by Strelley her first husband. He had about £1800 of the estate of young Strelley in his hands, which, he dying, his eldest son and heir, Col. Francis Hacker, was liable, and justly ought to pay. Young Strelley died in France, and left his estate to his half brother, the son of Sir Richard Biron, who, all the time of the first war, was at school in Col. Hutchinson's garrison at Nottingham, and after was sent into France. Being there, an infant, when this estate fell to him, he returned and chose Col. Hutchinson for his guardian, who, overcame Col. Hacker in the right of his pupil, and recovered that money out of his hands, which he would not have paid, if the infant had not found a friend that was heartily zealous to obtain his just right. Sir Arthur Haslerig was a great patron of Col. Hacker's, and laboured to bear him out against justice and the infant's right in this thing; and, when the colonel had overcome him, they were both displeased; for Hacker, on the other side, was such a creature of Sir Arthur's, that, without questioning justice or honesty, he was more diligent in obeying Sir Arthur's than God's commands. Sir Allen Apsley had articles at the rendition of Barnstable, whereof he was governor, and contrary to these, he was put to vast expense and horrible vexation by several persons, but especially by one wicked woman, who had the worst and the smoothest tongue that ever her sex made use of to mischief. She was handsome in her youth, and had very pretty girls to her daughters, whom, when they grew up, she prostituted to her revenge and malice against Sir Allen Apsley, which was so venomous and devilish, that she stuck not at inventing false accusations, and hiring witnesses to swear them, and a thousand other as enormous practices. In those days there was a committee set up, for relief of such as had any violation of their articles, and of this Bradshaw was president; into whose easy faith this woman, pretending herself religious, and of the parliament's party, had so insinuated herself, that Sir Allen's way of relief was obstructed. Col. Hutchinson labouring mightily in his protection, and often foiling this vile woman, and bringing to light her devilish practices, turned the woman's spite into as violent a tumult against himself, and Bradshaw was so hot in abetting her, that he grew cool in his kindness to the colonel, yet broke it not quite: but the colonel was very much grieved that a friend should engage in so unjust an opposition. At last it was manifest how much they were mistaken that would have assisted this woman upon a score of being on the parliament's side, for she was all this while a spy for the king, and after his return, Sir Allen Apsley met her in the king's chamber waiting for recompense for that service. The thing she sued Sir Allen Apsley for, was for a house of hers in the garrison of Barnstaple, which was pulled down to fortify the town for the king, before he was governor of the place. Yet would she have had his articles violated to make her a recompense out of his estate, treble and more than the value of the house, pretending she was of the parliament's party, and that Sir Allen, in malice thereunto, had without necessity pulled down her house. All which were horrible lies, but so maliciously and so wickedly affirmed and sworn by her mercenary witnesses, that they at first found faith, and it was hard for truth afterwards to overcome that prepossession.

The colonel prosecuting the defence of truth and justice in these and many more things, and abhorring all councils of securing the young commonwealth by cruelty and oppression of the vanquished, who had not laid down their hate in delivering up their arms, and were therefore, by some cowards, judged unworthy of the mercy extended to them,—the colonel, I say, disdaining such thoughts, displeased many of his own party, who, in the main, we hope, might have been honest, although, through divers temptations, guilty of horrible slips, which did more offend the colonel's pure zeal, who detested these sins more in brethren than in enemies.

Now was Cromwell sole general, and marched into Scotland, and the Scots ready to invade, and the presbyters to assist them here. The army being small, there was a necessity of recruits, and the council of state soliciting all the parliamentmen that had interest, to improve it in this exigence of time, they gave Col. Hutchinson a commission for a regiment of horse. He immediately got up three troops, well armed and mounted, of his own old soldiers, that thirsted to be again employed under him, and was preparing the rest of the regiment to carry after them himself, when he was informed, that as soon as his troops came into Scotland, Cromwell very readily received them, but would not let them march together, but dispersed them to fill up the regiments of those who were more his creatures. The colonel hearing this, would not carry him any more, but rather employed himself in securing, as much as was necessary, his own country, for which he was sent down by the council of state, who at that time were very much surprised at hearing that the king of Scots had passed by Cromwell, and entered with a great army into England. Bradshaw himself, stout-hearted as he was, privately could not conceal his fear: some raged and uttered sad discontents against Cromwell, and suspicions of his fidelity, they all considering that Cromwell was behind, of whom I think they scarce had any account, or of his intention, or how this error came about to suffer the enemy to enter here, where there was no army to encounter him. Both the city and country (by the angry presbyters, wavering in their constancy to them and the liberties they had purchased,) were all amazed and doubtful of their own and the commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit, as much disturbed their councils. Col. Hutchinson, who ever had most vigour and cheerfulness when there was most danger, encouraged them as they were one day in a private council, raging and crying out on Cromwell's miscarriages, to apply themselves to councils of safety, and not to lose time in accusing others, while they might yet pre-

vide to save the endangered realm, at least to fall nobly in defence of it, and not to yield to fear and despair. These and such like things being urged, at length they recollected themselves, and every man that had courage and interest in their countries, went down to look to them *. Col. Hutchinson came down into Nottinghamshire, and secured those who were suspicious to make any commotion, and put the country into such a posture of defence as the time would permit. But it was not long before the king chose another way, and went to Worcester. Cromwell following swiftly after with his army, and other forces meeting him from several other parts, they fought with the king and his Scots, totally routed and subdued him, and he, with difficulty, after concealment in an oak and many other shifts, stole away into France.

When the colonel heard how Cromwell used his troops, he was confirmed that he and his associates in the army were carrying on designs of private ambition, and resolved that none should share with them in the commands of the army or forts of the nation, but such as would be beasts, and ridden upon by the proud chiefs. Disdaining, therefore, that what he had preserved for the liberty of his country, should be a curb upon them, and foreseeing that some of Cromwell's creatures would at length be put in, to exercise him with continual affronts, and to hinder any man from standing up for the deliverance of the country, if the insolence of the army (which he too sadly foresaw) should put them upon it; for this reason, in Cromwell's absence, he procured an order for the removal of the garrison at Nottingham, which was commanded by his kinsman Major Poulton, into the marching army, and the demolishing of the place; which accordingly was speedily executed.

When Major Poulton, who had all along been very faithful and active in the cause, brought his men to the army, he was entertained with such affronts and neglects by the general, that he voluntarily quitted his command, and retired to the ruined place, where the castle was which he had bought with his arrears†. When Cromwell came back through the country and saw the castle pulled down, he was heartily vexed at it, and told Col. Hutchinson, that if he had been there when it was voted, he should not have suffered it. The colonel replied, that he had procured it to be done, and believed it to be his duty to ease the people of charge, when there was no more need of it.

When Cromwell came to London, there wanted not some little creatures of his in the house, who had taken notice of all that had been said of him when he let the king slip by; how some stuck not in their fear and rage to call him traitor, and to threaten his head. These reports added spurs to his ambition, but that his son-in-law, Ireton, deputy of Ireland, would not be wrought to serve him, but hearing of his machinations, determined to come over to England to endeavour to divert him from such destructive courses. But God cut him short by death, and whether his body, or an empty coffin was brought into England, something in his name came to London, and was to be, by Cromwell's procurement, magnificently buried among the kings at Westminster. Col. Hutchinson was, after his brother, one of the nearest kinsmen he had, but Cromwell who of late studied him neglects, passed him by, and neither sent him mourning, nor particular invitation to the funeral, only the speaker gave public notice in the house, that all the members were desired to attend him; and such was the flattery of many pitiful lords and other gentlemen, parasites, that they put themselves into deep mourning; but Col. Hutchinson that day put on a scarlet cloak, very richly laced, such as he usually wore, and coming into the room where the members were, seeing some of the lords in mourning, he went to them to inquire the cause, who told him they had put it on to honour the general; and asked again why he, that was a kinsman, was in such a different colour? He told them, because the general had neglected sending to him, when he had sent to many that had no alliance, only to make up the train; he was resolved he would not flatter so much as to buy for himself, although he was a true mourner in his heart for his cousin, whom he had ever loved, and would, therefore, go and take his place among his mourners. This he did, and went into the room where the close mourners were: who seeing him come in as different from mourning as he could make himself, the alderman came to him, making a great apology that they mistook and thought he was out of town, and had much injured themselves thereby, to whom it would have been one of their greatest honours to have had his assistance in the befitting habit, as now it was their shame to have neglected him. But Cromwell who had ordered all things, was piqued horribly at it, though he dissembled his resentment at that time, and joined in excusing the neglect; but he very well understood that the colonel neither out of ignorance nor niggardliness came in that habit, but publicly to reproach their neglects.

After the death of Ireton, Lambert was voted

* The trepidation of the council of state, and the zeal with which they were supported, are well described by Whitelock. Whether Cromwell suffered the king to pass by him designedly or otherwise, is uncertain; but it is very likely that he did it by design, as knowing that those who did not like, for the same reason as Col. Hutchinson, to send forces to him, would, for their own sakes, bring them forward to oppose the king. Either his fortune or his judgment was great.

† The machinations of Cromwell are spoken of in general terms by Rapin, Whitelock, and others; but nowhere so well detailed as here. Of all things the most necessary to Cromwell was to obtain soldiers and subaltern officers perfectly subservient to his own purposes, but this he could hope to effect *then* and *then only*, when he had deprived them of such superior officers as would have preserved them from deception, and have kept them faithful to their country. The present and similar occurrences furnished him with the means so to do, which he employed most assiduously. Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 21. "And thus the troops of the parliament, who were not raised out of the meanest of the people and without distinction, as other armies had been; but consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty in the defence of their rights and religion, were corrupted by him, kept as a standing force against the people, taught to forget their first engagements, and rendered as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be." From about this period, then, we may date the change of sentiment of the army in general, and of course the change of opinion respecting them in the minds of Col. Hutchinson and others who before had sided with them.

deputy of Ireland, and commander-in-chief there, who being at that time in the north, was exceedingly elevated with the honour, and courted all Fairfax's old commanders, and other gentlemen, who, upon his promises of preferment, quitted their places, and many of them came to London and made him up there a very proud train, which still exalted him, so that too soon he put on the prince, immediately laying out five thousand pounds for his own particular equipage, and looking upon all the parliament-men, who had conferred this honour upon him, as underlings, and scarce worth the great man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave great offence to the parliament, who having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his nor any one man's hands again. This vote was upon Cromwell's procurement, who hereby designed to make way for his new son-in-law, Col. Fleetwood, who had married the widow of the late deputy Ireton. There went a story that as my Lady Ireton was walking in St. James's park, the Lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present princess always has precedency of the relict of the dead prince, so she put my Lady Ireton below; who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront. Col. Fleetwood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, took occasion to introduce himself, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who designed thus to restore his daughter to the honour she was fallen from. His plot took as himself could wish, for Lambert, who saw himself thus cut off from half his exaltation, sent the house an insolent message, "that if they found him so unworthy of the honour they had given him, as so soon to repent it, he would not retard their remedy for six months, but was ready to surrender their commission before he entered into his office." They took him at his word, and made Fleetwood deputy, and Ludlow commander of the horse; whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, malice, and revenge, retreated to his palace at Wimbledon, and sat there watching an opportunity to destroy the parliament.

Cromwell, although he chiefly wrought this business in the house, yet flattered with Lambert, and, having another reach of ambition in his breast, helped to inflame Lambert against those of the parliament who were not his creatures, and to cast the odium of his disgrace upon them, and profess his own clearness in it, and pity of him, that should be drawn into such an inconvenience as the charge of putting himself into equipage, and the loss of all that provision; which Cromwell, pretending generosity, took all upon his own account, and delivered him of the debt. Lambert dissembled again on his part, and insinuated himself into Cromwell, fomenting his ambition to take the administration of all the conquered nations into his own hands; but finding themselves not strong enough alone, they took to them Major-general Harrison, who had a great interest both in the army and the churches; and these, pretending a pious trouble that there were such delays in the administration of justice, and such perverting of right, endeavoured to bring all good men into dislike of the parliament, pretending that they would perpetuate themselves in their honours and offices, and had no care to bring in those glorious things for which they had so many years contended in blood and toil. The parliament, on the other side, had now, by the blessing of God, restored the commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition, as it was not so flourishing before the war, and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich and able to pay them: they (*the parliament*) were in a way of paying all the soldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies in arms within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms to the English; and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burthens. This could not be but by disbanding the unnecessary officers and soldiers, and when things were thus settled, they had prepared a bill to put a period to their own sitting, and provide for new successors. But when the great officers understood that they were to resign their honours, and no more triumph in the burthens of the people, they easily induced the inferior officers and soldiers to set up for themselves with them; and while these things were passing, Cromwell with an armed force, assisted by Lambert and Harrison, came into the house and dissolved the parliament, pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names; and when the speaker refused to come out of his chair, Harrison plucked him out. These gentlemen having done this, took to themselves the administration of all things, and a few slaves of the house consulted with them, and would have truckled under them, but not many. Meanwhile they and their soldiers could no way palliate their rebellion, but by making false criminations of the parliament-men, as that they meant to perpetuate themselves in honour and office, that they had gotten vast estates, and perverted justice for gain, and were imposing upon men for conscience, and a thousand such like things, which time manifested to be false, and truth retorted all upon themselves that they had injuriously cast at the others.

At the time that the parliament was broken up Col. Hutchinson was in the country, where, since his going in his course out of the council of state, he had for about a year's time applied himself, when the parliament could dispense with his absence, to the administration of justice in the country, and to the putting in execution of those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reformed several abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he lived, which being a rich fruitful vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging; but he took such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country, and all the poor in every town so maintained and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintained and relieved before nor since. He procured unnecessary alehouses to be put down in all the towns, and if any one that he

heard of suffered any disorder or debauchery in his house, he would not suffer him to brew any more. He was a little severe against drunkenness, for which the drunkards would sometimes rail at him; but so were all the children of darkness convinced by his light, that they were in awe more of his virtue than his authority. In this time he had made himself a convenient house*, whereof he was the best ornament, and an example of virtue so prevailing, as metamorphosed many evil people, while they were under his roof, into another appearance of sobriety and holiness.

He was going up to attend the business of his country above, when news met him upon the road, near London, that Cromwell had broken the parliament. Notwithstanding he went on and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to this providence of God, and to wait till he should clear their integrity, and to disprove those people who had taxed them of ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the army, city, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished these usurpers. They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royalists and presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both: if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government, and would not envy them the honourable toil; if they did otherwise, they should be ready to assist and vindicate their oppressed country, when the ungrateful people were made sensible of their true champions and protectors. Col. Hutchinson, in his own particular, was very glad of this release from that employment, which he managed with fidelity and uprightness, but not only without delight, but with a great deal of trouble and expense, in the contest for truth and righteousness upon all occasions.

The only recreation he had during his residence at London was in seeking out all the rare artists he could hear of, and in considering their works in paintings, sculptures, gravings, and all other such curiosities, insomuch that he became a great virtuoso and patron of ingenuity. Being loath that the land should be disfurnished of all the rarities that were in it, whereof many were set to sale in the king's and divers noblemen's collections, he laid out about two thousand pounds in the choicest pieces of painting, most of which were bought out of the king's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages: to them the colonel gave ready money, and bought so good penny-

* Pained and disgusted as the mind of the reader must be with the tumults, anarchy, and crimes, it has witnessed, how welcome is the contemplation of this ease and leisure, devoted to elegant studies, virtuous pursuits, useful occupations, gentleman-like amusements, rational converse, and conciliating hospitality! How difficult will it be to him to believe that this *otium cum dignitate* is the honourable retreat of one of those *gloomy fanatics* whose tyranny, Rapin says, had become intolerable to the nation?

About thirty years ago it was the fate of the editor to visit this mansion of his ancestors, in order to bring away a few pictures and some books, all that remained to him of those possessions, where they had lived with so much merited love and honour. Although he had not then read these Memoirs, yet having heard Col. Hutchinson spoken of as an extraordinary person, and that he had built, planted, and formed all that was to be seen there; the country adjoining being a dreary waste, many thousand acres together being entirely overrun with gorse or furze; he viewed the whole with the utmost attention. He found there a house, of which he has the drawing, large, handsome, lofty, and convenient, and though but little ornamented, possessing all the grace that size and symmetry could give it. The entrance was by a flight of handsome steps into a large hall, occupying entirely the centre of the house, lighted at the entrance by two large windows, but at the farther end by one much larger, in the expanse of which was carried up a stair-case that seemed to be perfectly in the air. On one side of the hall was a long table, on the other, a large fire-place; both suited to ancient hospitality. On the right hand side of this hall were three handsome rooms for the entertainment of guests. The sides of the stair-case and gallery were hung with pictures, and both served as an orchestra either to the hall or to a large room over part of it, which was a ball room. To the left of the hall were the rooms commonly occupied by the family. All parts were built so substantially, and so well secured, that neither fire nor thieves could penetrate from room to room, nor from one flight of stairs to another, if ever so little resisted.

The house stood on a little eminence in the vale of Belvoir, at a small distance from the foot of those hills along which the Roman foss-way from Leicester runs. The western side of the house was covered by the offices, small village, and church, interspersed with many trees. The south, which was the front of entrance, looked over a large extent of grass grounds which were the demesne, and were bounded by hills covered with wood which Col. Hutchinson had planted. On the eastern side the entertaining-rooms opened on to a terrace, which encircled a very large bowling-green or level lawn; next to this had been a flower-garden, and next to that a shrubbery, now become a wood, through which vistas were cut to let in a view of Langar, the seat of Lord Howe, at two miles, and of Belvoir-castle, at seven miles' distance, which, as the afternoon sun set full upon it, made a glorious object: at the further end of this small wood was a spot (of about ten acres) which appeared to have been a morass, and through which ran a rivulet: this spot Col. Hutchinson had dug into a great number of canals, and planted the ground between them, leaving room for walks, so that the whole formed at once a wilderness or bower, reservoirs for fish, and a decoy for wild-fowl. To the north, at some hundred yards' distance, was a lake of water, which filling the space between two quarters of wood-land, appeared, as viewed from the large window of the hall, like a moderate river, and beyond this the eye rested on the wolds or high wilds which accompany the foss-way towards Newark.—The whole had been deserted near forty years, but resisted the ravages of time so well as to discover the masterly hand by which it had been planned and executed. But the most extraordinary and gratifying circumstance was the veneration for the family which still subsisted, and which, at the period when the last possessor had by his will ordered this and all his estates in Notts to be sold, and the produce given to *strangers*, induced the tenants to offer a large advance of their rents, and a good share of the money necessary for purchasing the estates, in order to enable the remains of the family to come and reside again among them.—It was too late! the steward had contracted with the executors, and resold the most desirable part, where the timber of Col. Hutchinson's planting was valued at many thousand pounds! The Editor could only retire, repeating Virgil's first Eclogue

Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva;

. . . . . .

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros! en queis consevimus agros.

Round the wide world in banishment we roam,
Forced from our pleasing fields and native home:
Did we for these barbarians plant and sow?
On these, on these our happy fields bestow?
Good heav'ns! what dire effects from civil discord flow?

DRYDEN.

worths, that they were valued much more worth than they cost.* These he brought down into the country, intending a very neat cabinet for them; and these, with the surveying of his buildings, and improving by enclosure the place he lived in, employed him at home, and, for a little time, hawks abroad; but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usual vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawks, and pleased himself with music, and again fell to the practice of his viol, on which he played excellently well, and entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of music, he pleased himself in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutable reign. As he had great delight, so he had great judgment, in music, and advanced his children's practice more than their tutors: he also was a great supervisor of their learning, and indeed himself a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertained in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their father's house. He was himself their instructor in humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight than by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his business, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his own house and town. This he performed so well that never was any man more feared and loved than he by all his domestics, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a fear and reverence as restrained all rude familiarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was feared with so much love that they all delighted to do his pleasure.

As he maintained his authority in all relations, so he endeavoured to make their subjection pleasant to them, and rather to convince them by reason than compel them to obedience, and would decline even to the lowest of his family to make them enjoy their lives in sober cheerfulness, and not find their duties burthensome.

As for the public business of the country, he could not act in any office under the protector's power, and therefore confined himself to his own, which the whole country about him were grieved at, and would rather come to him for counsel as a private neighbour than to any of the men in power for greater help.

He now being reduced into an absolute private condition, was very much courted and visited by all of all parties, and, while the grand quarrel slept, and both the victors and vanquished were equal slaves under the new usurpers, there was a very kind correspondence between him and all his countrymen. As he was very hospitable, and his conversation no less desirable and pleasant, than instructive and advantageous, his house was much resorted to, and as kindly open to those who had in public contests been his enemies, as to his continued friends; for there never lived a man that had less malice and revenge, nor more reconcileableness and kindness and generosity in his nature, than he.

In the interim Cromwell and his army grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody opposed, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day. First he calls a parliament out of his own pocket, himself naming a sort of godly men for every county, who meeting and not agreeing, a part of them, in the name of the people, give up the sovereignty to him. Shortly after he makes up several sorts of mock parliaments, but not finding one of them absolutely for his turn, turned them off again. He soon quitted himself of his triumvirs, and first thrust out Harrison, then took away Lambert's commission, and would have been king but for fear of quitting his generalship. He weeded, in a few months time, above a hundred and fifty godly officers out of the army, with whom many of the religious soldiers went off, and in their room abundance of the king's dissolute soldiers were entertained, and the army was almost changed from that godly religious army, whose valour God had crowned with triumph, into the dissolute army they had beaten, bearing yet a better name. His wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them. True religion was now almost lost, even among the religious party, and hypocrisy became an epidemical disease, to the sad grief of Col. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen. Almost all the ministers everywhere fell in and worshipped this beast, and courted and made addresses to him. So did the city of London, and many of the degenerate lords of the land, with the poor-spirited gentry. The cavaliers, in policy, who saw that while Cromwell reduced all the exercise of tyrannical power under another name, there was a door opened for the restoring of their party, fell much in with Cromwell, and heightened all his disorders. He at last exercised such an arbitrary power that the whole land grew weary of him, while he set up a company of silly mean fellows, called major-generals, as governors in every country. These ruled according to their wills, by no law but what seemed good in their own eyes, imprisoning men, obstructing the course of justice between man and man, perverting right through partiality, acquitting some that were guilty, and punishing some that were innocent as guilty. Then he exercised another project to raise money, by decimation of the estates of all the king's party, of which actions 'tis said Lambert was the instigator. At last he

* That the conduct of Col. Hutchinson differed from that of most other men in power at that time, and brought a seasonable relief to the king's servants and creditors, appears from two passages in the History of Independency, p. 146 and 184. "The king's servants and creditors starve for want of their own, while the members appropriate his furniture to their own use, instead of selling it to pay debts." "The king's servants and creditors may gape long enough before they sell the king's goods to pay debts."

took upon him to make lords and knights, and wanted not many fools, both of the army and gentry, to accept of and strut in his mock titles. Then the Earl of Warwick's grandchild and the Lord Falconbridge married his two daughters; such pitiful slaves were the nobles of those days. At last Lambert, perceiving himself to have been all this while deluded with hopes and promises of succession, and seeing that Cromwell now intended to confirm the government in his own family, fell off from him, but behaved himself very pitifully and meanly, was turned out of all his places, and returned again to plot new vengeance at his house at Wimbleton, where he fell to dress his flowers in his garden, and work at the needle with his wife and his maids, while he was watching an opportunity to serve again his ambition, which had this difference from the protector's; the one was gallant and great, the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abject and base in adversity*.

The cavaliers, seeing their victors thus beyond their hopes falling into their hands, had not patience to stay till things ripened of themselves, but were every day forming designs, and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections, which being contrived in drink, and managed by false and cowardly fellows, were still revealed to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that passed, even in the king's closet; and by these unsuccessful plots they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance, while, to speak truth, Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents. His own army disliked him, and once when sevenscore officers had combined to cross him in something he was pursuing, and engaged one to another, Lambert being the chief, with solemn promises and invocations to God, the protector hearing of it, overawed them all, and told them, "it was not they who upheld him, but he them," and rated them, and made them understand what pitiful fellows they were; whereupon they all, like rated dogs, clapped their tails between their legs, and begged his pardon, and left Lambert to fall alone, none daring to own him publicly, though many in their hearts wished him the sovereignty. Some of the Lambertonians had at that time a plot to come with a petition to Cromwell, and, while he was reading it, certain of them had undertaken to cast him out of a window at Whitehall that looked upon the Thames, where others should be ready to catch him up in a blanket, if he escaped breaking his neck, and carry him away in a boat prepared for the purpose, to kill or keep him alive, as they saw occasion, and then set up Lambert. This was so carried on that it was near the execution, before the protector knew anything of it. Col. Hutchinson being at that time at London, by chance came to know all the plot; certain of the conspirators coming into a place where he was, and not being so cautious of their whispers to each other before him, but that he apprehended something, which making use of to others of the confederates, he at last found out the whole matter, without being committed to him as a matter of trust, but carelessly thrown down in pieces before him, which he gathered together, and became perfectly acquainted with the whole design; and weighing it, and judging that Lambert would be the worse tyrant of the two, he determined to prevent it, without being the author of any man's punishment. Hereupon having occasion to see Fleetwood (for he had never seen the protector since his usurpation, but publicly declared his testimony against it to all the tyrant's minions), he bade Fleetwood wish him to have a care of petitioners, by whom he apprehended danger to his life. Fleetwood desired a more particular information, but the colonel was resolved he would give him no more than to prevent that enterprise which he disliked. For indeed those who were deeply engaged, rather waited to see the cavaliers in arms against him, and then thought it the best time to arm for their own defence, and either make a new conquest, or fall with swords in their hands. Therefore they all connived at the cavaliers' attempts, and although they joined not with them, would not have been sorry to have seen them upon equal terms with the protector, that then a third party, which was ready both with arms and men, when there was opportunity, might have fallen in and capitulated with swords in their hands, for the settlement of the rights and liberties of the good people: but God had otherwise determined of things; and now men began so to flatter with this tyrant, so to apostatise from all faith, honesty, religion, and English liberty, and there was such a devilish practice of trepanning grown in fashion, that it was not safe to speak to any man in those treacherous days.

After Col. Hutchinson had given Fleetwood that caution, he was going into the country, when the protector sent to search him out with all the earnestness and haste that could possibly be, and the colonel went to him; who met him in one of the galleries, and received him with open arms and the kindest embraces that could be given, and complained that the colonel should be so unkind as never to give him a visit, professing how welcome he should have been, the most welcome person in the land, and with these smooth insinuations led him along to a private place, giving him thanks for the advertisement he had received from Fleetwood, and using all his art to get out of the colonel the knowledge of the persons engaged in the conspiracy against him. But none of his cunning, nor promises, nor flatteries, could prevail with the colonel to inform him more than he thought necessary to prevent the execution of the design, which when the protector perceived, he gave him most infinite thanks for what he had told him, and acknowledged it opened to him some mysteries that had perplexed him, and agreed so with other intelligence he had, that he must owe his preservation to him: "But," says he, "dear colonel, why will not you come in and act among us?" The colonel told him plainly, because he liked not any of his ways since he broke the parliament, as being those which led to certain and unavoidable destruction, not only of themselves, but of the whole parliament party and cause, and

* A life of Lambert has been very obligingly put into the hands of the editor, together with some other scarce tracts relating to those times, by Mr. White, jun. of Lincoln's Inn, who had collected them in the north of England, where Lambert resided. He seems to have enjoyed a better reputation among his countrymen: his horticulture is therein much spoken of, and he is said to have *painted* flowers, not to have *embroidered* them.

thereupon took occasion, with his usual freedom, to tell him into what a sad hazard all things were put, and how apparent a way was made for the restitution of all former tyranny and bondage. Cromwell seemed to receive this honest plainness with the greatest affection that could be, and acknowledged his precipitateness in some things, and with tears complained how Lambert had put him upon all those violent actions, for which he now accused him and sought his ruin. He expressed an earnest desire to restore the people's liberties, and to take and pursue more safe and sober counsels, and wound up all with a very fair courtship of the colonel to engage with him, offering him any thing he would account worthy of him. The colonel told him, he could not be forward to make his own advantage, by serving to the enslaving of his country. The other told him, he intended nothing more than the restoring and confirming the liberties of the good people, in order to which he would employ such men of honour and interest as the people should rejoice, and he should not refuse to be one of them. And after, with all his arts, he had endeavoured to excuse his public actions, and to draw in the colonel; who again had taken the opportunity to tell him freely his own and all good men's discontents and dissatisfactions; he dismissed the colonel with such expressions as were publicly taken notice of by all his little courtiers then about him, when he went to the end of the gallery with the colonel, and there, embracing him, said aloud to him, "Well, colonel, satisfied or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us, for we can no longer exempt a person so able and faithful from the public service, and you shall be satisfied in all honest things." The colonel left him with that respect that became the place he was in; when immediately the same courtiers who had some of them passed him by without knowing him when he came in, although they had been once of his familiar acquaintance, and the rest who had looked upon him with such disdainful neglect as those little people use to those who are not of their faction, now flocked about him, striving who should express most respect, and, by an extraordinary officiousness, redeem their late slightings. Some of them desired he would command their service in any business he had with their lord, and a thousand such frivolous compliments, which the colonel smiled at, and quitting himself of them as soon as he could, made haste to return into the country. There he had not long been but that he was informed, notwithstanding all these fair shows, the protector, finding him too constant to be wrought upon to serve his tyranny, had resolved to secure his person, lest he should head the people, who now grew very weary of his bondage. But though it was certainly confirmed to the colonel how much he was afraid of his honesty and freedom, and that he was resolved not to let him longer be at liberty, yet, before his guards apprehended the colonel, death imprisoned himself, and confined all his vast ambition and all his cruel designs into the narrow compass of a grave. His army and court substituted his eldest son, Richard, in his room, who was a meek, temperate, and quiet man, but had not a spirit fit to succeed his father, or to manage such a perplexed government.

The people, being vexed with the pocket-parliaments, and the major-generals of the counties, like bashaws, were now all muttering to have a free parliament, after the old manner of elections, without engaging those that were chosen to any terms. Those at Richard's court, that knew his father's counsels to prevent Col. Hutchinson from being chosen in his own country, counselled Richard to prick him for sheriff of the county of Nottingham, which, as soon as he understood, he wrote him a letter, declaring his resentment in such a civil manner as became the person. Richard returned a very obliging answer, denying any intention in himself to show the least disfavour to him for former dissents, but rather a desire to engage his kindness. And soon after, when the colonel went himself to London, and went to the young protector, he told him, that since God had called him to the government, it was his desire to make men of uprightness and interest his associates, to rule by their counsels and assistance, and not to enslave the nation to an army; and that if by them, he had been put upon anything prejudicial or disobliging to the colonel, in pricking him for sheriff, he should endeavour to take it off, or to serve him any other way, as soon as he had disentangled himself from the officers of the army, who at present constrained him in many things, and, therefore, if the colonel would please, without unkindness, to exercise this office, he should receive it as an obligation, and seek one more acceptable to him after. The colonel, seeing him herein good-natured enough, was persuaded by a very wise friend of his to take it upon him, and returned well enough satisfied with the courteous usage of the protector. This gentleman, who had thus counselled the colonel, was as considerable and as wise a person as any was in England, who did not openly appear among Richard's adherents or counsellors, but privately advised him, and had a very honourable design of bringing the nation into freedom under this young man: who was so flexible to good counsels, that there was nothing desirable in a prince which might not have been hoped in him, but a great spirit and a just title: the first of which sometimes doth more hurt than good in a sovereign; the latter would have been supplied by the people's deserved approbation. This person was very free to impart to the colonel all the design of settling the state under this single person, and the hopes of felicity in such an establishment. The colonel debating this with him, told him, that if ever it were once fixed in a single person, and the army taken off, which could not consist with the liberty of the people, it could not be prevented from returning to the late ejected family; and that on whatever terms they returned, it was folly to hope the people's cause, which, with such blood and expense, had been asserted, should not utterly be overthrown. To this the gentleman gave many strong reasons, why that family could not be restored, without the ruin of the people's liberty, and of all their champions, and thought that these carried so much force with them, that it would never be attempted, even by any royalist that retained any love to his country, and that the establishing this single person would satisfy that faction, and compose all the differences, bringing in all, of all parties, that were men of interest and love to their country. Although the business was very speciously laid, and the man such a one whose

authority was sufficient to sway in any state, the colonel was not much opiniouated of the things he propounded, but willing to wait the event; being in himself more persuaded that the people's freedom would be best maintained in a free republic, delivered from the shackles of their encroaching slaves the army.* This was now not muttered, but openly asserted by all but the army: although of those who contended for it, there were two sorts; some that really thought it the most conducible to the people's good and freedom; others that, by this pretence, hoped to pull down the army and the protectorian faction, and then restore the old family. It is believed that Richard himself was compounded with, to have resigned the place that was too great for him; certain it is, that his poor spirit was likely enough to do any such thing. The army perceiving they had set up a wretch who durst not reign, that there was a convention met, by their own assent, who were ready, with a seeming face of authority of parliament, to restore the Stewarts, were greatly distressed; finding also, that the whole nation was bent against them, and would not bear their yoke; having, therefore, no refuge to save them from being torn in pieces by the people, and to deliver them from their own puppets, who had sold and betrayed them, they found out some of the members of that glorious parliament, which they had violently driven from their seats with a thousand slanderous criminations and untruths. To these they counterfeited repentance, and that God had opened their eyes to see into what a manifest hazard of ruin they had put the interest and people of God in these nations, so that it was almost irrecoverable, but if any hope were left, it was that God would sign it with his wonted favour, in those hands, out of which they had injuriously taken it. Hereupon they opened the house doors for them; and the speaker, with some few members, as many as made a house, were too hasty to return into their seats, upon capitulation with those traitors, who had brought the commonwealth into such a sad confusion. But after they were met, they immediately sent summonses to all the members throughout all England, among whom the colonel was called up, and much perplexed, for now he thought his conscience, life, and fortunes again engaged with men of mixed and different interests and principles; yet in regard of the trust formerly reposed in him, he returned into his place, infinitely dissatisfied that any condescension had been made to the army's proposals, whose necessity, rather than honesty, had moved them to counterfeit repentance and ingenuity. This they did by a public declaration, how they had been seduced, and done wickedly in interrupting the parliament, and that God had never since that time owned them and their counsels as before, and that they desired to humble themselves before God and man for the same, and to return to their duty in defending the parliament in the discharge of their remaining trust. According to this declaration, the army kept a day of solemn humiliation before the Lord; yet all this, as the event after manifested, in hypocrisy.

* The mention of this political discussion without the name of the principal speaker in it, naturally awakens curiosity and excites to conjecture. It is probable that the secret referred to at p. 121, and which endeavours were in vain used to draw from Mrs. Hutchinson, was the same thing as is here hinted at. See note, p. 121.

Now the parliament were sat, and no sooner assembled but invaded by several enemies. The presbyterians had long since espoused the royal interest, and forsaken God and the people's cause, when they could not obtain the reins of government in their own hands, and exercise dominion over all their brethren. It was treason, by the law of those men in power, to talk of restoring the king; therefore, the presbyterians must face the design, and accordingly all the members ejected in 1648, now came to claim their seats in the house, whom Col. Pride, that then guarded the parliament, turned back, and thereupon there was some heat in the lobby between them and the other members. Particularly Sir George Booth uttered some threats, and immediately they went into their several counties, and had laid a design all over England, wherein all the royalists were engaged, and many of the old parliament officers; and this was so dexterously, secretly, and unanimously carried on, that before the parliament had the least intimation of it, the flame was everywhere kindled, and small parties attempting insurrections in all places; but their main strength was with Sir George Booth in Cheshire, who there appeared the chief head of the rebellion. The city, at that time, were very wavering and false to the parliament, yet the usual presence of God, that was with them in former times, never appeared so eminent as now, miraculously bringing to light all the plots against them, and scattering their enemies before the wind, making them fly when there was none to pursue them: although even in the parliament house there wanted not many close traitors and abettors of this conspiracy. It was presently voted to send an army down into Cheshire: but then it fell into debate who should lead. Fleetwood, upon the deposing his brother Richard, (wherein he was most unworthily assistant,) was made general, but not thought a person of courage enough for this enterprise, whereupon many of Lambert's friends propounded him to the house, and undertook for his integrity and hearty repentance for having been formerly assistant to the protector. Col. Hutchinson was utterly against receiving him again into employment; but it was the general vote of the house, and accordingly he was brought in to receive his commission from the speaker; who intending to accept an humble submission he then falsely made, with high professions of fidelity, and to return him an encouragement, in declaring the confidence the house had in him, through mistake, made such a speech to him as after proved a true prophecy of his perfidiousness. Many of the house took notice of it then only to laugh, but afterwards thought some hidden impulse the man was not sensible of led his tongue into those mistakes. However Lambert went forth, and through the cowardice of the enemy obtained a very cheap victory and returned. In Nottinghamshire, Col. White rose only to show his apostacy and run away. The Lord Biron also lost himself and his companions in the forest, being chased by a piece of the county troop. And Mr. Robert Pierrepont, the son of the late colonel, went out to make up the rout and ran away, and cast away some good arms into the bushes. to make his flight more easy.

During the late protector's times, Col. Hutchinson, who thought them greater usurpers on the

people's liberties than the former king, believed himself wholly disengaged from all ties, but those which God and nature, or rather God by nature, obliges every man of honour and honesty in to his country, which is to defend or relieve it from invading tyrants, as far as he may by a lawful call and means, and to suffer patiently that yoke which God submits him to, till the Lord shall take it off; and upon these principles, he seeing that authority, to which he was in duty bound, so seemingly taken quite away, thought he was free to fall in or oppose all things, as prudence should guide him, upon general rules of conscience. These would not permit him any way to assist any tyrant or invader of the people's rights, nor to rise up against them without a manifest call from God; therefore he staid at home, and busied himself in his own domestic employments, and having a very liberal heart, had a house open to all worthy persons of all parties. Among these the Lord Biron, who thought that no gentleman ought to be unprovided of arms in such an uncertain time, had provided himself a trunk of pistols, which were brought down from London: but some suspicion of it being entered in the protector's officers, he durst not fetch the trunk from the carrier's himself, but entreated the colonel to send for them to his house, and secure them there. This the colonel did, but afterward when my Lord Biron had entered into conspiracy with the enemies of the parliament, he knew that Col. Hutchinson was not to be attempted against them, and was in great care how to get his arms out of the colonel's house. The colonel being of a very compassionate and charitable nature, had entertained into his service some poor people, who on the enemy's side had been ruined, and were reduced from good estates to seek that refuge; and who counterfeited, so long as their party was down, such sobriety, love, and gratitude, and sense of their sins and miscarriages on the other side, that he hoped they had been converts, but could not believe they would have proved such detestable, unthankful traitors, as afterwards they did. Among these, Lord Biron corrupted a gentleman who waited then on the colonel, as the man after alleged; my lord said he offered himself: however it were, the plot was laid that fifty men, near the colonel's house, should be raised for him, and he with them should first come to the colonel's house, and take away my lord's arms, with all the rest of the colonel's that they could find. To raise him these men, certain neighbours, who used to come to the house, were very busy, and especially two parsons, he of Plumtre, and he of Bingham; this had an active, proud, pragmatical curate, who used to come to this traitor in the colonel's house, and help to manage the treason, and the chaplain, the waiting woman, and two servants more, were drawn into the confederacy. The colonel was then at the parliament house, and only his wife and chidren at home, when, the night before the insurrection, Ivie (that was the gentleman's name) came to a singing boy who kept the colonel's clothes, and commanded him to deliver him the colonel's own arms and buff coat.

The boy was fearful and did not readily obey him, whereupon he threatened immediately to pistol him, if he made the least resistance, or discovery of the business; so the boy fetched him the arms, and he put them on, and took one of the best horses and went out at midnight, telling the boy he was a fool to fear, for the next night, before that time, there would come fifty men to fetch away all the arms in the house.

As soon as the boy saw him quite gone, his mistress being then in bed, he went to the chaplain and acquainted him; but the chaplain cursed him for breaking his sleep: then he went to the waiting gentlewoman, but she said she thought it would be unfit to disturb her mistress: so the boy rested till next day, when Ivie, having failed of his men, was come back again. Then the boy, finding an opportunity after dinner, told his mistress, that though he had been bred a cavalier, he abhorred to betray or be unfaithful to those he served; and that he had reason to suspect there was some vile conspiracy in hand, wherein Ivie was engaged against them, and told his grounds. When Mrs. Hutchinson had heard that, she bade him keep it private, and called immediately a servant that had been a cornet of the parliament's party, and bade him go to the county troop's captain, and desire him to send her a guard for her husband's house, for she had intelligence that the cavaliers intended some attempt against it. Mrs. Hutchinson, ashamed to complain of her own family, thought of this way of security, till she could discharge herself of the traitor, not knowing at that time how many more were about her. Then calling her gentlewoman, whom she thought she might trust, upon her solemn protestations of fidelity, she took her to assist her in hiding her plate and jewels, and what she had of value, and scrupled not to let her see the *secret places in her house*, while the false and base dissembler went smiling up and down at her mistress' simplicity. Mean time the man that was sent for soldiers, came back, bringing news that the cavaliers had risen and were beaten, and the county troop was in pursuit of them. Then also the coachman, who, finding himself not well, had borrowed a horse to go to Nottingham to be let blood, came home, bringing with him a cravat and other spoils of the enemy, which he had gotten. For when he came to the town, hearing the cavaliers were up, he got a case of pistols, and thought more of shedding than losing blood, and, meeting the cavaliers in the rout, 'tis said he killed one of them: although this rogue had engaged to Ivie to have gone on the other side with him. Mrs. Hutchinson not being willing, for all this, to take such notice of Ivie's treason as to cast him into prison, took him immediately to London with her, and said nothing till he came there. Then she told him how base and treacherous he had been; but to save her own shame for having entertained so false a person, and for her mother's sake whom he had formerly served, she was willing to dismiss him privately, without acquainting the colonel, who could not know but he must punish him. So she gave him something and turned him away, and told her husband she came only to acquaint him with the insurrection, and her own fears of staying in the country without him. He, being very indulgent, went immediately back with her, having informed the parliament, and received their order for going down to look after the securing of the country. His wife, as soon as she came

down having learned that the chaplain had been Ivie's confederate, told him privately of it, and desired him to find a pretence to take his leave of the colonel, that she might not be necessitated to complain, and procure him the punishment his treason deserved. He went away thus, but so far from being wrought upon, that he hated her to the death for her kindness.

The colonel having set things in order in the country, had an intent to have carried his family that winter with him to London; when just that week he was going, news was brought that Lambert had once more turned out the parliament, and the colonel rejoiced in his good fortune that he was not present.

Lambert was exceedingly puffed up with his cheap victory, and cajoled his soldiers, and, before he returned to London, set on foot among them their old insolent way of prescribing to the parliament by way of petition.

The parliament, after the submission of the army, had voted that there should no more be a general over them, but to keep that power in their own hands, that all the officers should take their commissions immediately from the speaker. The conspiracy of the army, to get a leader in their rebellion, was laid, that they should petition for generals and such like things as might facilitate their intents. Among others that were taken in arms against the parliament, Lord Castleton was one of the chief heads of the insurrection. Him Lambert brought along with him in his coach, not now as a prisoner, but unguarded, as one that was to be honoured. The parliament hearing of this, sent and fetched him out of his company and committed him to prison, and then the army's saucy petition was delivered, and, upon the insolent carriage of nine colonels, they were by vote disbanded. Lambert being one of them, came in a hostile manner and plucked the members out of the house; Fleetwood, whom they trusted to guard them, having confederated with Lambert and betrayed them. After that, setting up their army court at Wallingford-house, they began their arbitrary reign, to the joy of all the vanquished enemies of the parliament, and to the amazement and terror of all men that had any honest interest: and now were they all devising governments; and some honourable members, I know not through what fatality of the times, fell in with them.* When Col. Hutchinson came into the country some time before Lambert's revolt, Mr. Robert Pierrepont, the son of the late Col. Francis Pierrepont, sent friends to entreat the colonel to receive him into his protection. Upon the entreaty of his uncles he took him into his own house, and entertained him civilly there, whilst he wrote to the speaker, urging his youth, his surrender of himself, and all he could in favour of him, desiring to know how they would please to dispose of him. Before the letters were answered Lambert had broken the parliament, and the colonel told him he was free again to do what he pleased: but the young gentleman begged of the colonel, that he might continue under his sanctuary till these things came to some issue. This the colonel very freely admitted, and entertained him till the second return of the parliament, not without much trouble to his house, of him and his servants, so contrary to the sobriety and holiness the colonel delighted in, yet for his father's and his uncle's sakes he endured it about six months.

Some of Lambert's officers, while he marched near Nottinghamshire, having formerly served under the colonel's command, came to his house at Owthorpe, and told him of the petition that was set on foot in Lambert's brigade, and consulted whether they should sign it or no. The colonel advised them by no means to do it; yet, notwithstanding, they did, which made the colonel exceeding angry with them, thinking they rather came to see how he stood affected, than really to ask his counsel. When Lambert had broken the house, the colonel made a short voyage to London to inform himself how things were, and found some of the members exceedingly sensible of the sad estate the kingdom was reduced unto by the rash ambition of these men, and resolving that there was no way but for every man that abhorred it to improve their interest in their countries, and to suppress these usurpers and rebels. Hereupon the colonel took order to have some arms bought and sent him, and had prepared a thousand honest men, whenever he should call for their assistance; intending to improve his posse comitatus when occasion should be offered. To provoke him more particularly to this, several accidents fell out. Among the rest, six of Lambert's troopers came to gather money, laid upon the country by an assessment of parliament, whom the colonel telling that in regard it was levied by that authority he had paid it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who only were in the room with the colonel, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent terms, with such insufferable reproaches of the parliament, that the colonel drew a sword which was in the room to have chastised them. While a minister that was by held the colonel's arm, his wife, not willing to have them killed in her presence, opened the door and let them out, who presently ran and fetched in their companions in the yard with cocked pistols. Upon the bustle, while the colonel, having disengaged himself from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawn, his brother came out of another room, upon whom, the soldiers pressing against a door that went into the great hall, the door flew open, and about fifty or sixty men appeared in the hall †, who were there upon

* This was that committee of safety, or council of *Stratocracy*, among the principal members of which were Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, and Whitelock, as mentioned by Whitelock, p. 685. He there says that he took his share in it reluctantly, and that all three were censured for it by the parliament at their return. Ludlow was accused of treason; Vane made an ingenious excuse, but was banished to one of his country-seats. Col. Hutchinson evidently divided from Sir H. Vane on this occasion, and, as Ludlow says, urged on the censure against him, which he considers as inconsistent with Col. Hutchinson's judgment passed on the king, and as a proof of his treachery and underhand agreement with Monk. But no conclusion can be more unwarranted than this; it was Col. Hutchinson's anxiety to keep the king out, or at least to prevent his coming in with a high hand and without limitation, that caused him so strenuously to oppose these rash steps; which made all wish for the king's return, to deliver them from greater evils.

† The description of the house contained in a former note will give a just idea of the position of all the parties, and of the striking scene here described.

another business. For Owthorpe, Kinolton, and Hicklin had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other, but at last, out of some respect they had for the colonel, the chief men of the several towns were come to him to make some accommodation till the law should be again in force. When the colonel heard the soldiers were come, he left them shut up in his great hall, who by accident thus appearing, put the soldiers into a dreadful fright. When the colonel saw how pale they looked, he encouraged them to take heart, and calmly admonished them of their insolence, and they being changed, and very humble through their fear, he called for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he said, "These carriages would bring back the Stuarts." The man, laying his hand upon his sword, said, "Never while he wore that." Among other things they said to the colonel, when he demanded by what authority they came, they showed their swords, and said, "That was their authority." After they were dismissed, the colonel, not willing to appear because he was sheriff of the county, and had many of their papers sent him to publish, concealed himself in his house, and caused his wife to write a letter to Fleetwood and complain of the affronts had been offered him, and to tell him that he was thereupon retired, till he could dwell safely at home*. To this Fleetwood returned a civil answer, and withal sent a protection, to forbid all soldiers from coming to his house, and a command to Swallow, who was the colonel of these men, to examine and punish them. Mrs. Hutchinson had sent before to Swallow, then quartered at Leicester, the next day after it was done, to inform him, who sent a letter utterly disowning their actions, and promising to punish them. This Mrs. Hutchinson sent, to show the soldiers that lay then abusing the country at Colson; but when they saw their officer's letter they laughed at him, and tore it in pieces. Some days after, he, in a civil manner, sent a captain with them and other soldiers to Owthorpe, to inquire of their misdemeanors before their faces; which being confirmed to him, and he beginning to rebuke them, they set him at light, even before Mrs. Hutchinson's face, and made the poor man retire sneaped to his colonel, while these six rogues, in one week's space, besides the assessements assigned them to gather up within the compass of five miles, took away violently from the country, for their own expense, above five-and-twenty pounds. Notwithstanding all this pretended civility, Fleetwood and his counsellors were afraid of the colonel, and the protection was but sent to draw him thither, that they might by that means get him into their custody. But he having intimation of it, withdrew, while men and arms were preparing, that he might appear publicly in the defence of the country, when he was strong enough to drive out the soldiers that were left in these parts. Three hundred of them were one night drawn out of Nottingham to come to Owthorpe for him, but some of the party gave him notice, who was then at home, and immediately went out of the house. Neither wanted they their spies, who gave them notice that he was gone again, so that they turned off upon the wolds and went to Hickling, and the next day Major Grove, their commander, sent to Mrs. Hutchinson to desire permission for himself only to come down, which she gave, and so with only five or six of his party he came. With him Mrs. Hutchinson so easily dealt that, after she had represented the state of things to him, he began to apologise that he had only taken this command upon him to preserve the country, and should be ready to submit to any lawful authority; and he and his men were not come for any other intent but to prevent disturbance of the peace, and gatherings together of men, who, they were informed, intended to rise in these parts. Mrs. Hutchinson smiling, told him it was necessary for him to keep a good guard, for all the whole country would shortly be weary of their yoke, and, no question, find some authority to shelter them. At last he came to that, as to desire her to let the colonel know he intended him no mischief, but he and all his men should be at her command to defend her from the insolencies of any others. She heard him without faith, for she knew the good will they pretended to her husband proceeded only from their fear. It is true that at that time the colonel had met with Col. Hacker, and several other gentlemen of Northampton and Warwickshire, and at the same time Major Beque was to have reduced Coventry, and another colonel Warwick-castle. Two regiments of horse should have marched to a place within seven miles of Col. Hutchinson's house, where his men should have rendezvoused, and the town of Nottingham at the same time have seized all the soldiers there, and they of Leicester the like. These people had, through the spies that were about the colonel, gotten some little inkling of his rendezvous, but not right, neither could they have prevented it, had there been need. But just before it should have been put in execution the parliament were restored to their seats, Lambert was deserted by his men and fled, and Monk was marching on southwards, pretending to restore and confirm the parliament; insomuch that Col. Hutchinson, instead of raising his country, was called up to his seat in parliament. Here there were so many favourers of Lambert, Fleetwood, and their partakers, that the colonel, who used to be very silent, could not now forbear high opposition of them; in whose favour things were carried with such a stream, that the colonel then began to lose all hopes of settling this poor land on any righteous foundation.

It was the 26th of December, 1659, that the parliament met again. The manner of it, and the contest and treaty in the north between Monk and Lambert, are too well known to be repeated; the dissimulations and false protestations that Monk made are too public: yet did the colonel and others suspect him, but knew not how to

* Probably this circumstance of Col. Hutchinson concealing himself in his own home, came at that time to be known at Nottingham, and gave rise to a tradition which is to be found in Throsby's edition of Thoroton, that he concealed himself in this manner after the Restoration, but was taken in his return from church; both of which were untrue, as probably were some other tales, resembling the legends of romance, which the editor heard of him at Owthorpe. But that there was an apartment so adapted for concealment, security, and convenience, as that he might have made a long residence in it without being discovered, the Editor had ocular demonstration.

hinder him; for this insolent usurpation of Lambert's had so turned the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to set their eyes upon the king beyond the sea, and think a bad settlement under him better than none at all, but still to be under the arbitrary power of such proud rebels as Lambert. The whole house was divided into miserable factions, among whom some would then violently have set up an oath of renunciation of the king and his family. The colonel, thinking it a ridiculous thing to *swear out* a man, when they had no power to defend themselves against him, vehemently opposed that oath, and carried it against Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, who as violently pressed it; urging very truly, that those oaths that had been formerly imposed had but multiplied the sins of the nation by perjuries; instancing how Sir Arthur and others, in Oliver's time, coming into the house, swore at their entrance they would attempt nothing in the change of that government, which, as soon as ever they were entered, they laboured to throw down. Many other arguments he used; whereupon many honest men, who thought till then he had followed a faction in all things, and not his own judgment, began to meet often with him, and to consult what to do in these difficulties, out of which their prudence and honesty had found a way to extricate themselves; but that the period of our prosperity was come, hastened on partly by the mad rash violence of some that, without strength, opposed the tide of the discontented tumultuous people, partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to do mischief; but chiefly by the general stream of the people, who were as eager for their own destruction as the Israelites of old for their quails.

One observation of the colonel I cannot omit, that the secluded members whom Monk brought in were, many of them, so brought over to a commonwealth that, if Sir Arthur Haslerig and his party had not forsaken their places because they would not sit with them, they had made the stronger party in the house, which by reason of their going off were after in all things out-voted.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper at that time insinuated himself into a particular friendship with the colonel, and made him all the honourable pretences that can be imagined; called him his *dear friend*, and caressed him with such embraces as none but a traitor as vile as himself could have suspected; yet was he the most intimate of Monk's confidants: whereupon some few days before the rising of that house, when it began to be too apparent which way Monk inclined, the colonel, upon the confidence of his friendship, entreated him to tell him what were Monk's intentions, that he and others might consider their safety, who were likely to be given up as a public sacrifice. Cooper denied to the death any intention besides a commonwealth; "but," said he, with the greatest semblance of reality that can be put on, "if the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." This he backed with so many and so deep protestations of that kind, as made the colonel, after his treachery was apparent, detest him of all mankind, and think himself obliged, if ever he had opportunity, to procure exemplary justice on him, who was so vile a wretch as himself to sit and sentence some of those that died. And although this man joined with those who laboured the colonel's particular deliverance, yet the colonel, to his dying day, abhorred the mention of his name, and held him for a more execrable traitor than Monk himself. At this time the colonel, as before, was by many of his friends attempted every way to fall in with the king's interest, and often offered both pardon and preferment, if he could be wrought off from his party, whose danger was now laid before him: but they could no way move him*. A gentleman that had been employed to tamper with him told me, that he found him so unmoveable, that one time he and a certain lord being in the colonel's company, and having begun their vain insinuations, he, to decline them, seeing Cooper, went away with him; upon which this lord, that had some tenderness for the colonel, "Well," said he, to this gentleman, "the colonel is a ruined man, he believes that traitor, which will ruin him." When they could not work into him one way, some, that were most kindly concerned in him, persuaded him to absent himself and not act for the parliament, and undertook with their lives to secure him, but he would not. He foresaw the mischief, and resolved to stay in his duty, waiting upon God, who accordingly was good to him. Some, when they saw Monk had betrayed them, would have fallen in with Lambert, but the colonel thought any destruction was to be chosen before the sin of joining with such a wretch.

Now was that glorious parliament come to a period, not more fatal to itself than to the three nations, whose sun of liberty then set, and all their glory gave place to the foulest mists that ever overspread a miserable people. A new parliament was to be chosen, and the county of Nottingham yet had such respect for Col. Hutchinson, that they fixed their eyes on him to be their knight, but Mr. William Pierrepont having a great desire to bring in his son-in-law, the Lord Haughton, to be his fellow knight, the colonel would not come into the town till the election was past; which if he had, he had been chosen without desiring it, for many people came, and when they saw he would not stand, returned and voted for none, among whom were fifty freeholders of the town of Newark.

Sometime before the writs for the new elections came, the town of Nottingham, as almost all the rest of the island, began to grow mad, and declare themselves so, in their desires of the king. The boys, set on by their fathers and masters, got drums and colours, and marched up and down the town, and trained themselves in a military posture, and offered many affronts to the soldiers

* It was hard upon him, after this, to be accused by Ludlow of treachery and connivance with the king's friends; but Ludlow was at this time engaged in a different party, perhaps envious of him for escaping with impunity, when himself despaired of doing so, and went into voluntary exile: and besides Sir A. Ashley Cooper may have stipulated for Col. Hutchinson's indemnity *gratuitously*; while most people suppose that some conditions were imposed. His moderation in a time of frenzy was surely a sufficient argument, and was probably that which Cooper used in support of the man whom he was forced to esteem, though he did not choose to imitate him.

of the army, that were quartered there, which were two troops of Col. Hacker's regiment. Insomuch that one night there were about forty of the soldiers hurt and wounded with stones, upon the occasion of taking away the drums, when the youths were gathering together to make bonfires to burn the Rump, as the custom of those mad days was. The soldiers provoked to rage, shot again, and killed in the scuffle two presbyterians, whereof one was an elder, and an old professor; and one that had been a great zealot for the cause, and master of the magazine of Nottingham castle. He was only standing at his own door, and whether by chance or on purpose, shot, or by whom, it is not certain; but true it is, that at that time, the presbyterians were more inveterately bitter against the fanatics then even the cavaliers themselves, and they set on these boys. But upon the killing of this man they were hugely enraged, and prayed very seditiously in their pulpits and began openly to desire the king; not for good-will neither to him, but for destruction to all the fanatics. One of the ministers who were great leaders of the people, had been engaged firmly in Booth's rebellion, and very many of the godly led in, who by the timely suppression of those who began the insurrection in Nottingham, were prevented from declaring themselves openly. Col. Hutchinson was as merciful as he could safely be, in not setting on too strict inquisition; but privately admonishing such as were not past hopes of becoming good commonwealth's men, if it were possible that the labouring state might outlive the present storm. Upon this bustle in the town of Nottingham, the soldiers were horribly incensed, and the townsmen ready to take part with the boys; whereupon the soldiers drew into the meadows near the town, and sent for the regiment, resolving to execute their vengeance on the town, and the townsmen again were mustering to encounter them. Mrs. Hutchinson by chance coming to the town, and being acquainted with the captains, persuaded them to do nothing in a tumultuary way, however provoked, but to complain at the general, and let him decide the business.

The men, at her entreaty, were content so to do, the townsmen also consenting to restrain their children and servants, and keep the public peace; while it was agreed, that both of them should send up together a true information to the general, concerning the late quarrel. But one of the officers, more enraged than the rest, went immediately away to Monk, and complained to him of the malice of the presbyterian and cavalier against the soldiers. He, without asking more on the other side, signed a warrant to Col. Hacker, to let loose the fury of his regiment upon the town, and plunder all they judged guilty; with which the officer immediately went away. Col. Hutchinson being at that time at the general's lodging, my Lord Howard told him what order against the town of Nottingham had just been sent down. The colonel, who had been by his wife informed of the disorders there, went to the general, and prevailed with him for a countermand of all hostility against the town, till he should hear and determine the business: which countermand the colonel sent immediately by one of the townsmen, who, though he rode post, came not till Col. Hacker, with all his regiment, were come into the town before him, and the soldiers were in some of the houses beginning to rifle them. Wherefore the countermand coming so seasonably from Col. Hutchinson, they could not but look upon him as their deliverer; and this being done very few days before the election for the next parliament, when the colonel came to town and had waved the county, they generally pitched upon him for the town. But then Dr. Plumptre laboured all he could to get the burgess-ship for himself, and to put by the colonel, with the basest scandals he and two or three of his associates could raise. Mr. Arthur Stanhope, in whose house the soldiers were entered to plunder, being pitched upon for the other burgess, and having a great party in the town, was dealt with to desert the colonel, and offered all Plumptre's party; but on the other side, he laboured more for the colonel than for himself, and at length, when the election day came, Mr. Stanhope and the colonel were clearly chosen.

The colonel and Mr. Stanhope went up to the parliament, which began on the 25th day of April, 1660; to whom the king sending a declaration from Breda, which promised, or at least intimated, liberty of conscience, remission of all offences, enjoyment of liberties and estates; they voted to send commissioners to invite him. And almost all the gentry of all parties went, some to fetch him over, some to meet him at the sea-side, some to fetch him into London, into which he entered on the 29th day of May, with a universal joy and triumph, even to his own amazement; who, when he saw all the nobility and gentry of the land flowing in to him, asked where were his enemies? For he saw nothing but prostrates, expressing all the love that could make a prince happy. Indeed it was a wonder in that day to see the mutability of some, and the hypocrisy of others, and the servile flattery of all. Monk, like his better genius, conducted him, and was adored like one that had brought all the glory and felicity of mankind home with this prince.

The officers of the army had made themselves as fine as the courtiers, and every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they before had advised. Every ballad-singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth, and all those worthies that therein endeavoured the people's freedom and happiness.

The presbyterians were now the white-boys, and according to their nature fell a thirsting, then hunting after blood, urging that God's blessing could not be upon the land till justice had cleansed it from the late king's blood. First that fact was disowned, then all the acts made after it rendered void, then an inquisition made after those that were guilty thereof, but only seven nominated of them that sat in judgment on that prince, for exemplary justice, and a proclamation sent for the rest to come in, upon penalty of losing their estates.

While these things were debating in the house, at the first, divers persons, concerned in that business, sat there, and when the business came into question, every one of them spoke to it, according to their present sense. But Mr. Lenthal, son to the late speaker of that parliament, when the presbyterians first called that business into question, though not at all concerned in it himself,

stood up and made so handsome and honourable a speech in defence of them all, as deserves eternal honour. But the presbyterians called him to the bar for it, where, though he mitigated some expressions, which might be ill taken of the house, yet he spoke so generously, as it is never to be forgotten of him. Herein he behaved himself with so much courage and honour as was not matched at that time in England, for which he was looked on with an evil eye, and, upon a pretence of Treason, put in prison; from whence his father's money, and the lieutenant of the tower's jealousy, delivered him. When it came to Ingoldsby's turn, he, with many tears, professed his repentance for that murder, and told a false tale, how Cromwell held his hand, and forced him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation, after which he retired; and another had almost ended, when Col. Hutchinson, who was not there at the beginning, came in, and was told what they were about, and that it would be expected he should say something. He was surprised with a thing he expected not, yet neither then, nor in any the like occasion, did he ever fail himself, but told them, "That for his actings in those days, if he had erred, it was the inexperience of his age, and the defect of his judgment, and not the malice of his heart, which had ever prompted him to pursue the general advantage of his country more than his own; and if the sacrifice of him might conduce to the public peace and settlement, he should freely submit his life and fortunes to their disposal: that the vain expense of his age, and the great debts his public employments had run him into, as they were testimonies that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him on, so they yielded him just cause to repent that he ever forsook his own blessed quiet to embark in such a troubled sea, where he had made shipwreck of all things but a good conscience; and as to that particular action of the king, he desired them to believe he had that sense of it that befitted an Englishman, a christian, and a gentleman." What he expressed was to this effect, but so very handsomely delivered, that it generally took the whole house: only one gentleman stood up and said, he had expressed himself as one that was much more sorry for the events and consequences, than the actions: but another replied, that when a man's words might admit of two interpretations, it befitted gentlemen always to receive that which might be most favourable. As soon as the colonel had spoken, he retired into a room, where Ingoldsby was, with his eyes yet red, who had called up a little spite to succeed his whinings, and embracing Col. Hutchinson, "O colonel," said he, "did I ever imagine we could be brought to this? could I have suspected it, when I brought them Lambert in the other day? This sword should have redeemed us from being dealt with as criminals by that people, for whom we had so gloriously exposed ourselves." The colonel told him, he had foreseen, ever since those usurpers thrust out the lawful authority of the land to enthrone themselves, it could end in nothing else; but the integrity of his heart, in all he had done, made him as cheerfully ready to suffer as to triumph in a good cause. The result of the house that day was to suspend Col. Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in the house. Monk, after all his great professions, now sat still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to set vengeance on foot as any man.

Mrs. Hutchinson, whom to keep quiet, her husband had hitherto persuaded that no man would lose or suffer by this change, at this beginning was awakened, and saw that he was ambitious of being a public sacrifice, and therefore, herein only in her whole life, resolved to disobey him, and to improve all the affection he had to her for his safety, and prevailed with him to retire; for, she said, she would not live to see him a prisoner. With her unquietness, she drove him out of her own lodgings into the custody of a friend, in order to his further retreat, if occasion should be, and then made it her business to solicit all her friends for his safety. Meanwhile in the house, it was first resolved, that mercy should be shown to some, and exemplary justice to others; then the number was defined, and voted it should not exceed seven; then, upon the king's own solicitation, that his subjects should be put out of their fears, those seven named; and after that a proclamation sent for the rest to come in. Col. Hutchinson not being of the number of those seven, was advised by all his friends to surrender himself, in order to securing his estate, and he was very earnest to do it, when Mrs. Hutchinson would by no means hear of it: but being exceedingly urged by his friends, that she would hereby obstinately lose all their estate, she would not yet consent the colonel should give himself into custody, and she had wrought him to a strong engagement, that he would not dispose of himself without her. At length being accused of obstinacy, in not giving him up, she devised a way to try the house, and wrote a letter in his name to the speaker, to urge what might be in his favour, and to let him know, that by reason of some inconveniency it might be to him, he desired not to come under custody, and yet should be ready to appear at their call, and if they intended any mercy to him, he begged they would begin it in permitting him his liberty upon his parole, till they should finally determine of him. This letter she conceived would try the temper of the house; if they granted this, she had her end, for he was still free; if they denied it, she might be satisfied in keeping him from surrendering himself.

Having contrived and written this letter, before she carried it to the colonel, a friend came to her out of the house, near which her lodgings then were, and told her that if they had but any ground to begin, the house was that day in a most excellent temper towards her husband; whereupon she wrote her husband's name to the letter, and ventured to send it in, being used sometimes to write the letters he dictated, and her character not much differing from his. These gentlemen who were moved to try this opportunity, were not of the friends she relied on; but God, to show that it was He, not they, sent two common friends, who had so good success that the letter was very well received; and upon that occasion all of all parties spoke so kindly and effectually for him, that he had not only what he desired, but was voted to be free without any engagement, and his punishment only to be discharged from the present parliament, and from all office, military or civil, in the state for ever; and upon his petition of thanks for this, his

estate also was voted to be free from all mulcts and confiscations. Many providential circumstances concurred in this thing. That which put the house into so good a humour towards the colonel that day, was, that having taken the business of the king's trial into consideration, certain committees were found to be appointed, to order the preparation of the court, the chairs and cushions, and other formalities, wherein Col. Hutchinson had nothing to do ;* but when they had passed their votes for his absolute discharge and came to the sitting of the court, he was found not to have been one day away. A rogue that had been one of their clerks had brought in all these informations ; and above all, poor Mrs. Hacker, thinking to save her husband, had brought up the warrant for execution, with all their hands and seals.†

Sir Allen Apsley too, who, with all the kindest zeal of friendship that can be imagined, endeavoured to bring off the colonel, used some artifice in engaging friends for him. There was a young gentleman, a kinsman of his, who thirstily aspired after preferment, and Sir Allen had given him hopes, upon his effectual endeavours for the colonel, to introduce him, who being a person that had understanding enough, made no conscience of truth, when an officious lie might serve his turn. This man, although he owed his life to the colonel, and had a thousand obligations to Mrs. Hutchinson's parents, yet not for their sakes, nor for virtue, nor for gratitude, but for his own hopes, which he had of Sir Allen Apsley, told some of the leading men among the court party, that it was the king's desire to have favour shown to the colonel; whereupon Mr. Palmer, since Castlemaine, was the first man that spoke for the colonel, whom Finch most eloquently seconded. Then Sir George Booth and his party all appeared for the colonel, in gratitude for his civility to them. For when the parliament had passed by the rebellion of Lambert and Fleetwood, and those who joined with them, and would not make their offences capital, he had told the house, they could not without great partiality punish these, and had moved much in their favour. Mr. Pierrepont, and all the old sage parliament-men, out of very hearty kindness, spoke and laboured very effectually to bring him clear off; and there was not at that day any man that received a more general testimony of love and good esteem of all parties than he did, not one of the most violent hunters of blood opposing favour, and divers most worthy persons giving a true and honourable testimony of him. Although they knew his principles contrary to theirs, yet they so justified his clear and upright carriage, according to his own persuasion, as was a record much advancing his honour, and such as no man else in that day received.‡

Yet though he very well deserved it, I cannot so much attribute that universal concurrence that was in the whole house to express esteem of him and desire to save him, to their justice and gratitude, as to an over-ruling power of Him that orders all men's hearts, who was then pleased to reserve his servant, even by the good and true testimony of some that afterwards hated him and sought his ruin, for the perseverance in that goodness which then forced them to be his advocates; for even the worst and basest men have a secret conviction of worth and virtue, which they never dare to persecute in its own name. The colonel being thus discharged the house, retired to a remoter lodging from Westminster, and lay very private in the town, not coming into any company of one sort or other, waiting till the act of oblivion were perfected, to go down again into the country; but when the act came to be passed in the house, then the Lord Lexington set divers friends on work in the commons' house to get a proviso inserted, that the Newarkers' money, which he paid into the committee of Haberdasher's Hall, and was by that committee paid to the colonel for his pay, might, with all the use of it, be paid out of the colonel's estate. He forged many false pretences to obtain this; but it was rejected in the commons' house, and the bill going up to the lords, was passed without any provisoes. Only the gentlemen that were the late king's judges, and decoyed to surrender themselves to custody by the house's proclamation, after that they had voted only seven to suffer, were now given up to a trial, both for their lives and estates, and put into close prison, where they were miserably kept, brought shortly after to trial, condemned, all their estates confiscated and taken away, themselves kept in miserable bondage under that inhuman bloody jailer the lieutenant of the Tower, who stifled some of them to death for want of air; and when they had not one penny, but what was given them to feed themselves and their families, exacted abominable rates for bare unfurnished prisons; of some forty pounds for one miserable chamber, of others double, besides undue and unjust fees, which their poor wives were forced to beg and engage their jointures and make miserable shifts for: and yet this rogue had all this while three pounds a week paid out of the exchequer for every one of them. At last when this would not kill them fast enough, and when some alms were thus privately stolen in to them, they were sent away to remote and dismal islands, where relief could not reach them, nor any of their relations take care of them; in this a thousand times more miserable than those that died, who were thereby prevented from the eternal infamy and remorse which hope of life and estate made these poor men bring upon themselves, by base and false recantations of their own judgment, against their consciences; which they wounded for no advantage, but lived ever after in misery themselves, augmented by seeing the misery of their

* In Nelson's trial of Charles I. it appears, that on Friday, Jan. 12, when a committee was appointed for ordering the trial, and many minute particulars agreed to for the management of it, Col. Hutchinson was absent, but attended most other days. On Jan. 25, however, when the sentence was suggested, he was absent, but was present at the signing, and himself signed the warrant for execution.

† To those who have not read or not remembered the trials of the regicides, it may be useful to remark, that Col. Hacker was tried for superintending the execution of the king in his military capacity, for which it seems this warrant was expected to prove a sufficient justification, and perhaps it ought to have been so considered; but it is extraordinary that his wife, before she gave up an instrument which seemed so precious to those who were seeking revenge, had not stipulated for her husband's pardon.

‡ Mr. Lassels (probably Lascelles) enjoyed exactly a similar exemption; the peculiar reasons for it are not accurately known, but it is natural to suppose they were similar.

wretched families, and in the daily apprehension of death, which, without any more formality, they are to expect whenever the tyrant gives the word. And these are the "*tender* MERCIES *of the wicked!*" Among which I cannot forget one passage that I saw. Monk and his wife, before they were moved to the Tower, while they were yet prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the garden and caused them to be brought down, only to stare at them. Which was such a barbarism for that man, who had betrayed so many poor men to death and misery that never hurt him, but had honoured him, and trusted their lives and interest with him, to glut his bloody eyes with beholding them in their bondage, as no story can parallel the inhumanity of.

Col. Scroop, who had been cleared by vote as the colonel was, was afterwards rased out for nothing, and had the honour to die a noble martyr.

Athough the colonel was cleared both for life and estate in the house of commons, yet he not answering the court expectations in public recantations and dissembled repentance, and applause of their cruelty to his fellows, the chancellor was cruelly exasperated against him, and there were very high endeavours to have rased him out of the act of oblivion. But then Sir Allen Apsley solicited all his friends, as it had been for his own life, and divers honourable persons drew up a certificate, with all the advantage they could, to procure him favour; who in all things that were not against the interest of the state had ever pitied and protected them in their distresses. The Countess of Rochester wrote a very effectual letter to the Earl of Manchester, making her request that the favour to him might be confirmed as an obligation to her, to quit some that she, and as she supposed, her lord had received from him. This letter was read in the house, and Sir Allen Apsley's candidate for preferment again made no conscience of deceiving several lords, that the preserving of the colonel would be acceptable to the king and the chancellor, who he now knew hated his life. Many lords also of the colonel's relations and acquaintance, out of kindness and gratitude (for there was not one of them whom he had not in his day more or less obliged), used very hearty endeavours for him. Yet Sir Allen Apsley's interest and most fervent endeavours for him, was that which only turned the scales, and the colonel was not excepted in the act of oblivion to anything but offices.

The provisoes to the act of oblivion were all cut off, and it was determined that those things should pass in particular acts; when the Lord Lexington got one for that Newark money to be repaid out of the colonel's estate, with all the interest for fourteen years. This act was committed, and the colonel had counsel to plead against it, and the Marquis Dorchester* having the chair, was wonderfully civil to the colonel. The adverse counsel having been men that practised under the parliament, thought they could no way ingratiate themselves so well as by making invectives against those they formerly clawed with, and when, quite beside their matter, they fell into railings against the injustice of the former times, and scandals of the colonel, the marquis checked them severely, and bade them mind their cause: but Mr. Finch, one of the colonel's counsel, after a lawyer had made a long railing speech, which held them a tedious while, he replying; "My lord," said he, "this gentleman hath taken up a great deal of time to tell your lordship how unjust that parliament was, how their committees perverted judgment and right, which he sets forth with all his power of language to make them odious, and in conclusion would persuade your lordship therefore to do the same things." After the hearing at the committee, a report was made so favourable for the colonel that the bill was cast aside, and the house being then ready to adjourn, most of the colonel's friends went out of town, which opportunity Lexington taking notice of, the very last day in a huddle got the bill passed the lords' house.†

Then the colonel went down into the country, and found it necessary to reduce and change his family, which were many of them people he took in for charity, when they could no-where else be received, and they had been more humble and dutiful while they were under hatches, but now might find better preferments, and were not to be confided in; yet he dismissed not any of them without bountiful rewards, and such kind dismissions as none but that false generation would not have been obliged by. But some of them soon after betrayed him as much as was in their power, whose prudence had so lived with them, that they knew nothing that could hurt his person.

When the colonel saw how the other poor gentlemen were trepanned that were brought in by proclamation, and how the whole cause itself from the beginning to the ending, was betrayed and condemned, notwithstanding that he himself, by a wonderful over-ruling providence of God, in that day was preserved; yet he looked upon himself as judged in their judgment, and executed in their execution; and although he was most thankful to God, yet he was not very well satisfied in himself for accepting the deliverance. His wife, who thought she had never deserved so well of him, as in the endeavours and labours she exercised to bring him off, never displeased him more in her life, and had much ado to persuade him to be contented with his deliverance; which, as it was eminently wrought by God, he acknowledged it with thankfulness; but while he saw others suffer, he suffered with them in his mind, and, had not his wife persuaded him, had offered himself a voluntary sacrifice, but being by her convinced that God's eminent appearance seemed to have singled him out for preservation, he with thanks acquiesced in that thing; and further remembering that he was but young at that time when he entered into

* The same whom, when Viscount Newark, Col. Hutchinson rescued from the violence of the countrymen at Nottingham; to whom afterwards the colonel made, at the request of her friends, the offer of the hand and fortune of Lady Anne Somerset, and who so handsomely now evinces his candour and gratitude. His character is well contrasted with that of Lord Lexington, who in the first place obtained a peerage for the sacrifice of this very money; next refused payment of it to the Newarkers, of whom he had borrowed it; then, upon being compelled to pay it, procured easy terms by the colonel's interference; and now attempts to plunder his benefactor of the whole.

† The practice of parliament at that time must have differed from what it now is, for such a bill to originate in the house of lords: we shall presently see it miscarry in the commons.

this engagement, and that many who had preached and led the people into it, and of that parliament, who had declared it to be treason not to advance and promote that cause, were all now apostatised, and as much preached against it, and called it rebellion and murder, and sat on the tribunal to judge it; he again reflected seriously upon all that was past, and begged humbly of God to enlighten him and show him his sin, if ignorance or misunderstanding had led him into error; but the more he examined the cause from the first, the more he became confirmed in it, and from that time set himself to a more diligent study of the scriptures, whereby he attained confirmation in many principles he had before, and daily greater enlightenings concerning the free grace and love of God in Jesus Christ, and the spiritual worship under the gospel, and the gospel liberty, which ought not to be subjected to the wills and ordinances of men in the service of God. This made him rejoice in all he had done in the Lord's cause, and he would often say, the Lord had not thus eminently preserved him for nothing, but that he was yet kept for some eminent service or suffering in this cause; although having been freely pardoned by the present powers, he resolved not to do anything against the king, but thought himself obliged to sit still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth; yet as he could not wish well to any ill way, so he believed that God had set him aside, and that therefore he ought to mourn in silence and retiredness, while he lay under this obligation.

He had not been long at home but a pursuivant from the council was sent to fetch him from his house at Owthorpe, who carried him to the attorney-general. He, with all preparatory insinuations, how much he would express his gratitude to the king and his repentance for his error, if he would now deal ingenuously in bearing testimony to what he should be examined, sifted him very thoroughly; but the colonel, who was piqued at heart that they should thus use him, to reserve him with an imagination that he would serve their turns in witnessing to the destruction of the rest, composed himself as well as he could, and resolved upon another testimony than they expected, if they had called him to any. But the attorney-general was so ill satisfied with his private examination that he would not venture a public one. He dealt with him with all the art and flatteries that could be, to make him but appear, in the least thing, to have deserted his own and embraced the king's party; and he brought the warrant of execution to the colonel, and would fain have persuaded him to own some of the hands, and to have imparted some circumstances of the sealing, because himself was present. But the colonel answered him, that in a business transacted so many years ago, wherein life was concerned, he durst not bear a testimony, having at that time been so little an observer, that he could not remember the least tittle of that most eminent circumstance, of Cromwell's forcing Col. Ingoldsby to set to his unwilling hand, which, if his life had depended on that circumstance, he could not have affirmed. "And then, Sir," said he, "if I have lost so great a thing as that, it cannot be expected less eminent passages remain with me." Then being shown the gentlemen's hands, he told him he was not well acquainted with them, as having never had commerce with the most of them by letters; and those he could own, he could only say they resembled the writings which he was acquainted with; among these he only picked out Cromwell's, Ireton's, and my Lord Grey's. The attorney-general, very ill satisfied with his private examination, dismissed him; yet was he served with a writ to appear in the court the next day. The colonel had been told that, when they were in distress for witnesses to make up their formality, Col. Ingoldsby had put them upons ending for him, which made him give that instance to the attorney. The next day the court sat, and the colonel was fetched in and made to pass before the prisoner's faces, but examined to nothing; which he much waited for, for the sight of the prisoners, with whom he believed himself to stand at the bar, and the sight of the judges, among whom was that *vile traitor* who had sold the men that trusted him; and he that openly said he abhorred the word *accommodation*, when moderate men would have prevented the war; and the colonel's own *dear friend*, who had wished damnation to his soul if he ever suffered penny of any man's estate, or hair of any man's head, to be touched; the sight of these * had so provoked his spirit that, if he had been called to speak, he was resolved to have borne testimony to the cause and against the court; but they asking him nothing, he went to his lodging, and so out of town, and would not come any more into their court, but sent the attorney-general word he could witness nothing, and was sick with being kept in the crowd and the press, and therefore desired to be excused from coming any more thither. The attorney made a very malicious report of him to the chancellor and the king, insomuch as his ruin was then determined, and only opportunity watched to effect it.

When Sir A. Apsley came to the chancellor, he was in a great rage and passion, and fell upon him with much vehemence. "O Nall," said he, "what have you done? you have saved a man that would be ready, if he had opportunity, to mischief us as much as ever he did." Sir Allen was forced to stop his mouth, and tell him, that he believed his brother a less dangerous person than those he had brought into the king's council, meaning Maynard and Glynne†; but the truth is, from that time all kindness that any one expressed to the colonel was ill resented, and the Countess of Rochester was also severely rebuked for having appeared so kind to the colonel.

When the parliament sat again, the colonel sent up his wife to solicit his business in the house, that the Lord Lexington's bill might not pass the lower house. At her first coming to town a parliament-man, a creature of Worcester-house, being

* Monk, Ashley Cooper, and Hollis. Does not every one feel his indignation roused at this wanton outrage upon decency? Perhaps Col. Hutchinson's appearance in court may have been misconstrued by many, as they might be ignorant that it was involuntary, and no one but himself could know that he meant to give evidence contrary to what was desired of him.

† Maynard and Glynne had chimed in not only with the parliament but with Cromwell, under whom both held offices. The chancellor will hereafter find them dangerous inmates—in pushing the affair of his accusation and exile.

in his coach, she out of hers called to him, who was her kinsman, and desired his vigilancy to prevent her injury. "I could wish," said he, "it had been finished last time, for your husband hath lately so ill-behaved himself, that it will pass against him." She answered, "I pray let my friends but do their endeavours for me, and then let it be as God will." He smiling at her, replied, "*It is not now as God will, but as we will.*" However she, notwithstanding many other discouragements, waited upon the business every day, when her adversaries as diligently solicited against her. One day a friend came out of the house, and told her that they were that day so engaged that she might go home and rest secure nothing would be done, and that day most of her friends were away, and her opposites took this opportunity to bring it into the house, which was now much alienated, especially all the court party, from the colonel; but God, to show that not friends, nor diligence, preserved our estates, stirred up the hearts of strangers to do us justice, and the bill was thrown out when we had scarce one of these friends we relied on in the house.

Presently after Mrs. Hutchinson came to town, a kinsman of hers, fallen into the wicked counsels of the court, came to visit her one evening, and had been so freely drinking as to unlock his bosom, when he told her that the king had been lately among them where he was, and told them that they had saved a man, meaning Col. Hutchinson, who would do the same thing for him he did for his father, for he was still unchanged in his principles, and readier to protect than accuse any of his associates, and would not discover any counsels or designs, or any party, though he were known to have hated them. Then this gentleman told her how contemptuous a carriage it was, that he would not own one but dead hands, and how they were resolved his pardon should never pass the seal, and what a desperate condition he was reduced to. Having thus affrighted her, then, to draw her in by examples, he told her how the late statesmen's wives came and offered them all the informations they had gathered from their husbands, and how she could not but know more than any of them; and if yet she would impart anything that might show her gratitude, she might redeem her family from ruin; and then particularly told her how her husband had been intimate with Vane, Pierrepont, and St. John, whose counsels they knew how far they had gone in this matter, and that if she would prevent others in the declaring of them, she might much advantage herself. But she told him, she perceived any safety one could buy of them was not worth the price of honour and conscience; that she knew nothing of state managements, or if she did, she would not establish herself upon any man's blood and ruin. Then he employed all his wit to circumvent her in discourse, to have gotten something out of her concerning some persons they aimed at, which if he could, I believe would have been beneficial to him; but she discerned his drift, and scorned to become an informer, and made him believe she was ignorant, though she could have enlightened him in the thing he sought for; which they are now never likely to know much of, it being locked up in the grave, and they that survive not knowing that their secrets are removed into another cabinet.* After all, natural affection working at that time with the gentleman, he in great kindness advised her that her husband should leave England. She told him he could not conveniently, and the act of oblivion being passed, she knew not why he should fear, who was resolved to do nothing that might forfeit the grace he had found. But he told her it was determined that, if there were the least pretence in the world, the colonel should be imprisoned, and never be left loose again; which warning, though others of his friends said it was but an effect of his wine, the consequence proved it but too true.

She advertised the colonel and persuaded him, being also advised to the same by other friends, to go out of England, but he would not: he said this was the place where God had set him, and protected him hitherto, and it would be in him an ungrateful distrust of God to forsake it. At this time he would have sold part of his estate to pay his debts, but the purchasers scrupled, desiring to see his pardon, which he not having, was fain to break off the treaty; and though all the friends

* Any who are delighted with the discovery of a secret will be disappointed that Mrs. Hutchinson did not even here reveal hers, but resisted the bewitching vanity of showing the confidence that had been reposed in her, by betraying it. She might, perhaps, with great propriety, think it not prudent to commit it to writing, though it was to be read only by her own family.—Of the persons here named, Sir H. Vane, it is well known, was sacrificed to the manes of Lord Strafford, whose attainder he was supposed in a great measure to have procured: but there seems not to have been any pretence for excepting him out of the amnesty. He viewed his fate, and the king who sentenced him to it, with equal contempt; and the passage before us is a proof of the fidelity he maintained towards his associates.—St. John was excluded from all offices; but Pierrepont escaped untouched in all respects, and represented the county of Nottingham in the short parliament which restored the king, but appears not to have been re-chosen in that which succeeded it. That he who was so *deeply engaged* should have come off so well, is matter of wonder, and the more so when we take into consideration the following particulars.

The ingenious writer of the critique of this work in the Annual Review, conjectures that the secret which this friend of Mrs. Hutchinson endeavoured to extort from her was, *the name of that considerable person who had formed the design of settling the state under Richard Cromwell*, as mentioned in p 111: this is highly probable, and still more so that this person was Mr. William Pierrepont, and that the royalists aimed peculiarly at his destruction, as will appear from many passages that are to be found in the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers. In one part the good-will of Pierrepont to Richard Cromwell and Richard's respect for him are spoken of: in another Hyde instructs his spies to "gain Thurloe, whom he thinks considerable, and he would gain St. John and Pierrepont," adding significantly, "they have manifested that they have no inveterate objection to a *single person*, and the right heir is the person." In another place it is said by one of the spies that "St. John, Pierrepont, and Thurloe, continue to cabal and press the general (Monk); *three such evil beasts do not exist.*" But when Pierrepont is reported to be ill, the most eager wishes are expressed for his death. No doubt but the *virtuous ministers* of Charles II. dreaded his abilities and integrity as they coveted his property: but supported by such connexions as he was, they could not venture to attack him without some clear and strong information against him. That these harpies were disappointed in their project of extinguishing this eminent patriot and his family, and pouncing on their possessions, may then most likely be attributed to the constancy and discretion of Mrs. Hutchinson.

he had laboured it, the chancellor utterly refused it. There was a thousand pounds offered to one to procure it, but it was tried several times and would not pass, by reason of which he was prevented of the opportunity then to settle his estate; yet a year after, a little solicitor shuffled it in among many others, and managed it so dexterously that it passed all the seals. The colonel's estate being in mortgage with a peevish alderman, who had a design upon it, to have bought it for little or nothing, he had a great trouble with him; for having procured him his money, he would not assign the mortgage, and the others would not lend the money without assignment from him, so that it put the colonel to many inconveniences and great expense.

This parliament being risen, another was called by the king's writ, wherein the act of oblivion was again confirmed, not without some canvassing and opposition; and here again another act about that money of the Lord Lexington's was prepared and twice read in the house, through divers abominable untruths which they had forged and possessed the members withal. The colonel himself solicited his own defence, and had all the injustice and foul play imaginable at the committee appointed to examine it, and it was so desperate that all his friends persuaded him to compound it; but he would not, though his enemies offered it, but said, he would either be cleared by a just, or ruined by an unjust sentence, and, pursuing it with his usual alacrity and vigour in all things, he at last removed that prepossession that some of the gentlemen had against him, and clearing himself to some that were most violent, it pleased God to turn the hearts of the house at last to do him justice, and to throw out the bill for evermore, which was a great mercy to him and his family, for it was to have thrown him out of possession of all the estates he had, and to have put them into his enemies' hands till they had satisfied themselves; but the defending himself was very chargeable to him, and not only so, but this rumour of trouble upon his estate, and the brags of his enemies, and the cloud he lay under, hindered him both from letting and selling, and improving his estate, so that it very much augmented his debt.

Before this time, in December 1660, Capt. Cooper sent one Broughton, a lieutenant, and Andrews, a cornet, with a company of soldiers, who plundered his house at Owthorpe, while he was absent, of all the weapons they found in it, to his very wearing-swords, and his own armour for himself, although at that time there was no prohibition of any person whatsoever to have or wear arms. The colonel was not then at home, and the arms were laid up in a closet within his chamber, where they searched, and all the house over, to see if they could have found plate or anything else, but when they could not, they carried these away, which one of his servants, whom he had dismissed with a good reward, betrayed to them. His eldest son went to the Marquis of Newcastle, lord lieutenant of the county, and complained of the violence of the soldiers, and my lord gave him an order to have the swords and other things back, and some pistols which were the Lord Biron's, but Mr. Cooper contemned my lord's order, and would not obey it. The arms were worth near £100.

Also an order came down from the secretary, commanding certain pictures and other things the colonel had bought out of the late king's collection, which had cost him in ready money between £1000 and £1500 and were of more value, and these, notwithstanding the act of oblivion, were all taken from him.

After these troubles were over from without, the colonel lived with all imaginable retiredness at home, and, because his active spirit could not be idle nor very sordidly employed, took up his time in opening springs, and planting trees, and dressing his plantations; and these were his recreations, wherein he relieved many poor labourers when they wanted work, which was a very comfortable charity to them and their families: with these he would entertain himself, giving them much encouragement in their honest labours, so that they delighted to be employed by him. His business was serious revolving the law of God, wherein he laboured to instruct his children and servants, and enjoyed himself with much patience and comfort, not envying the glories and honours of the court, nor the prosperity of the wicked; but only grieved that the straitness of his own revenues would not supply his large heart to the poor people in affliction. Some little troubles he had in his own house. His son, unknown to him, married a very worthy person,* with the manner of which he was so discontented that he once resolved to have banished them for ever, but his good-nature was soon overcome, and he received them into his bosom, and for the short time he enjoyed her had no less love for her than for any of his own children. And indeed she was worthy of it, applying herself with such humble dutifulness and kindness to repair her fault, and to please him in all the things he delighted in, that he was ravished with the joy of her, who loved the place not as his own wife did, only because she was placed in it, but with a natural affection, which encouraged him in all the pains he took to adorn it, when he had one to leave it to that would esteem it. She was besides naturalised into his house and interests, as if she had had no other regard in the world; she was pious and cheerful, liberal and thrifty, complaisant and kind to all the family; and the freest from humour of any woman, loving home, without melancholy or sullenness, observant of her father and mother, not with regret, but with delight, and the most submissive affectionate wife that ever was: but she, and all the joy of her sweet, saint-like conversation, ended in a lamented grave, about a year after her marriage, when she died in childbirth, and left the sweetest babe behind her that ever was beheld, whose face promised all its mother's graces, but death, within eight weeks after her birth, ravished this sweet blossom, whose fall opened the fresh wounds of sorrow for her mother, thus doubly lost. While the mother lived, which was ten days after her delivery, the colonel and his wife employed all imaginable pains and cares for her recovery, whereof they had often hopes, but in the end all in vain; she died, and left the whole house in very sensible affliction, which continued upon the colonel and his wife till new strokes awakened them out of

* The daughter of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, of the royalist party.

the silent sorrow of this funeral. Her husband having no joy in the world after she was gone, some months shut himself up with his grief in his chamber, out of which he was hardly persuaded to go, and when he did, every place about home so much renewed the remembrance of her he could not think of but with deep affliction, that being invited by his friends abroad to divert his melancholy,* he grew a little out of love with home, which was a great damping to the pleasures his father took in the place: but he, how eager soever he were in the love of any worldly thing, had that moderation of spirit that he submitted his will always to God, and endeavoured to give him thanks in all things.

This winter, about October and the following months, the papists began to be very high, and a sort of strangers were come into Nottingham, who were observed to distinguish themselves by scarlet ribands in their hats; and one night, in a drunken humour, a papist fired a hay barn in a wood-yard in Nottingham, which, if not discovered and prevented by many providences, might have endangered much of the town: but it did £200 worth of mischief; but the matter was shuffled up and compounded, although the same night several other towns were attempted to be fired. A great papist at Eastwold was known to assemble two hundred men in arms in the night, and some of the Lord Carrington's tenants, that went to Arundel-house to speak with their landlord, observed very strange suspicious signs of some great business on foot among the papists, who, both in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, were so exalted, that the very country people everywhere apprehended some insurrection. Among the rest there was a light-headed debauched young knight, that lived next town to Owthorpe, who vapoured beyond all bounds, and had twelve pair of holsters for pistols, at one time, of the colonel's saddler, and rode at that time with half-a-dozen men, armed, up and down the country, and sent them, and went himself to several men who had been soldiers in the army, to offer them brave terms to list under him, telling them they, meaning the papists, should have a day for it. Besides, he, with the parson of the parish, and some other men, at an alehouse, began a health to the confusion of all the protestants in England; and one of the colonel's maids going to Colson, to have a sore eye cured by a woman in the town, heard there that he had vapoured, the papists should shortly have their day, and that he would not leave one alive in the colonel's house. He sent to the preacher of Cotgrove, to forbid him to preach on Gunpowder-treason day, threatening to kill him if he did, insomuch that the town were forced to keep a guard all that day upon the steeple.

The men whom the papists had endeavoured to list, acquainted the colonel with it, whereof some being in Leicestershire, the colonel sent his son to Sir George Villiers, one of the deputy-lieutenants of that county, to acquaint him with it; but he slighted the matter, although at that time it would have been proved that Golding brought a whole coach loaden with pistols, as many as they could stuff under the seats and in the boots, to the house of one Smith, a papist, dwelling at Queniborough in Leicestershire. The colonel also sent to the deputy lieutenants of our county, to acquaint them of the public danger, and how himself was threatened: and, by reason that his house had been disarmed desired that he might have leave to procure some necessary arms to defend it; but they sent him word that the insurrection of the papists was but a fanatic jealousy, and if he were afraid, they would send him a guard, but durst not allow him to arm his house. He disdaining their security that would not trust him with his own, would have taken a house at Nottingham for his wife to lie in, who being then big with child, was near her account; but although she were fearful, yet when she found him resolved to stay in his own house, she would not go; whereupon he made strong shuts to all his low windows with iron bars, and that very night that they were set up, the house was attempted to be broken into in the night, and the glass of one of the great casements broken, and the little iron bars of it crashed in sunder. Mrs. Hutchinson being late up, heard the noise, and thought somebody had been forcing the doors, but as we since heard, it was Golding who made the attempt. The common people everywhere falling into suspicion of the papists, began to be highly offended at their insolence, and to mutter strange words; whither it were this, or what else, we know not, but their design proceeded no further; yet there is nothing more certain than that at that time they had a design of rising generally all over England in arms. But the colonel lived so retired, that he never understood how it was taken up, and how it fell off, yet although they would not take the alarm from him, even the gentlemen of the county afterwards believed they were hatching some mischief, and feared it.

The colonel continued his usual retiredness all that winter and the next summer, about the end of which he dreamed one night that he saw certain men in a boat upon the Thames, labouring against wind and tide, to bring their boat, which stuck in the sands, to shore; at which he, being in the boat, was angry with them, and told them they toiled in vain, and would never effect their purpose; but, said he, let it alone and let me try; whereupon he laid him down in the boat, and applying his breast to the head of it, gently shoved it along, till he came to land on Southwark side, and there, going out of the boat, walked in the most pleasant lovely fields, so green and flourishing, and so embellished with the cheerful sun that shone upon them, as he never saw anything so delightful, and there he met his father, who gave him certain leaves of laurel, which had many words written in them which he could not read. The colonel was never superstitious of dreams, but this stuck a little in his mind, and we were therefore seeking applications of it, which proved nothing in the event, but that having afforded one, I know not whether the dream might not be inspired. The boat representing the commonwealth, which several unquiet people sought to enfranchise, by vain endeavours, against wind and tide, paralleling the plots and designs some impatient people then carried on without strength, or counsel, or unity among themselves; his lying down and shoving it with his breast, might signify the advancement of the cause, by the patient suffering of the martyrs, among which his own was to be eminent,

* Mr. Thomas Hutchinson did not marry again, but died without issue.

and on the other side of the river to land him into walks of everlasting pleasure, he dying on that shore, and his father's giving him these laurel leaves with unintelligible characters, foretold him those triumphs which he could not read in his mortal estate; but to let dreams pass—

I cannot here omit one story, though not altogether so much of the colonel's concern, yet happening this summer, not unworthy mention. Mr. Palmer, a certain non-conformist preacher, was taken at his own house in Nottingham by the mayor of the town, for preaching upon the Lord's day, and some others with him, (whereof one was formerly a servant of the colonel's, and had married one of his maids), and put into the town's jail, where they continued about two or three months. There being a grated window in the prison, that was almost even with the ground, and looked into the street, all people coming by, might see these poor people, kept in a damp ill-favoured room, where they patiently exhorted and cheered one another. One Lord's day, after sermon-time, the prisoners were singing a psalm, and the people as they passed up and down, still when they came to the prison, stood still, till there were a great many gathered about the window at which Mr. Palmer was preaching; whereupon the mayor, one Toplady, who had formerly been a parliament officer, but was now a renegado, came violently with his officers, and beat the people, and thrust some into prison that were but passing the streets, kicked and pinched the men's wives in his rage, and was the more exasperated, when some of them told him, how ill his fury became him, who had once been one of them. The next day, or few days after, having given order the prisoners should every Lord's day after be locked in the coal-house, he went to London and made information, I heard on oath, to the council, that a thousand of the country came in armed to the town, and marched to the prison window, to hear the prisoner preach; whereupon he procured an order for a troop of horse to be sent down to quarter at Nottingham, to keep the fanatics in awe. But one who had relation to the town, being then at court, and knowing this to be false, certified to the contrary, and prevented the troop. After the mayor came down, he was one night taken with a vomiting of blood, and being ill, called his man and his maid, who also, at the same time, fell a bleeding, and were all ready to be choked in their own blood, which at last stopping, they came to assist him; but after that he never lifted up his head, but languished a few months and died.

While these poor people were in prison, the colonel sent them some money, and, as soon as their time was expired, Mr. Palmer came to Owthorpe to give him thanks, and preached there one Lord's day. Whether this were taken notice of is not evident, but within a short time after, upon the Lord's day, the 11th of October, 1663, the colonel having that day finished the expounding of the Epistle to the Romans to his household, and the servants being gone out of the parlour from him, one of them came in and told him soldiers were come to the town. He was not at all surprised, but stayed in the room till they came in, who were conducted by Atkinson, one of those Newark men who had so violently before prosecuted him at the parliament, and he told the colonel he must go along with them, after they had searched the house; for which the colonel required their commission, which at the first they said they need not show, but after they showed him an order from Mr. Francis Leke, one of the deputy lieutenants, forthwith to repair to his house, to search for and bring away what arms they could find, and to seize his person. All which they did, and found no arms in the house, but four birding guns, that hung open in the kitchen, which being the young gentleman's, at that time they left. It was after sunset when they came, and they were at least two hours searching every corner and all about the house, and the colonel was not at that time very well in health, and not having been for six months before on horseback, had neither horses nor saddles at that time in the house; the coachman was also gone away, and the coach-horses turned out, and it was as bitter a stormy, pitchy, dark, black, rainy night, as any that came that year; all which considered, the colonel desired that they would but stay for the morning light, that he might accommodate himself: but they would not, but forced him to go then along with them, his eldest son lending him a horse, and also voluntarily accompanying him to Newark, where, about four of the clock in the morning, he was brought into the Talbot, and put into a most vile room, and two soldiers kept guard upon him in that room.

And now what they ailed we knew not, but they were all seized with a panic fear, and the whole country fiercely alarmed, and kept at Newark many days at intolerable charges, and I think they never yet knew what they were sent for in to do, but to guard Col. Hutchinson; who being at first put into a room that looked into the street, was removed after into a back room, worse, if worse could be, and so bad that they would not let the Duke of Buckingham's footmen lodge in it: and here he continued, no man coming at him nor letting him know why he was brought in. The next day Mrs. Hutchinson sent him some linen, and as soon as the man came, Tomson, the host of the inn, would not suffer him to see his master, but seized him and kept him prisoner two days. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson had a mare which the inn-keeper had a desire to buy, and his father persuaded him to let him have her worth money, who thereupon agreed on the price, only Tomson desired him to let him try the mare six miles, which he condescended to do, upon condition that if Tomson rode the mare above six miles, he should pay the money for her, and furnish Mr. Hutchinson with a horse home, or to my Lord of Newcastle's, or any other occasion he had while he was at Newark. Upon this bargain Tomson had the mare, but instead of going but six miles, led a greater party of horse than those who first seized the colonel, to Owthorpe, and coming in after sunset, to the affright of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children, again searched their house more narrowly if possible than at first, with much more insolent behaviour, although they found no more than at first; but they took away the birding guns they had left before, and from Owthorpe went to Nottingham, where they took one Capt. Wright and Lieut. Franck, who had been Lambert's adjutant-general, and brought the poor men to Newark, where they are yet prisoners, and to this

day know not why*. Several others were taken prisoners, amongst the rest, one Whittington, a lieutenant, who being carried to prison, "Col. Hutchinson," said he, "hath betrayed us all:" such were the base jealousies of our own party over him, who because he was not hanged at first, imagined and spoke among themselves all the scandals that could be devised of him, as one that had deserted the cause, and lay private here in the country to trepan all the party, and to gather and transmit all intelligence to the court, and a thousand such things, giving each other warning to take heed of coming near him. Those who began to render him thus odious among his own party, were the Lambertonians, in malice because he had openly opposed their rebellious insolencies against the parliament. Franck and Whittington, &c. were of these, but the colonel would not put himself in hazard to rectify their unjust thoughts, and had no resort of his own friends, the soberer and honester men of the party; only, as much as the straits that were upon him would allow, when any of them were in distress, would send them relief. Hereupon, some convinced of the injuries they did him, about this time sought to do him right, in some meeting where one of the Buckingham's trepans was, and said he was unchanged in his principles, which was all that ever I could hear was informed against him, but anything would serve for those who sought a pretence.

While the colonel was at Newark, Golding the papist was a very busy fellow in spying and watching his house at Owthorpe, and sending in frivolous stories, which amounted to nothing, but declaring his pitiful malice, as they that received it after told the colonel.

When Tomson came back, Mr. Hutchinson, out of the window, spied his own gun, which some of the men brought in, and soon understood that this rogue had made use of his own horse to plunder him. At night Tomson the host came up into the colonel's chamber, and behaved himself most insolently, whereupon the colonel snatched up a candlestick and laid him over the chaps with it; whereupon Mr. Leke being in the house, and hearing the bustle, with others came in with drawn swords, and the colonel took that opportunity to tell him, that he stood upon his justification, and desired to know his crime and his accusers, and that till then he was content to be kept as safe as they would have him, but desired to be delivered out of the hands of that insolent fellow, and to have accommodation fit for a gentleman; which, when they saw he would not be without, for he would eat no more meat in that house, they after two days removed him to the next inn, where he was civilly treated, with guards still remaining upon him.

It was not passion which made the colonel do this, for he was not at all angry, but despised all the malice of his enemies, but he having been now four days in Newark, Mr. Leke came every day to the house where he was kept by Leke's warrant, and never vouchsafed so much as to look on him, but put him into the hands of a drunken insolent host, who daily affronted him, which if he would have suffered, he saw would be continued upon him, therefore knowing that Leke was then in the house, he took that occasion to make him come to him, and thereupon obtained a remove to an accommodation more befitting a gentleman.

While he was at the other inn, several gentlemen of the king's party came to him, some whom he had known, and some whom he had never seen, complimenting him, as if he had not been a prisoner, which he very much admired at, and could yet never understand, for by his former usage he saw it was not their good-nature; but whether this carriage of his had made them believe innocency was the ground of his confidence, or whether the appearance of his great spirit had made them willing to oblige him, or whether even his virtue had struck them with a guilty dread of him, though a prisoner, certain it is, that some who had been his greatest enemies, began to flatter with him; whereupon in a bible he carried in his pocket, and marked upon all occasions, he marked that place, Prov. xvi. 7. "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him."

The 19th of October, Mr. Leke, with a party of horse, carried the colonel to the Marquis of Newcastle's, who treated him very honourably; and then falling into discourse with him, "Colonel," saith he, "they say you desire to know your accusers, which is more than I know." And thereupon very freely showed him the Duke of Buckingham's letter, commanding him to imprison the colonel and others, upon suspicion of a plot, which my lord was so fully satisfied the colonel was innocent of, that he dismissed him without a guard to his own house, only engaging him to stay there one week, till he gave account to the council, upon which he was confident of his liberty. The colonel thus dismissed came home, and upon the 22d day of October, a party of horse, sent only with a wretched corporal, came about 11 o'clock with a warrant from Mr. Leke, and fetched him back to Newark, to the inn where he was before. Mr. Twentimans, who being still civil to him, whispered him, as soon as he alighted, that it was determined he should be close prisoner; whereupon the colonel said he would no more pay any sentinels that they set upon him, yet they set two hired soldiers, having now dismissed the county, but the colonel forbade the inn to give them any drink, or anything else upon his account. The next day, being the 23d, Mr. Leke came to him and showed him a letter from my Lord Newcastle, wherein my lord wrote that he was sorry he could not pursue that kindness he intended the colonel, believing him innocent, for that he had received a command from Buckingham to keep him close prisoner, without pen, ink, or paper; and to show the reality of this, with the order he sent a copy of the duke's letter, which was also showed the colonel; and in it was this expression, "*that though he could not make it out as yet, he hoped he should bring Mr. Hutchinson into the plot.*" Mr. Leke having communicated these orders to Mr. Hutchinson, told him he was to go to London, and should leave him in the charge of the mayor of Newark.

Because here is so much noise of a plot, it is necessary to tell what it hath since appeared. The Duke of Buckingham set to work one Gore,

* This shows that the confinement of these persons lasted still longer than Col. Hutchinson's, and likewise that this history was written while the events were still recent and fresh in the memory.

sheriff of Yorkshire, and others, who sent out trepanners among the discontented people, to stir them to insurrection to restore the old parliament, gospel ministry, and English liberty, which specious things found very many ready to entertain them, and abundance of simple people were caught in the net; whereof some lost their lives, and others fled. But the colonel had no hand in it, holding himself obliged at that time to be quiet. It is true he still suspected insurrections of the papists, and had secured his house and his yards, better than it was the winter before, against any sudden night assaults.

After Mr. Leke was gone, the mayor, one Herring, of Newark, a rich, but simple fellow, sent the jailer to Mr. Hutchinson, to tell him he must go to his house; which the colonel refusing to do voluntarily, without a mittimus from some magistrate, the mayor sent five constables and two soldiers, who, by violence, both forced the colonel out of his quarters, and into the jail without any legal commitment, although the colonel warned both the jailor and the men of the danger of the law, by this illegal imprisonment. The colonel would not advance at all into the prison, into which the men would fain have intreated him; but when they saw they could not persuade, they violently thrust him in, where the jailor afterwards used him pretty civilly: but the room being unfit for him, he got cold and fell very sick, when, upon the 27th of October, Mr. Leke, with the marquis's secretary, came to him, and found him so, and acquainted him, that the marquis had received express orders from the king, to send him up in safe custody to London; Mr. Leke finding him so ill, was so civil as to permit him to go by his own house, which was as near a road, that he might there take accommodations for his journey, and be carried up at more ease in his own coach, Mr. Leke himself, being necessitated to make more haste than he could have done if he had stayed for the party that was to guard the colonel, went away before, and left his orders for sending him away with Mr. Atkinson, who first seized him. The same 27th day, at night, his house at Owthorpe was again searched, and he and his wife being abroad, all their boxes and cabinets broken open, and all their papers rifled, but yet for all this they could find nothing to colour their injustice to him.

Having been falsely and illegally imprisoned, from six of the clock on Friday night, the 23rd of October, till ten of the clock in the morning, October the 28th, he was then, in order to his going to London, brought by Beck the jailer to Twentimans', the inn, from whence he was haled, to stay there till a commanded party of the county horse came to guard him to London. But one division of the county who had warrants sent them, not coming in, Atkinson sent into that part where the colonel lived, and his own neighbours coming slowly and unwillingly to that service, he was forced to stay there all that day till night, in the custody of the jailor. At night, when he was in bed, the mayor, being drunk, commanded him to be carried back to the jail, but the jailer, weary of his drunken commands, sat up with two soldiers, and guarded him in the inn.

The next day the party not being come in, a mean fellow, that was appointed to command the colonel's guard, one Corporal Wilson, came and told him that he must not go by his own house, nor have the privilege of his coach, but be carried up another way; whereupon the colonel sent to Atkinson to desire him he might not be denied that civility Mr. Leke had allowed him; but, he was so peevish and obstinate, that the colonel was sending his son post to the Marquis of Newcastle's to complain of his malicious inhumanity, who would have forced him on horseback without any accommodation, when he was so ill that he could not have ridden one stage without manifest hazard of his life: and yet Mr. Cecil Cooper and Mr. Whally, though justices and deputy-lieutenants, could not prevail with him, till he saw the colonel as resolute as himself: and then at last, by their mediation (wherein Mr. Cecil Cooper did something redeem his former causeless hatred, which made him plunder the house, and detain the plunder when it was ordered back), the colonel, about sunset, was sent out of Newark, with those horse that were come in, to stay for the rest at his own house. Being driven in the night by an unskilful coachman, the coach was overturned and broken; but about twelve of the clock at night they came safe home. Thus the colonel took his last leave of Newark, which being a place he had formerly subdued, and replete with so many malicious enemies to the whole party, and more particularly to him, upon no other account but that he had been the most formidable protector of the other party in this country, he expected far worse treatment from the generality of the town; who were so far from joining in joy of his captivity, that when he was forced through their streets they gave him very civil respect, and when he came away civil farewells, and all muttered exceedingly at their mayor, and said he would undo their town by such simple illegal proceedings. The colonel regarded all these civilities from the town, who were generally much concerned in his injuries, and from Cooper and others, not as of themselves, but as from God, who at that time overawed the hearts of his enemies, as once he did Laban's and Esau's, and was much confirmed in the favour of God thereby, and nothing at all daunted at the malice of his prosecutors, but went as cheerfully into captivity as another would have come out of it.

They were forced to stay a day at Owthorpe, for the mending of the coach and coming in of the soldiers, where the colonel had the opportunity to take leave of his poor labourers, who wept all bitterly when he paid them off; but he comforted them and smiled, and without any regret went away from his bitterly weeping children, and servants, and tenants, his wife and his eldest son and daughter going with him, upon Saturday, the 31st of October.

Golding, the night before he went, had sent him a pot of marmalade to eat in the coach, and a letter to desire all grudges might be forgotten, and high flattering stuff, by his man that was to be one of the guard, which he said he had chosen out of the best he had, and his best horse, and if he did not pay him all respect he would turn him away; and as the colonel came by his door, came out with wine, and would fain have brought him into the house to eat oysters, but the colonel only drank with him, and bade him friendly farewell,

and went on, not guarded as a prisoner, but waited on by his neighbours. Mrs. Hutchinson was exceedingly sad, but he encouraged and kindly chid her out of it, and told her it would blemish his innocence for her to appear afflicted, and told her if she had but patience to wait the event, she would see it all for the best, and bade her be thankful for the mercy that she was permitted this comfort to accompany him in the journey, and with divers excellent exhortations cheered her, who was not wholly abandoned to sorrow while he was with her, who, to divert her, made himself sport with his guards, and deceived the way, till, upon the 3rd of November, he was brought to the Crown, in Holborn. From thence, the next day, he was carried by Mr. Leke to the Tower, and committed there close prisoner, by warrant, signed by Secretary Bennet*, the 20th of October, whereby he stood committed for treasonable practices, though he had never yet been examined by any magistrate, one or other. His wife, by his command, restrained herself as much as she could from showing her sadness, whom he bade to remember how often he had told her that God never preserved him so extraordinarily at first, but for some great work he had further for him to do or to suffer in this cause, and bade her be thankful for the mercy by which they had so long in peace enjoyed one another since this eminent change, and bade her trust God with him; whose faith and cheerfulness were so encouraging, that it a little upheld her; but, alas! her divining heart was not to be comforted: she remembered what had been told her of the cruel resolutions taken against him, and saw now the execution of them.

On Friday, Nov. the 6th, he was sent for by Secretary Bennet, to his lodgings at Whitehall, which was the first time he was examined, and the questions he asked him were:—1st. "Where he had lived this four or five months?" To which he answered, "Constantly at home, at his own house in Nottinghamshire." 2nd. "What company used to resort to his house?" He told him, "None, not so much as his nearest relations, who scarce ever saw him." 3rd. "What company he frequented?" He told him, "None, and that he never stirred out of his own house to visit any." Bennett said, "That was very much." 4th. "Whether he knew Mr. Henry Nevill?" He answered, "Very well." 5th. "When he saw him?" He said, "To his best remembrance, never since the king came in." 6th. "When he writ to him?" He said, "Never in his life?" 7th. "When Mr. Nevill writ to him?" He said, "Never." 8th. "Whether any messages had passed between them?" He said, "None at all." 9th. "Whether none had moved anything to him concerning a republic?" He said, "He knew none so indiscreet." 10th. "What children he had?" He said, "Four sons and four daughters." 11th. "How old his sons were?" He said, "Two were at men's estate, and two little children." 12th. "Whether his sons had not done anything to injure him?" He replied, "Never that he knew of, and he was confident they had not." 13th. "Where he went to church to hear divine service, common prayer?" He said, "No where, for he never stirred out of his own house." 14th. "Whether he heard it not read there?" He answered, "To speak ingenuously, No." 15th. "How he then did for his soul's comfort?" He replied, "Sir, I hope you leave me that to account between God and my own soul." Then Bennet told him his answers to these had cut him off of many questions he should have asked, and he might return. So he was carried back to the Tower with only two of the warders which brought him thither.

Not long after one Waters was brought prisoner out of Yorkshire, a fellow of a timorous spirit, who being taken, was in so great a fear, that he accused many guilty and not guilty, to save himself; caused his own wife to be put in prison and hanged the dearest friend he had in the world, and brought his wife's brother into the same danger; some say through fear, others that he was a trepanner from the beginning, for he drew in all the people whom he accused. Whatever he were, he was so utter a stranger to Col. Hutchinson, that he never saw his face; yet that day he was examined at Whitehall, Col. Hutchinson was in great haste fetched away from his dinner at the Tower, and told he should be examined in the king's own hearing, which he was very glad of, and, with great haste and formality and strictness he was carried by the deputy-lieutenant and a strong guard by water from the Tower to Whitehall; and when he came to land at Whitehall stairs, one Andrews an officer, with two files of musketeers, was ready to receive him, and led him to Bennet's lodgings, where he observed a great deal of care to place the guard at the outward door in the court, and to keep the chamber door continually shut, that none might peep in, but a few gentlemen who were admitted to come now and then and stare him in the face at the door, but none were in the room for a long space but Andrews and himself, till at the last his keeper thrust in. The colonel, having staid two hours, concluded that he should now be confronted by some accuser, or at least have an examination more tending to treasonable practices than his first seemed to do, especially understanding that Mr. Waters had been many hours before in the house, and was yet there. But at last, *parturiunt montes!* and out comes Secretary Bennet! who taking him to a window apart from Mr. Andrews and the keeper, most formally begins thus: "Mr. Hutchinson, you have now been some days in prison, have you recollected yourself any more to say than when I last spoke to you?" Mr. Hutchinson answered, "He had nothing to recollect, nor more to say." "Are you sure of that?" said the secretary. "Very sure," said Mr. Hutchinson. "Then," said Bennet, "you must return to prison." And accordingly he was carried by the same guard back again to the Tower, where he was kept with a great deal of strictness, and some weeks before his wife was admitted to see him; for whom, at the last, Sir Allen Apsley procured an order that she might visit him, but they limited it that it must not be but in the presence of his keeper. The lieutenant, in hope of a fee, gave leave that her son and daughter might go into the room with her, who else must have stood without doors; but he would not permit her to take lodgings in the Tower, which, being in a

* Sir Harry Bennet, afterwards created Earl of Arlington.

sharp winter season, put her to great toil and inconvenience, besides excessive charge of providing his meat at the Tower, and her company in another place: meanwhile he was kept close prisoner, and had no air allowed him, but a pair of leads over his chamber, which were so high and cold he had no benefit by them; and every night he had three doors shut upon him, and a sentinel at the outmost. His chamber was a room where 'tis said the two young princes, King Edward the Fifth and his brother, were murdered in former days, and the room that led to it was a dark great room, that had no window in it, where the portcullis to one of the inward Tower gates was drawn up and let down, under which there sat every night a court of guard. There is a tradition, that in this room the Duke of Clarence was drowned in a butt of malmsey; from which murder, this room and that joining it where Mr. Hutchinson lay, was called the Bloody Tower. Between Mr. Hutchinson's chamber and the dark room there was a door, which Mr. Hutchinson desired the lieutenant might be left open in the night, because it left a little necessary house open to the chamber, which he and his man had occasion of in the night, having gotten fluxes with their bad accommodations and diet: but the lieutenant would not allow it him, although, when that was open, there were two doors more shut upon him, and he could not have any way attempted any escape, but he must, if it had been possible to work through the walls, have fallen upon a court of guard.

Notwithstanding all this strictness, which was exercised also to most of the other prisoners, yet their own sentinels hated the lieutenant, and his Cerberus, Cresset, because they cheated them, and had nothing of generosity or bounty to engage the hearts of their soldiers, who, seeing so much of their wickedness, abhorred them, and pitied the poor gentlemen that were so barbarously used by them: and whether out of humanity, or necessity, or villany, I know not, but they would offer the prisoners many courtesies, and convey letters between them. Mr. Hutchinson was never so imprudent to trust any of them with his, having within an hour of his imprisonment been instructed by another prisoner a safer and more convenient way; yet was it their interest to use courteously all those that offered themselves to do them service. Among the rest, as he was one day sitting by the fire, the sentinel at the door peeped in his head and called to him: "Sir," said he, "God bless you! I have sometimes guarded you in another manner at the parliament-house, and am grieved to see the change of your condition, and only take this employment now, to be more able to serve you, still hoping to see you restored to what I have seen you." The colonel not turning his head, told the man that language suited not the coat he wore, bade him mind his present duty, and told him he had no employment of his service. "Well," said the soldier, "I perceive, Sir, you dare not trust me, but my Lady Vane and my Lady Lambert know me, and if you have any service to command me to them, I will bring you a testimony from them." The colonel took no more notice of him, but the fellow, officious, or hoping to get money, went to my Lady Lambert's house, and told her that he had formerly been her husband's soldier and that he wished his restitution, and that he used sometimes to guard the prisoners, and would carry her letters to any of them, and that he had been sentinel lately at Colonel Hutchinson's chamber, and would carry any thing she would send to him. She only bade him remember her service to him, and tell him she wished him liberty; and the fellow flattering her with professing his love to her lord, she expressed some pleasure with his speeches, and gave him some money; which her daughter considering, as soon as he was gone out told her that she had done unwarily to open herself so much to one of the soldiers in present employment, whom she did not know but he might be set on purpose to trepan her. My lady, to prevent any inconvenience of her error, thought it the best way to go immediately and complain that one of the soldiers had come to her to trepan her, under colour of a message from Col. Hutchinson, which she had not entertained; and desired they might not be allowed in any such thing, protesting her own loyalty and readiness to discover any that were false to them. This was extremely well represented of her at the court, and as ill of Col. Hutchinson, that he had not done the like; and Col. Leg, whose company it was that then had the guard of the Tower, was commanded to find out and punish this soldier, who, it proved after, was a good honest fellow, and was the only protestant in that company, the rest being most of them Irish and papists, and some rebels. This poor fellow, having been a parliament soldier, listed among them to get a living, but was very tender-hearted to the prisoners, and had a desire to do them kindness. Hereupon he came to the colonel's man and desired his master would not own him, and that he would send to my Lady Lambert to do the same, which the colonel did: but when she was sent to by him, she sent a maid to see all the soldiers, who owned the man, and he was put in prison, and cashiered and undone, for nothing but offering his service to have done the prisoners slight services; and Col. Hutchinson was ill thought of at the court, because when Col. Leg brought his men under the window of his prison, and came up to Mr. Hutchinson and desired him to view them all, he would not accuse any of them, which if he had he would not only have cut off his own, but all the other prisoners' ways, of sending to their friends abroad; yet he never made use of this fellow, nor any of them, in any business of trust, although he thought it not good to discourage any that appeared to wish them well, among so many bloody murderers as they were given up to.

The colonel endured his prison patiently till the trial of those they called conspirators in Yorkshire was over; but when he had lain from November till Candlemas term in prison, he sent his wife to Secretary Bennet to desire that such persons as had business with him might have the liberty to come to him. She had before been with some of the private council who were her husband's friends and allies, to complain of his unjust imprisonment, and his harsh usage there, contrary to all law, from the beginning to the ending, even their own laws, and they had told her that they were sensible of it, but that they only stood for ciphers, while the chancellor and Bennet managed all things without their privity, in most oppressive and illegal ways. She, as she was advised, went therr-

fore to Bennet and told him that, by reason of some engagements for money her husband had upon his estate, this very close imprisonment had been infinitely prejudicial to him, both his tenants and his creditors taking advantages of his incapacity, by reason of his close restraint, to defend himself, or to speak with lawyers or others about affairs that nearly concerned his estate; besides the neglect of all his business, and the intolerable charge and inconvenience of his disordered family, dispersed into three several places, which would suddenly bring ruin upon his whole family, besides the destruction of his health. Bennet told her, her husband was a very unfortunate person in regard of his former crimes. She told him, she had rather hoped he had been happy in being comprised in the act of oblivion, which allowed him not to be remembered as a criminal, and that she had chosen to make her addresses to him in this occasion, because some of the counsel had told her the king left all the management of these things to him. He was very urgent with her to know who it was that informed her that he was the sole actor in these businesses; but she desired to be excused for naming any author in that thing, which she had not mentioned but that she thought it his honour to own: but he told her, he would not move for any more liberty for her husband than he had, unless he could be secured it might be done with more safety to his majesty than he could apprehend it. "But," said he, "Mrs. Hutchinson, I have some papers of yours which I would show, not to examine you, but to see whether you will inform me anything of them." She told him she had curiosity enough to see anything that passed under her name; whereupon he called forth his man, who brought out a great bundle of papers, called examinations, taken at Grantham, of passages between Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Vane. First he showed her a character which contained ciphers for the names of many gentlemen and women who were not very distant neighbours, with others whom she knew not at all. She told him she understood nothing at all of that paper; then he turned down the rest, and showed her a letter, beginning, "My dear Amaranta;" which she told him she knew not at all. "But," said he, "you will yet own your own hand;" and showed her among these papers the copy of the letter that was sent to the house of parliament in her husband's name, written in her hand, which when she saw she was a little confounded, wondering how it should come into his hands; but she told him that she could not absolutely say that was her writing, though it had some resemblance; and so when she had again urged the business she came for, and could obtain nothing from him, she went away, and left in the room with the secretary Sir Robert Biron, a cousin-german of her husband's, who was by chance come in thither upon some business of his own, and had stood by while she urged to the secretary the mischief and ruin her husband's imprisonment brought upon his family and estate. As soon as she was gone, the secretary told Sir Robert that he had heard Mrs. Hutchinson relate the sad condition of her husband and his house; "and," said he, "you may here take notice how the justice of God pursues those murderers, that, though the king pardoned both his life and estate, by the hand of the divine justice, they were now like to come to ruin for that crime;" which words being told Mr. Hutchinson, he laughed much at the simple folly of the man, that could call his own illegal persecutions and oppressions of innocence the judgments of God. The papers which he showed Mrs. Hutchinson she after learnt to have been some letters between Mrs. Vane, one of Sir Henry Vane's daughters, and one Mrs. Hutchinson, a gentlewoman that used to come thither, filled with such frivolous intelligence of private amours and intrigues as young people use to communicate to their confidants, and such as any wise statesman would have believed himself affronted to have had brought to him, and not made such politic inquiries, and imprisoned those with whom they were found, about so unconcerning a matter.

Mr. Henry Nevill and Mr. Salloway had been put into the Tower about the same suspicion they had of Mr. Hutchinson, a northern plot, for which there was a peculiar assizes, and some men were executed; and the judges, at their return, said that their confessions almost amounted to treason; but that almost served their turns. As soon as those assizes were past, Mr. Hutchinson sent to Mr. Nevill and Mr. Salloway that he thought it now time for them to endeavour their liberty, and therefore desired to know what course they intended to proceed in, that they might all take one way. They both sent Mr. Hutchinson word that they looked upon him as the best befriended, and they were resolved to see first what success he had, and to make him their leading card. Hereupon he, fearful to do anything that they could not, sat still deliberating, while they, without giving him the least notice, wrought their own liberties secretly, Mr. Nevill desiring to travel, and Mr. Salloway making such a false, flattering petition, that no honest man could make such another, and a less after his would have but more exasperated. It took so, that immediately he had his liberty, both of them taking some oaths to confirm their loyalty, which were given them by the clerk of the Tower. They had a mind at court Mr. Hutchinson should have made such another petition, and therefore Salloway's was showed to a friend of his; the words of which were, "That since God by his miraculous providence had set his majesty over us, he had acquiesced thankfully under it, and never, not so much as in thought, made a wish against it;" and promises of the like nature: which perhaps were no truer than the professions, for they were utterly false; for at his first coming into the Tower no man had muttered more than he, who scarce refrained even blasphemies against God himself for bringing him into bondage. After his release he went to their common prayer, and pleased them so well that 'twas said they would give him an office. But when they found that, notwithstanding their hint, Mr. Hutchinson would not follow his example, their malice grew very bitter against him at the court, insomuch that a gentleman having treated with Mrs. Hutchinson for a niece of his, to whom he was guardian, that would have been a convenient fortune for her son, the chancellor sent for the gentleman and peremptorily forbade him to proceed in the affair, and openly said, "*he must keep their family down.*"

Mr. Hutchinson was not at all dismayed, but wonderfully pleased with all these things, and told his wife this captivity was the happiest release in the

world to him; for before, although he had made no express engagement, yet, in regard his life and estate had been freely left him, when they took away others, he thought himself obliged to sit still all the while this king reigned, whatever opportunity he might have; but now he thought this usage had utterly disobliged him from all ties either of honour or conscience, and that he was free to act as prudence should hereafter lead him, and that he thought not his liberty out of prison worth the purchase by any future engagement, which would again fetter him in obligations to such persons as every day more and more manifested themselves enemies to all just and godly interests. He therefore charged his wife that she should not make applications to any person whatsoever, and made it his earnest request to Sir Allen Apsley to let him stand and fall by his own innocency, and to undertake nothing for him, which, if he did, he told him he would disown. Mrs. Hutchinson, remembering how much she had displeased him in saving him before, submitted now to suffer with him, according to his own will, who, as he would do nothing that might entangle him for his freedom, so he patiently suffered their unjust bondage, and had no guilt found in him, yet was cruelly and maliciously persecuted and hated; and criminals, with threats and promises, were tried all ways to see if they could have brought out any accusation against him, but all they could arrive to was only that he was an unchanged person: yet they kept him still as close prisoner as at the first. After Salloway was released, Sir Allen Apsley asking the chancellor why his brother was not as well let out as Salloway; "What," said the chancellor, "make you no difference between your brother and Salloway?" Sir Allen replied, he thought his brother as innocent. "Surely," said the chancellor, "there is a great difference: Salloway conforms to the government, and goes to church, but your brother is the most unchanged person of the party."

The colonel at last with some other prisoners were deliberating to sue out a habeas corpus, and in order thereunto sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to desire a copy of the warrant whereby he stood committed, which indeed was so imperfect, that he could not legally be kept upon that, for there was neither his Christian name nor any place of residence mentioned in it, so that any other Hutchinson might have as well been kept upon it as he; but the lieutenant refused to give him a copy, and his jailer told the prisoner it was altered, after they had kept him four or five months in prison: then the colonel wrote to Bennet, but neither could he obtain any copy of his commitment from him.

After this a friend gave him notice that they had a design to transport him to some island or plantation; whereupon he wrote a narrative of his imprisonment, and procured it to be secretly printed, to have left behind him, if he had been sent away, to acquaint the parliament, which was then shortly to assemble, and to leave with his friends; but he kept them in the mean time privately.

At length, through the lies that the lieutenant of the Tower made of his prisoners, and the malice of their wicked persecutors, who envied even the bread which charity sent in to feed some of the men whose estates were wholly taken away, warrants were signed for carrying away most of the prisoners, some to Tangier, and to other barbarous and distant places: among the rest Col. Hutchinson was designed to the Isle of Man, which Sir Allen Apsley hearing of, told the king he had some private business of trusts with the colonel concerning his own estate, for which he obtained that he might be respited three months, and have liberty for lawyers to come to him. But when the colonel heard of it, he was more displeased with this petty favour than with all their rigour, and resolved to have done something to reverse it, but that his wife persuaded him to rest till she made a short voyage into the country to fetch him supplies, which he did.

As soon as she was gone, the lieutenant of the Tower sent his jailor, Mr. Edward Creaset, early in the morning, upon the 16th day of April, 1664, to fetch Mr. Hutchinson to his lodgings, whither being come, Creaset withdrew, and the lieutenant told Mr. Hutchinson that he had been civil to him in permitting his children to come to him with their mother, and yet he had not paid him his fees and dues, although that warrant which allowed the access of his wife did not mention his children, and therefore he now demanded his dues. Mr. Hutchinson told him, "At his departure out of the Tower he should not be behindhand with him for the civility of suffering his children to come to him." Robinson replied, "That signified nothing, he expected his dues, and would have them." Mr. Hutchinson answered, "His was not every prisoner's condition, for he had been now twenty-four weeks kept close prisoner, and yet never knew accuser nor accusation against him, and therefore he should desire to consider before he parted from his money; but for any civilities he should repay them." Robinson said, "He meddled with no man's crimes, but, whether guilty or not guilty, he expected his dues, which he could recover by law if they were refused." Mr. Hutchinson asking, "What they were?" He said, "Fifty pounds." Further demanding, "By what law they were due, so as he could recover them?" Robinson answered, "By custom." Mr. Hutchinson told him, "He was confident that pretence would not recover them; and if he thought it would, he would go to a civil and fair trial with him the next term; yet due or not due, what civilities he either had or should afford him, he would recompense at parting." Robinson answered, "He stood upon his right, and he would make Mr. Hutchinson or somebody else pay it." Mr. Hutchinson told him, "He knew not who he meant by somebody else, but if his liberty were taken from him without any reason that he knew, he would not so part with his money, if he could help it." He then, in anger, said, "He would lock him up close, and let nobody come at him." Mr. Hutchinson told him, "He could be locked no closer than he had been all this time, and he hoped he would not forbid those coming to him who had warrant from the secretary; for the rest, he might use his pleasure." He, in fury, commanded to take away Mr. Hutchinson, and lock him up that no person might come at him; and gave order at the Tower gates to keep out his children and all his relations that should come to inquire for him; and he sent word to Sergeant Fountaine, who had

an order to come in, that he should not be admitted, although his business was of great concernment to others, and not to Col. Hutchinson, who being a trustee for some of his relations, was to have made some settlements in their affairs; which could not be done, but they, to their prejudice, were forced to go without it. Although his commands were executed to the full, yet Mr. Hutchinson's eldest son found means to steal into the Tower, and to inform his father of a malicious lie that the lieutenant had made of him at court, that day that he fell out with him; which was this.—Robinson told the king, that when Mr. Henningham and others were carried out of the Tower to be shipped away, Mr. Hutchinson looking out of his window bade them take courage, they should yet have a day for it. This lie coming to Mr. Hutchinson's knowledge the 19th of April, moved him more than all his other base usage; whereupon he wrote a letter to Robinson to tell him he should have had a care of provoking his prisoners to speak, who had so much exposed himself to every one of them; and to let him know what he himself had observed and could prove, he drew it up into certain heads, which he told him, if he continued his vile usage of him, he would publish. The articles were:

1st. That Robinson had affirmed that the king gave no allowance to his prisoners, not so much as to those who had all their estates taken from them: and accordingly he gave them none, but converted what the king allowed to his own use, and threatened some of the prisoners with death if they offered to demand it; and suffered others, at twelve of the clock in the night, to make such a miserable outcry for bread, that it was heard into some parts of the city, and one was absolutely starved to death for want of relief; although the king at that time told a prisoner, that he took more care for the prisoners than for his own table.

2nd. That he set down to the king seven pounds a week for one prisoner, for whom he never laid out above twenty-seven or thirty shillings a week at the most.

3rd. That he not only kept back the prisoners' allowances, but exacted of them excessive rents for bare prison lodgings, and empty warders' houses unfurnished; and if they have not punctually paid him, hath stifled them up by close imprisonment, without any order, although he knew they had not a penny to buy bread, but what came from the charity of good people.

4th. That he received salary of the king for forty warders, and had not near so many, but filled up the list with false names, and took the pay to himself.

5th. That when he had received money for those warders he kept, he had detained it many months to his own use, while the poor men were thereby in miserable wants.

6th. That he sold the warders' places, and let them houses at a dear rate, and yet took the most considerable prisoners, which ought to have been committed to them, into his own house, and made them pay him excessive rates for bed-rooms, and set his man Cressett, over them, making them pay him for attendance, what the warders should have had.

7th. That he made many false musters in his own company belonging to the Tower, and though he had received the soldiers' money, was run in arrears to them five or six pounds a man; at which they cruelly murmured, because by this means their maintenance was straitened, and their duty brought more frequent upon them.

8th. That notwithstanding all his defrauding, oppressive, and exacting ways of raising money, he had ungratefully complained of the king's scanty recompense of his service.

9th. That after the starving of the poor prisoners and the miserable outcry, when shame forced him to allow about a dozen poor tradesmen ten shillings a-piece, though at that time he received forty of the king for each of them, he and his man Cressett denied the king's allowance, and said it was his own charity.

10th. That he was frequently drunk, out of the Tower till twelve, one, and two of the clock, and threatened one of the warders, who came one night to fetch him home, with Newgate, and spited him ever after.

All these things being notoriously true, this letter put him into a great rage, and no less dread that the colonel, as he had threatened him, would publish it; whereupon, as soon as these things were laid to his charge, within ten days he paid his soldiers 15 months pay of 22 due to them when the letter was written, he having all that while kept back eighteen pence a week out of every soldier's pay: and the soldiers understanding that Col. Hutchinson's observations of his fraud had procured them this satisfaction, used to give him thanks when they came to stand sentinels at his door.

Presently after he received the letter, he went to Sir Allen Apsley and complained to him that the colonel had sent him a vile letter, but did not show it Sir Allen, as he sent word to the colonel he would; whereupon Sir Allen Apsley sent Mr. George Hutchinson with a letter to Sir John Robinson, to tell him that if he would let him go to his brother, he doubted not but he would be a good means to persuade the colonel to pay him fees, and to reconcile differences between them. Sir John, upon the 21st of April, went along with Mr. George Hutchinson to his brother, and at his entrance, in a passion began to quarrel at the colonel's sour looks; who told him, if he had known they would not have pleased him, and had had notice of his coming, he would have set them in a glass for him. Then Robinson told him, in a rage, he had written him a libel. Mr. Hutchinson answered it was no libel, for he had set his name to it, and it was truths, which if he put him to, he could prove by sufficient testimonies. Whereupon he fell into horrible railing and cruel language, but by Mr. George Hutchinson's interposition at length all was pacified, and he was fairly going out of the room with Mr. George Hutchinson, when his man Cressett minding him that the colonel had a foul copy of his letter, and had said he would send it to Sir Allen, who had desired to see it; Robinson resolved to take that draught away from him; but the colonel foreseeing that, had sent copies of it long before out of the Tower, which Robinson's dull head not dreaming of came back and insolently commanded the colonel to give him the first draught of the letter. The colonel desired to be excused, whereupon Robinson said he would have his pockets searched, and accordingly bade Cressett

feel in them. He, a little moved, took a bottle in his hand, and bade Cressett forbear if he loved his head, and told Sir John if he had any warrant to search him from the king or council he would submit to it, but otherwise he would not suffer it, especially for a paper which was only of private concernment between them; for all this, when Sir John saw that Cressett durst not approach the colonel, he commanded one Wale, a warder, to search his pockets, who coming with entreaties to the colonel to permit it, he suffered him; and then the lieutenant caused a little dressing-box which the colonel had to be opened, and took away all the papers he found in it, among which there was one wherein the colonel had written a verse out of the 43d psalm (it was the first verse) to be joined with a narrative of his imprisonment, that he had provided to leave behind him for the satisfaction of his friends. This paper Robinson carried to court, and said, that by the deceitful and unjust man the colonel intended the king, although the application was of his own making. In the mean time, while they were ransacking his box and pockets Robinson fell a railing at the colonel, giving him the base terms of Rebel and Murderer, and such language as none could have learnt, but such as had been conversant among the civil society of Pickt-hatch, Turnbull-street, and Billings-gate, near which last place the hero had his education. When the colonel patiently told him he transgressed the act of oblivion, he said he knew that well enough, and bade him sue out his remedy; then in fury and rage turned out the colonel's servant out of his chamber, who had been locked up with him all the time of his imprisonment, and left him altogether unattended, which having never been before in his whole life, put him into a cold and a flux, with a feverish distemper: but the greatness of his mind was not broken by the feebleness of his constitution, nor the barbarous inhumanity of his jailers, which he received with disdain and laughed at them, but lost not anger on them.

After these things, Mrs. Hutchinson coming out of the country, was, by the lieutenant's order, denied to see her husband, but at her lodgings found letters from him conveyed to her every day, spite of all his guards; and thereupon she wrote to Robinson to desire to know whether the secretary had countermanded her first order to see her husband, or whether he denied obedience to it: whereupon Robinson sent to her to come to him the next day, but when she came he was gone forth, and she was not admitted within the gates, and thereupon she went back to her lodgings and wrote him a smart letter, and sent him with it a copy of her husband's letter, which she told him she would publish, and not suffer him to be murdered to extort undue money from him. The next day, being the Lord's day, he sent one of the warders to entreat her to come to her husband, and the blood-hound Cressett met her at the gate, and led her to her husband, and left her all the day alone with him, which they had never before done all the time of his prison; and in the evening Sir John Robinson sent for her, and partly expostulated with her and partly flattered, and told her her husband had been sent to the Isle of Man, but that he in kindness had procured a better place for him, and that he was not covetous, but since her husband would not pay him fees, he might use his pleasure, and she and his children and relations might freely go to him. She received this as befitted her, being in his hands, and knowing, that not good-nature, but fear she would have printed him, moved him to this gentler course, as she understood, both by the inquiries his servants made of the colonel's warder concerning her intentions, and by Robinson's continuing, notwithstanding all this dissimulation, to make a thousand false insinuations of the colonel everywhere, and to do him all ill offices at court. If there were not a more abominable wickedness than all this, a lingering poison given him, which though we had not wickedness enough to suspect then, the events that have since ensued make a little doubtful. It is certain that Cressett did make that attempt upon Sir Henry Vane and others, and two or three days before the colonel was sent away, brought into his chamber, when he came to lock him up at night, a bottle of excellent wine, under pretence of kindness, which he, the colonel, and the warder drunk together, and the warder and the colonel both died within four months: the colonel presently after falling sick, but very unsuspicious, and we must leave it to the great day, when all crimes, how secret soever, will be made manifest, whether they added poison to all the other iniquity whereby they certainly murdered this guiltless servant of God.

A few days after, at nine of the clock at night, after his wife was gone from him, Cressett brought the colonel a warrant, to tell him that he must, the next morning tide, go down to Sandown Castle, in Kent; which he was not surprised at, it being the barbarous custom of that place to send away the prisoners, when they had no knowledge, nor time to accommodate themselves for their journey; but instead of putting him into a boat at the morning tide, about eight of the clock, Sir Henry Wroth came with a party of horse to receive him of the lieutenant, and finding him sick, and not well able to endure riding in the heat of the day, was so civil as to let him go by water in the evening tide to Gravesend, with a guard of soldiers in boats hired at his own charge, where the horse guard met him. By these means he got opportunity to take leave of his children that were in town, and about four of the clock was sent out of the Tower, with one Gregory, designed to be his fellow-prisoner; who going over the drawbridge, turned back to the lieutenant, and told him he would have accepted it as a greater mercy if the king had commanded him to be shot to death there, rather than to send him to a distant place to be starved, he having nothing but his trade to maintain him, and his friends, from whom he should now be so far removed that he could expect nothing. The lieutenant in scorn told him, he went with a charitable man that would not suffer him to starve, whereby he exposed the malice of their intentions to the colonel; who thought it not enough to send him to a far prison not much differing from exile, but to charge him with a companion, which however his kindness might have rendered him charitable to, yet they ought not to have put upon him, neither would the colonel take notice of their imposition, though he designed kindness to the man, had he been worthy of it.

The colonel's wife and children got a boat and

followed him to Gravesend, whither also Gregory's wife, and one that called him brother, went; and that night all the company and all the guards supped at the colonel's charge, and many of the guards lay in the chamber with him, who, with refreshment of the evening air, and the content he took to be out of Robinson's claws, found himself, or through the liveliness of his spirit fancied himself, something better then he was in the Tower. The next morning very early, his guards hurried him away on horseback; but, to speak truth, they were civil to him. His son went along with him to see the place he was sent to, and Sir Allen Apsley had procured an order for his servant to continue with him in the prison; his wife went back to London, to stay there to provide him such accommodation as she should hear he had need of.

When he came to the castle, he found it a lamentable old ruined place, almost a mile distant from the town, the rooms all out of repair, not weather-free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any conveniency of life. Before he came, there were not above half-a-dozen soldiers in it, and a poor lieutenant with his wife and children, and two or three cannoneers, and a few guns almost dismounted, upon rotten carriages; but at the colonel's coming thither, a company of foot more were sent from Dover to help guard the place, pitiful weak fellows, half starved and eaten up with vermin, whom the governor of Dover cheated of half their pay and the other half they spent in drink. These had no beds, but a nasty court of guard, where a sutler lived, within a partition made of boards, with his wife and family; and this was all the accommodation the colonel had for his victuals, which was bought at a dear rate at the town, and most horribly dressed at the sutler's. For beds he was forced to send to an inn in the town, and at a most unconscionable rate hire three, for himself, and his man, and Capt. Gregory, and to get his chamber glazed, which was a thoroughfare room, that had five doors in it, and one of them opened upon a platform, that had nothing but the bleak air of the sea, which, every tide, washed the foot of the castle walls; which air made the chamber so unwholesome and damp, that even in the summer time the colonel's hat-case and trunks, and everything of leather, would be every day all covered over with mould,—wipe them as clean as you could one morning, by the next they would be mouldy again; and though the walls were four yards thick, yet it rained in through cracks in them, and then one might sweep a peck of saltpetre off of them every day, which stood in a perpetual sweat upon them. Notwithstanding all this, the colonel was very cheerful, and made the best shifts he could with things as he found them, when the lieutenant's wife seeing his stomach could not well bear his food, offered to board him, and so he and his man dieted with her for twenty shillings a-week, he finding wine besides, and linen, &c. Whilst the sutler provided his meat, Gregory ate with him; but when he tabled with the captain, Gregory's son coming to him, he had his meat from the town, and soon after a woman came down who left not the man destitute and comfortless. The worst part of the colonel's sufferings in this prison, was the company of this fellow, who being a fellow-prisoner, and poor, and the colonel having no particular retreat, he could not wholly decline his company; and he being a carnal person, without any fear of God, or any good, but rather scandalous conversation, he could take no pleasure in him; meanwhile many of his friends gave caution to his wife concerning him, as suspecting him a trepanner, which we had after some cause to fear.

The captain of the castle, one Freeman, had all this while a chamber which was a little warmer, and had a bed in it, but this he reserved, intending to set a rate upon it, and this too was so dark, one could not have read by the fire or the bedside without a candle at noon-day.

When the colonel's wife understood her husband's bad accommodation, she made all the means she could by her friends to procure liberty that she might be in the castle with him, but that was absolutely denied; whereupon she and her son and daughter went to Deal, and there took lodgings, from whence they walked every day on foot to dinner and back again at night, with horrible toil and inconvenience, and procured the captain's wife to diet them with the colonel, where they had meat good enough, but through the poverty of the people, and their wants of all necessaries, and the faculty to order things as they should be, it was very inconvenient to them; yet the colonel endured it so cheerfully that he was never more pleasant and contented in his whole life. When no other recreations were left him, he diverted himself with sorting and shadowing cockle shells which his wife and daughter gathered for him, with as much delight as he used to take in the richest agates and onyxes he could compass with the most artificial engravings, which were things, when he recreated himself from more serious studies, he as much delighted in as any piece of art. But his fancy showed itself so excellent in sorting and dressing these shells, that none of us could imitate it, and the cockles began to be admired by several persons that saw them. These were but his trifling diversions, his business and continual study was the Scripture, which the more he conversed in, the more it delighted him; insomuch that his wife having brought down some books to entertain him in his solitude, he thanked her, and told her that if he should continue as long as he lived in prison, he would read nothing there but his Bible.

His wife bore all her own toils joyfully enough for the love of him, but could not but be very sad at the sight of his undeserved sufferings; and he would very sweetly and kindly chide her for it, and tell her that if she were but cheerful, he should think this suffering the happiest thing that ever befel him; he would also bid her consider what reason she had to rejoice that the Lord supported him, and how much more intolerable it would have been if the Lord had suffered his spirit to have sunk, or his patience to have been lost under this. One day when she was weeping, after he had said many things to comfort her, he gave her reasons why she should hope and be assured that this cause would revive, because the interest of God was so much involved in it that he was entitled to it. She told him she did not doubt but the cause would revive, but, said she, notwithstanding all your resolution, I know this will conquer the weakness of your constitution, and you will die in prison. He replied, I think I

shall not, but if I do, my blood will be so innocent, I shall advance the cause more by my death, hasting the vengeance of God upon my unjust enemies, than I could do by all the actions of my life. Another time, when she was telling him, she feared they had placed him on the sea-shore but in order to transport him to Tangier, he told her, if they should, God was the same God at Tangier as at Owthorpe; prithee, said he, trust God with me, if he carry me away, he will bring me back again.

Sometimes when he would not be persuaded to do things wherein he had a liberty, for fear of putting a snare and stumbling-block before others that had not so, and she would expostulate with him, why he should make himself a martyr for people that had been so censorious of him, and so unthankful and insensible of all his merits; he would say, he did it not for them, but for the cause they owned. When many ill usages of himself by godly people have been urged to him, he would say, that if they were truly the people of God, all their failings were to be borne; that if God had a people in the land, as he was confident he had, it was among them, and not among the cavaliers, and therefore although he should ever be severe against their miscarriages in any person in whomsoever he found them, yet he would adhere to them that owned God, how unkindly soever they dealt with him. Sometimes he would say, that if ever he should live to see the parliament power up again, he would never meddle any more either in councils or armies: and then sometimes again, when he saw or heard of any of the debaucheries of the times, he would say, he would act only as a justice of the peace in the country, and be severe against drunkards, and suffer none in his neighbourhood. Oftentimes he would say, if ever he were at liberty in the world, he would flee the conversation of the cavaliers, and would write upon his doors,

Procul hinc, procul este, profani!

and that, though he had, in his former conversation with them, never had any communication with their manners nor vices, yet henceforth he would never, in one kind or other, have any commerce at all with them; and indeed it was a resolution he would oftener repeat than any other he had, telling us, that he was convinced there was a serpentine seed in them. Yet he had many apprehensions of the rash hot-headed spirits of many of our party, and fears that their pride and self-conceit of their own abilities, would again bring us to confusion, if ever they should have the reins again in their hands; and therefore he would bid us advise his son, if ever we lived to see a change, and would himself advise him not to fall in with the first, how fair soever their pretences were; but to wait to see how their practices suited them: for he would say, that a hot-spirited people would first get up and put all into confusion, and then a sober party must settle things; and he would say, let my son stay to fall in with these. He foresaw that the courses that the king and his party took to establish themselves would be their ruin, and would say, that whenever the king had an army it would be his destruction. Once when his wife was lamenting his condition, having said many things to comfort her, he told her he could not have been without this affliction, for if he had flourished while all the people of God were corrected, he should have feared he had not been accounted among his children, as he had not shared their lot. Then would he with thankfulness repeat the kind and gentle dealings of the Lord at all times toward him, and erect a firm and mighty hope upon it, and wonderfully encourage her to bear it patiently, not only by words, but by his own admirable example.

After Mr. Hutchinson had been some time prisoner at Sandown, the governor of the castle came over, and would fain have let him his chamber for 20*s.* a week, which Mr. Hutchinson told him he would give him if his wife might come there to him; but the governor refused that without an express order, which was endeavoured, but could not be obtained. Then Freeman demanded a mark a-week of the colonel for fees, but the colonel told him, except he could show how it was due by any known law, he would not pay it. Some time after the governor of Dover came over with the governor of Sandown and one Mr. Masters, and Freeman consulting his master of Dover how he should get money of the colonel, the governor of Dover advised to put him into a dungeon, but the fellow durst not attempt it. Yet some time after he came to the castle, and passing into his own chamber through Mr. Hutchinson's, who was there, as he went by with his lieutenant Moyle at his heels, he called out to Mr. Hutchinson's man, and bade him bid Hutchinson come to him, without any addition of so much as the title of a gentleman. Mrs. Hutchinson being then in the room with her husband, desired him she might go in with him and answer the captain's insolency, and that he would take no notice of it which he told her he would not, neither should she, and so they went into the captain's chamber, who had also called Gregory. When they were both there, the captain turning to Moyle said, "Captain Moyle, I ordain you to quarter Hutchinson and Gregory together in the next room, and if Hutchinson will make a partition at his own charge, he may have that part of the chamber that has the chimney, and for this expect a mark a-week of Hutchinson, and a noble of Gregory; and if they will have any enlargement besides, they must pay for it *." Mr. Hutchinson laughed at him, and bade his wife report his usage of him to the secretary at London, to whom she presently wrote an account of it, and sent it to Sir Allen Apsley, desiring him either to procure a remove, or an order for better accommodation, and showed this letter to Gregory before it went, representing equally his condition with her husband's: and seeing she could not get admission into the castle, she took a house in the town, to which she intended to bring her children for the winter, had not God prevented.

Not long after, the colonel's brother, Mr. George Hutchinson, came down, and brought with him an order signed by Secretary Bennet, to allow the colonel leave to walk by the sea-side with a

* In speaking of the persons who had the command of the castle, and custody of the prisoners, there seems in some parts of the narrative to be a little perplexity; but this passage shows clearly that Freeman was captain, but did not reside at it; and that Moyle was his lieutenant, and did reside at it. The former was the person who, on this, and some other occasions, attempted to extort money from Col. Hutchinson and his family; the latter was the person whose wife boarded and accommodated them.

keeper, which order Sir Allen Apsley and his lady had at length procured with some difficulty and sent him: wherein he was so well satisfied, that he thought not his prison now insupportable; neither indeed was it so to him before, for his patience and faith wonderfully carried him on under all his sufferings. As it now drew nigh to the latter end of the year, Mrs. Hutchinson, having prepared the house, was necessitated to go to Owthorpe to fetch her children, and other supplies to her husband; whom when the time of her departure came, she left with a very sad and ill-presaging heart, rather dreading that while he lay so ready on the sea-coast, he might some time or other be shipped away to some barbarous place in her absence, than that which after ensued. The colonel comforted all he could, and that morning she went away, "Now," said he, "I myself begin to be loath to part with thee." But yet, according to his usual cheerfulness, he encouraged himself and her, and sent his son along with her. His daughter and his brother staid at Deal; who coming to him every day, he walked out with them by the sea-side, and would discourse of the public concernments, and say that the ill management of the state would cause discontented wild parties to mutiny and rise against the present powers, but they would only put things in confusion; it must be a sober party that must then arise and settle them. He would often say to his son and his wife, as he did now to his brother, "Let not my son, how fairly soever they pretend, too rashly engage with the first, but stay to see what they make good, and engage with those who are for settlement, who will have need of men of interest to assist them; let him keep clear and take heed of too rash attempts and he will be courted if he behave himself piously and prudently, and keep free of all faction, making the public interest only his." He would sometimes in discourse say, that when these people once had an army up, which they seemed to aim at, that army would be their destruction, for he was very confident God would bring them down: he would often say they could not stand, and that whoever had anything to do with them could not prosper. He once made this expression: "Although," said he, "I am free from any trucking with them, yet even that consenting submission that I had, hath brought this suffering upon me." And he would often say he would never have so much as a civil correspondence with any of them again: yet when he mentioned Sir Allen Apsley, he would say, he would never serve any that would not, for his sake, serve the person that had preserved him. When his wife went away he was exceeding well and cheerful, and so confident of seeing Owthorpe, that he gave her directions in a paper for planting trees, and many other things belonging to the house and gardens. "You give me," said she, "these orders, as if you were to see that place again:" "If I do not," said he, "I thank God I can cheerfully forego it, but I will not distrust that God will bring me back again, and therefore I will take care to keep it while I have it."

The third of September, being Saturday, he had been walking by the sea-side, and coming home found himself agueish, with a kind of shivering and pain in his bones, and went to bed and sweat exceedingly; the next day was a little better, and went down, and on the Monday expecting another fit, which came upon him, lay in bed all day, and rose again, the next day, but went not down, and after that he slept no more until his last sleep came upon him, but continued in a feverish distemper, with violent sweatings, after which he used to rise out of his bed to refresh him, and when he was up used to read much in his Bible. He had appointed his wife, when she went away, to send him the Dutch Annotations on the Bible, and she had sent it down with some other things; which he presently caused to be brought him, though he was in his bed, and some places in the Epistle to the Romans read, which having heard, "these annotators," said he, "are short;" and then looking over some notes upon that Epistle, which his wife had left in a book she had gathered from him; "I have," said he, "discovered much more of the mystery of truth in that Epistle, and when my wife returns I will make her set it down; for," said he, "I will no more observe their cross humours, but when her children are near, I will have her in my chamber with me, and they shall not pluck her out of my arms; and then, in the winter nights, she shall collect several observations I have made of this Epistle since I came into prison." The continual study of the Scriptures did infinitely ravish and refine his soul, and take it off from all lower exercise, and he continued it in his sickness even to the last, desiring his brother, when he was in bed and could not read himself, to read it to him. He found himself every day grow weaker, yet was not exceeding sick, only he could not sleep at all, day or night. There was a country physician at Deal, who had formerly belonged to the army, and had some gifts, and used to exercise them among godly people in their meetings; but having been taken there once by the persecutors, and being married to a wicked unquiet woman, she and the love of the world had perverted him to forsake all religious meetings, yet the man continued civil and fair-conditioned, and was much employed thereabouts. He being sent for to Mr. Hutchinson, found that on Friday his mouth grew very sore, whereupon he told Mr. George Hutchinson that he distrusted his own skill in looking to it, and apprehended some danger, and advised him to send for a very famous physician that was at Canterbury, which they did, and he came on Saturday. As he came along he enquired of the messenger that fetched him, what kind of person the colonel was, and how he had lived and been accustomed, and which chamber of the castle he was now lodged in? Which, when the man had told him, he said his journey would be to no purpose, for that chamber had killed him. Accordingly, when he came, he told the colonel's brother, on Saturday night, that he apprehended danger, and appointed some remedies, and some applications to his temples, and a cordial to procure rest, but it had no effect. There was a nurse watched in his chamber, and she told them after his death, that she heard him pray in the night, with the deepest sighs that ever she heard. The next morning, before the doctor and his daughter, and brother and servants came to him, the gentlewoman of the castle came up and asked him how he did? He told her, incomparably well, and full of faith.

Some time after, when the doctor came, he told

his brother that the fever had seized his head, and that he believed he would soon fall into ravings and die, and therefore wished him, if he had any thing to say to him, to speak while he was in perfect sense. So Mr. George Hutchinson came to him, and told him he believed he could not live, and therefore desired him, if he had anything to do, to despatch it, for he believed his end was approaching. The colonel, without the least dejection or amazement, replied, very composedly and cheerfully, "The will of the Lord be done, I am ready for it." And then he told them that he did now confirm the will he wrote in the Tower for his last will and testament, and all others to be void. The doctor, who had, when religion was in fashion, been a pretender to it, came to him, and asked him if his peace was made with God; to which he replied, "I hope you do not think me so ill a Christian, to have been thus long in prison, and have that to do now!" The doctor asked him concerning the ground of his hope; to which he answered, "There is none but Christ, none but Christ, in whom I have unspeakable joy, more than I can express; yet I should utter more, but that the soreness of my mouth makes it difficult for me to speak." Then they asked him where he would be buried? He told them, in his vault at Owthorpe; his brother told him it would be a long way to carry him: he answered, "Let my wife order the manner of it as she will, only I would lie there." He left a kind message to his wife, "Let her," said he, "as she is above other women, show herself, in this occasion, a good christian, and above the pitch of ordinary women."* He commanded his daughter that was present to tell the rest, that he would have them all guided by her counsels; and left with his brother the same message to his eldest son. "I would," said he, "have spoken to my wife and son, but it is not the will of God;" then, as he was going to utter something, "here is none but friends;" his brother minded him the doctor was present; "O, I thank you," said he; and such was their amazement in their sorrow, that they did not think of speaking to the doctor to retire, but lost what he would have said, which I am confident was some advice to his son how to demean himself in public concernments. He lay all the day very sensible and very cheerful, to the admiration of both the doctors and of all that saw him; and as his daughter sat weeping by him, "Fie, Bab," said he, "do you mourn for me as for one without hope? There is hope." He desired his brother to remember him to Sir Allen Apsley, and tell him that he hoped God would reward his labour of love to him. While he was thus speaking to them, his spirits decayed exceedingly fast, and his pulse grew very low, and his head already was earth in the upper part; yet he raised himself in his bed, "And now," said he to the doctor, "I would fain know your reason why you fancy me dying; I feel nothing in myself, my head is well, my heart is well, and I have no pain nor sickness anywhere." The doctor seeing this, was amazed; "Sir," said he, "I would be glad to be deceived;" and being at a stand, he told Mr. George Hutchinson he was surprised, and knew not what to think, to see him so cheerful and undisturbed, when his pulse was gone; which, if it were not death, might be some strange working of the spleen, and therefore advised him to send away for Dr. Ridgely, which he would before have done, but that the doctor told him he feared it would be vain, and that he would be dead before the doctor could come. While they were preparing to write, the colonel spoke only these two words; "It is as I would have it: 'tis where I would have it:" and spoke no more, for convulsions wrought his mouth, yet did his sense remain perfect to his last breath; for when some named Mrs. Hutchinson, and said, "Alas, how will she be surprised!" he fetched a sigh, and within a little while departed; his countenance settling so amiably and cheerful in death, that he looked after he was dead as he used to do when best pleased in life. It was observable that the same hour, and the same day of the month, and the same day of the week, that the wicked soldiers fetched him out of his own rest and quiet condition at home, eleven months before, the Lord of hosts sent his holy angels to fetch him out of their cruel hands up to his everlasting and blessed rest above; this being the Lord's-day, about seven o'clock at night, the eleventh day of September, 1664; that, the same day and hour, the eleventh of October, 1663.

The two doctors, though mere strangers to him, were so moved, that they both wept as if it had been their brother; and he of Canterbury said, he had been with many eminent persons, but he never in his whole life saw any one receive death with more Christian courage and constancy of mind, and steadfastness of faith, than the colonel had expressed from the first to the last; so that, considering the height of his fever, and his want of rest, there was an evidence of a Divine assistance that overruled all the powers and operations of nature. This doctor, who was called Dr. Jachin, had most curiously and strictly observed all his motions, I know not by what impulse, but he after said, in regard of the colonel's former engagements, he knew he should be examined of all circumstances, and therefore was resolved diligently to observe them; and as he guessed it after fell out, for the gentlemen of the country, being of the royal party, were busy in their inquiries, which the doctor answered with such truth and clearness as made them ready to burst with envy at the peace and joy the Lord was pleased to give his servant, in taking him out of this wicked world. I am apt to think that it was not alone tenderness of nature, but conviction of their own disturbed peace, which drew those tears from the doctors, when they saw in him that blessed peace and joy which crowns the Lord's constant martyrs; whatever it were, the men were faithful in divulging the glory of the Lord's wonderful presence with his servant.

As soon as the colonel was dead his brother sent away a messenger to carry the sad news to his house, and caused his body to be embalmed in order to his funeral, as he had thrice ordered. When he was embowelled, all his inwards were found exceeding sound, and no taint in any part, only two or three purple spots on his lungs: his gall, the doctor said, was the largest that ever he saw in any man, and observed it to be a miracle

* This is that command of her husband which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of at the beginning of her narrative, where she says, she has determined to employ her thoughts upon the preservation of his memory, not the fruitless bewailing of it.

of grace that he had been so patient as he had seen him.

Some two or three days before the colonel fell sick, Freeman, the captain of the castle, had sent down a very strict order that the colonel should carry nothing out of the castle: in pursuance of which the soldiers would not suffer them to take out his beds and furniture, and clothes, which Mr. Hutchinson forbore till an order came for them.

As soon as the news came to Owthorpe, the colonel's two eldest sons and all his household servants went up to London with his horses, and made ready a hearse, tricked with escutcheons and six horses in mourning, with a mourning coach and six horses to wait on it, and came down to Deal with an order from the secretary for the body; but when they came thither the Captain Freeman, in spite, would not deliver it, because Mrs. Hutchinson herself was not come to fetch it; so they were forced, at an intolerable expense, to keep all this equipage at Deal while they sent to the secretary for another order, which they got directed to the lieutenant in the absence of the captain, and as soon as it came delivered it to him, who immediately suffered them to take away the body, which they did at that hour, though it was night, fearing a further dispute with Freeman. For he, after the body had been ten days embalmed, said he would have a jury impannelled, and a coroner to sit upon it, to see whether he died a natural death. Mr. Hutchinson asked him why he urged that, when it lay on their side to have sought satisfaction. He said he must do it to clear the king's garrison. Mr. Hutchinson told him he had slipped his time; it should have been done at the first, before the embalming. He said he would have it unlapped, and accordingly he sent for a coroner and a jury, who when they came would not unlap the body, but called those persons that were about him, and examined them as to the occasion of his death. They made affidavit, which remains yet upon record, that the doctor said *the place had killed him*, and satisfied with this, they did not unlap the body. As it came into Deal, Freeman met it, and said, if he had been in the castle they should not have had it till they had paid the money he demanded: which when he could not justify any right to by any law, he fell to beg most basely and unworthily, but neither had anything given him for that. However, though the secretary had also ordered the colonel should have his things out, yet he detained all he found in the castle, his trunks, and beds, and furniture, which could never be gotten out of his hands. Although this spite of his put the colonel's family to an excessive charge in staying so long in that cut-throat town of Deal, yet there was a providence of the Lord in it; for the colonel's daughter that was there through grief had contracted a violent sickness, which took her with great extremity, and wrought off of her stomach in black vomits, that made her for the present desperately ill, and the doctor that was with her said that if she had been then in her journey, as she would have been, had they not been delayed by his cruel spite, she could not have lived.

The next day after they had gotten out the body they brought it with a handsome private equipage to Canterbury, and so forward towards London, meeting no affronts in their way but at one town, where there was a fair, and the priest of the place came out with his clerk in his fool's coat, to offer them burial, and to stop their hearse, laid hold on the horses, whom when the attendants put by, the wicked rout at the fair took part with them, and set upon the horsemen; but they broke several of their heads, and made their way clear, having beaten off all the town and the fair, and came on to London. They passed through Southwark, over the bridge, and through the whole heart of the city, to their lodging in Holborn, in the day time, and had not one reviling word or indignity offered them all the way, but several people were very much moved at that sad witness of the murderous cruelty of the men then in power.

From London he was brought down to Owthorpe, very seriously bewailed all the way he came along by all those who had been better acquainted with his worth than the strangers among whom he died, and was brought home with honour to his grave through the dominions of his murderers, who were ashamed of his glories, which all their tyrannies could not extinguish with his life.

Inscriptions

ON

THE MONUMENT OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON,

AT OWTHORPE, IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

(SUPPOSED BY MRS. HUTCHINSON.)

Quousque Domine!

IN A VAULT UNDER THIS WALL LIETH THE BODY OF

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

OF OWTHORPE, IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQ.

ELDEST SON AND HEIR OF SIR THOMAS HUTCHINSON BY HIS FIRST WIFE, THE LADY MARGARET, DAUGHTER OF SIR JOHN BIRON, OF NEWSTEAD, IN THE SAID COUNTY.

This monument doth not commemorate
Vain airy glorious titles, birth, and state;
But sacred is to free, illustrious grace,
Conducting happily a mortal's race
To end in triumph over death and hell,
When, like the prophet's cloak, the frail flesh fell,
Forsaken as a dull impediment,
Whilst love's swift fiery chariot climbed th' ascent.
Nor are the reliques lost, but only torn,
To be new made, and in more lustre worn.
Full of this joy he mounted, he lay down,
Threw off his ashes, and took up his crown.
Those who lost all their splendour in his grave,
Ev'n there yet no inglorious period have.

He married Lucy, the daughter of Sir Allan Apsley, tenant of the Tower of London, by his third wife Lady Lucy, daughter of Sir John St. John, of Li Tregos, in the county of Wilts, who dying at Owth October 11, 1659, lieth buried in the same vault.

He left surviving by the said Lucy four sons: Thomas married Jane, the daughter of Sir Alexander Rad buried in the same vault: and Edward, Lucius John: and four daughters; Barbara, Lucy, Mary and Adelina; which last lies buried in the same v

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He died at Sandowne Castle, in Kent, after eleven ma harsh and strict imprisonment,—without crime or sation,—upon the 11th day of Sept. 1664, in the year of his age, full of joy, in assured hope of, a glo resurrection.

VERSES WRITTEN BY MRS. HUTCHINSON,

IN THE SMALL BOOK CONTAINING HER OWN LIFE,

AND MOST PROBABLY COMPOSED BY HER DURING HER HUSBAND'S RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC BUSINESS TO HIS SEAT AT OWTHORPE.

All sorts of men through various labours press
To the same end, contented quietness;
Great princes vex their labouring thoughts to be
Possessed of an unbounded sovereignty;
The hardy soldier doth all toils sustain
That he may conquer first, and after reign;
The industrious merchant ploughs the angry seas,
That he may bring home wealth, and live at ease,
Which none of them attain; for sweet repose
But seldom to the splendid palace goes;
A troop of restless passions wander there,
And private lives are only free from care.
Sleep to the cottage bringeth happy nights,
But to the court, hung round with flaring lights,
Which the office of the vanish'd day supply,
His image only comes to close the eye,
But gives the troubled mind no ease of care;
While country slumbers undisturbed are;
Where if the active fancy dreams present,
They bring no horrors to the innocent.
Ambition doth incessantly aspire,
And each advance leads on to new desire;
Nor yet can riches av'rice satisfy,
For want and wealth together multiply:
Nor can voluptuous men more fulness find,
For enjoy'd pleasures leave their stings behind.
He's only rich who knows no want; he reigns
Whose will no severe tyranny constrains;
And he alone possesseth true delight
Whose spotless soul no guilty fears affright.
This freedom in the country life is found,
Where innocence and safe delights abound:
Here man's a prince; his subjects ne'er repine
When on his back their wealthy fleeces shine.
If for his appetite the fattest die,
Those who survive will raise no mutiny:
His table is with home-got dainties crown'd,
With friends, not flatterers, encompassed round!
No spies nor traitors on his trencher wait,
Nor is his mirth confined to rules of state;
An armed guard he neither hath nor needs,
Nor fears a poisoned morsel when he feeds;
Bright constellations hang above his head,
Beneath his feet are flow'ry carpets spread;
The merry birds delight him with their songs,
And healthful air his happy life prolongs.
At harvest merrily his flocks he shears,
And in cold weather their warm fleeces wears;
Unto his case he fashions all his clothes;
His cup with uninfected liquor flows:
The vulgar breath doth not his thoughts elate,
Nor can he be o'erwhelmed by their hate;
Yet, if ambitiously he seeks for fame,
One village feast shall gain a greater name
Than his who wears the imperial diadem,
Whom the rude multitude do still condemn.
Sweet peace and joy his bless'd companions are;
Fear, sorrow, envy, lust, revenge, and care,
And all that troop which breeds the world's offence,
With pomp and majesty, are banished thence.
What court then can such liberty afford?
Or where is man so uncontrolled a lord?

THE END.

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INTERVIEW OF CHARLES XII. WITH STANISLAUS LECZINSKY.—P. 22.

THE HISTORY

OF

CHARLES THE TWELFTH,

KING OF SWEDEN.

CHARLES XII.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA ·
DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA

THE

HISTORY, LIFE, AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

CHARLES THE TWELFTH,

King of Sweden.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

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THE

HISTORY OF CHARLES XII.

KING OF SWEDEN.

CHAPTER I.

A Compendious History of Sweden to the Reign of Charles XII.—His Education and Early Habits.—His Enemies.—Character of Czar Peter Alexiowitz.—Various Anecdotes connected with that Prince and the Russians.—A Triple League is formed by Muscovy, Poland, and Denmark, against Charles XII.

THE kingdom of Sweden and Finland is a third part greater in extent than France, but much inferior to it in fertility, and at this time, also, in the number of its inhabitants. The extent of Sweden is nearly from the fifty-fifth to the seventieth degree of north latitude; it is in length three hundred French leagues, and in breadth two hundred; and the climate is so severe, that spring or autumn can hardly be said to exist. Winter prevails there nine months of the year; the heat of summer immediately succeeds the winter's excessive cold; and it begins to freeze in the month of October, without any of those insensible gradations, which, in other countries, usher in the seasons, and render the variation the more pleasing. Nature, however, in return, has given to this severe climate a serene sky and a pure air. The almost incessant heat of the summer's sun produces flowers and fruits in a short time. In the winter, the tediousness of the long nights is alleviated by the morning and evening twilights, which continue in proportion as the sun is more or less removed from Sweden; at the same time the lustre of the moon, which is not obscured by clouds, but increased by the reflection of the snow lying upon the earth, and very often by the northern lights, renders it as convenient to travel in Sweden by night as by day. The cattle in this country, through the want of pasturage, are smaller than those of the more southern parts of Europe. The men are larger; the serenity of the sky conduces to their health, as the rigour of the climate improves their strength; they live even to a greater age than other men, when not debilitated by the immoderate use of wine and strong liquors, which the northern nations seem to be more immoderately fond of in proportion as they are naturally debarred of these enjoyments.

The Swedes are well-made, robust, active, and capable of sustaining the greatest fatigue, hunger, and penury. Born to a military life, high-spirited, more brave than industrious, they have long neglected, and, even to this day, but badly cultivate, the arts of commerce, which alone can supply them with what is wanting to their country. It is said to have been principally from Sweden, of which one part is still named Gothland, that those multitudes of Goths issued forth, who, like an inundation, overwhelmed Europe, and divided it from the Roman empire, which had for 500 years been its usurper, its legislator, and its tyrant.

The population of the northern countries was, at that time, much more numerous than at present; not only because their religion afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of furnishing the state with a greater number of subjects, by the possession of a plurality of wives*, but because the women themselves knew no reproach like that of sterility and idleness; and, being as laborious and robust as the men, they attained earlier, and remained longer, in the state of fecundity.

Sweden retained its liberty to the middle of the fourteenth century: for though during so long a period more than one revolution occurred in the government, such revolutions turned out constantly in favour of freedom. To its chief magistrate was given the name of King: a title that, in different countries, has very different degrees of power annexed to it. In France and Spain it signifies an absolute monarch; in Poland, Sweden, and England, the head of the commonwealth. The king of Sweden could do nothing without the senate; and the senate were dependent upon the states-general, which were often convened. The representatives of the nation, in these numerous assemblies, were the gentlemen, bishops, and deputies of the towns; and, in process of time, the peasantry also, a class of people unjustly slighted in other nations, and enslaved in almost all the countries of the North.

About the year 1492, the Swedish nation, though jealous of its liberty, and boasting, even to this day, of having conquered Rome thirteen cen-

* The fallacy of this opinion needs no refutation in the present day, when it has been ascertained by very sufficient statistical details that polygamy tends to diminish, and not to enlarge, the ratio of the increase of population. —ED.

turies ago, was reduced to slavery by a woman, and a people less powerful than themselves.

Margaret Waldemar, the Semiramis of the north, queen of Denmark and Norway, uniting address with force, conquered Sweden, and formed these three great states into one kingdom. After her death, the country was distracted by civil wars; throwing off and submitting again to the Danish yoke, under the alternate administration of kings and popular protectors. Two of these tyrants oppressed them terribly about the year 1520; the one, Christiern II. king of Denmark, a monster in vice, without one atoning virtue! the other an archbishop of Upsal, primate of the kingdom, equally barbarous with king Christiern. These two, in concert, caused the consuls and magistrates of Stockholm, together with ninety-four senators, to be seized in one day, and massacred by the common executioners, under the pretext that they were excommunicated by the pope for having defended the rights of the state against the archbishop; after this they gave up the city of Stockholm to pillage, and the whole town was put to the sword without distinction of age or sex! While these men, in union to the means of oppression, and differing only in dividing the spoil, were committing acts of the greatest cruelty, and exercising the most tyrannical despotism, a singular and novel event gave a turn to the affairs of the North.

Gustavus Vasa, a youth descended from the ancient kings of Sweden, issued forth from amidst the forests of Dalecarlia, where he had lain concealed, in order to deliver his country from slavery. He had one of those great souls which nature so seldom forms, possessed of all the qualities necessary to govern mankind. The advantages of a handsome person and dignified manners prepossessed every one in his favour, so that he gained partisans wherever he appeared. His eloquence, to which his engaging deportment gave peculiar force, was the more persuasive, as it was artless and simple. His enterprising genius formed those projects which to the vulgar appear rash, but are by great minds imputed to a noble daring; and these his courage and perseverance enabled him to accomplish. Intrepid, yet prudent, of a gentle disposition in a ferocious age, he was, in fine, as virtuous as it is supposed the head of a party can possibly be.

Gustavus was the hostage of Christiern, and had been detained a prisoner contrary to the law of nations. Having escaped from prison, he had disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and wandered about in the mountains and woods of Dalecarlia, where he was reduced to the necessity of working in the copper-mines for subsistence and concealment. Buried as he was in these subterraneous caverns, he had the courage to form the design of dethroning the tyrant. To this end he discovered himself to the peasants, who looked upon him as one of that superior order of beings to which they, the lower classes, owe a natural submission. These savages he soon converted into well-disciplined soldiers. He attacked Christiern and the archbishop, repeatedly defeated and drove them from Sweden; and, at last, was deservedly chosen by the states king of that country of which he had been a deliverer.

Scarcely was he seated upon the throne, when he undertook an enterprise still more difficult than conquest. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who, having engrossed almost all the wealth of the kingdom, made use of it to oppress the subjects, and forcibly opposed the monarch. Their power was the more formidable, as the ignorance of the people held it to be sacred. On the Catholic religion, therefore, Gustavus revenged the criminality of its ministers; so that in less than two years, Lutheranism was introduced into Sweden; and that rather by the arts of policy, than by the influence of authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as he used to express it, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned a successful and absolute monarch to the age of seventy, when he died, full of glory, leaving his family and religion in peaceable possession of the throne.

Gustavus the Great, commonly called Gustavus Adolphus, was one of his descendants. This prince made a conquest of Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, Verdon, Wismar, and Pomerania, besides above a hundred places in Germany, which, after his death, were yielded up by the Swedes. He shook the throne of Ferdinand the Second, and protected the Lutherans in Germany, in which he was secretly assisted by the see of Rome, who dreaded the power of the emperor much more than that of heresy. It was this Gustavus who, by his victories, contributed in fact to humble the house of Austria; although the glory of that enterprise is usually ascribed entirely to cardinal de Richelieu, who well knew how to procure himself the reputation of those great actions which Gustavus was content with performing. He was on the point of extending the war beyond the Danube, and perhaps of dethroning the emperor, when he was killed, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, at the battle of Lutzen, which he gained over Wallenstein. He carried with him to his grave the name of the Great; was lamented by the people of the North and respected even by his enemies. His daughter Christina, a woman of uncommon genius, was much fonder of conversing with men of letters, than of reigning over a people whose knowledge was confined to the art of war. She rendered herself as famous for resigning a throne, as her ancestors had been for obtaining or establishing it. The protestants have aspersed her character, as if it were impossible for a person to be possessed of great virtues without adhering to the religion of Luther! while the papists have triumphed too much on the pretended conversion of a woman, who was no more than a philosopher. She retired to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her days in the midst of the arts she was fond of, and for which she had renounced a kingdom at twenty-seven years of age. Before she abdicated the throne she prevailed on the states of Sweden to elect her cousin, Charles Gustavus X. (son to the count Palatine, and duke of Deux-Ponts), to succeed to the crown. This prince added new conquests to those of Gustavus Adolphus; carrying immediately his arms into Poland, where he gained the famous battle of Warsaw, which lasted three days. He waged a long and successful war with the Danes; besieged Copenhagen; re-united Schonen to Sweden; and confirmed, at least for a time, the duke of Holstein in the possession of Sleswick. Experiencing afterwards a reverse of fortune, he concluded a peace with his enemies, and turned

his ambition against his subjects. With this view, he formed the design of establishing a despotic government in Sweden ; but died, like Gustavus the Great, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, before he had been able to complete that system of despotism which was brought to perfection by his son Charles XI.

Charles XI., a warrior like his ancestors, was more absolute than any of his predecessors. He abolished the authority of the senate, which was declared the senate of the king, and not of the kingdom. He was frugal, vigilant, indefatigable ; which would have made him beloved by his subjects, had not his despotic turn of mind converted their love into fear.

In 1680 he married Ulrica Eleonora, daughter to Frederick III. king of Denmark, a princess of great virtues, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband reposed in her. The fruit of this marriage, on the 27th of June, 1682, was king Charles XII., the most extraordinary man, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world. In him were united all the great qualities of his ancestors ; and all his faults and misfortunes seemed to result from his carrying these virtues to excess. It is this prince of whom we propose to write whatever we have learnt with certainty relating either to his person or his actions.

The first book he was set to read was the work of Samuel Puffendorff, in order to give him an early knowledge of his own and the neighbouring states. The first foreign language which he was taught was the German ; this he continued ever after to speak with the same fluency as his mother tongue. At seven years of age he was a proficient in horsemanship ; when the athletic exercises in which he delighted, and which also discovered his martial turn, soon endowed him with a vigorous constitution, capable of supporting the fatigues to which he was prompted by his natural inclination.

Though gentle in his infancy, he betrayed an inflexible obstinacy. The only way to make any impression upon him was to awaken his sense of honour ; with the name of glory, everything could be obtained from him. He had an aversion to Latin ; but as soon as he heard that the kings of Poland and Denmark understood it, he learned it presently, and retained so much of it as to be able to speak it all the rest of his life. The same motives were employed to engage him to learn the French ; but he persisted, as long as he lived, in the disuse of that tongue, which he would not speak even to the French ambassadors themselves, though they understood no other.

As soon as he had acquired a little knowledge of the Latin, his teacher gave him Quintus Curtius to translate ; a book to which he was attached still more on account of the matter than the style. The preceptor who explained this author to him asking him one day what he thought of Alexander : " I think," said the prince, " I could wish to resemble him." "But," resumed the preceptor, " he lived only two-and-thirty years." " And is not that long enough (replied he) for one who has conquered kingdoms ! " The courtiers did not fail to report these answers to the king his father, who exclaimed, " This boy will surpass his father, and even Gustavus the Great." Amusing himself one day in the royal apartments in viewing two plans, the one of a town in Hungary, which the Turks had taken from the emperor ; the other of Riga, the capital of Livonia, a province conquered by the Swedes, about a century before ; under the plan of the town in Hungary were written these words, from the book of Job : " The Lord hath given it me, and the Lord hath taken it from me ; blessed be the name of the Lord ! " The young prince having read this inscription, immediately took a pencil and wrote under the plan of Riga, " The Lord hath given it to me, and the devil shall not take it from me*." Thus in the most indifferent actions of his earliest youth, his unconquerable spirit would frequently discover the characteristic traits of an uncommon genius, which plainly indicated to what he would, one day, arrive.

He was eleven years of age when he lost his mother ; who died on the 5th of August 1693, of a disease, as was supposed, owing to the bad usage she had received from her husband, and to her endeavours to conceal her chagrin. Charles XI. had, by means of a certain court of justice, called The Chamber of Liquidations, erected by his sole authority, deprived a great number of his subjects of their wealth. Numbers of citizens ruined by this chamber, nobility, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, filled the streets of Stockholm, and daily repaired to the gate of the palace, to utter their unavailing complaints. The queen relieved these unfortunate people as much as lay in her power ; she gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her clothes : and, when she had no more to give them, she threw herself in tears at her husband's feet, beseeching him to have pity on his subjects. The king gravely answered her, " Madam, we took you to bring us children, not to give us advice ;" and, from that time, he is said to have treated her with a severity which shortened her days.

He survived her only four years, dying on the 15th of April, 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign ; at a time when the Empire, Spain, and Holland on one side, and France on the other, had referred the decision of their quarrels to his arbitration, and when he had already begun the work of pacification between these powers. To his son, then only fifteen years of age, he left a throne, well established at home, and respected abroad ; subjects poor indeed, but warlike and loyal ; with finances in a good state, and under the management of able ministers.

Charles XII., at his accession to the throne, found himself not only the absolute and undisturbed master of Sweden and Finland, but also of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Wismar, Wibourg, the islands of Rugen and Oesal, and the finest part of Pomerania, together with the Duchy of Bremen and Verdun, all of them the conquests of his ancestors, secured to the crown by long possession, and by the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, and supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryswick, which commenced under the auspices of his father, being concluded under those of the son, he found himself the mediator of Europe at the beginning of his reign.

The laws of Sweden declare their kings of age

* This anecdote was related to me by two ambassadors, —France and Sweden.

at fifteen; but Charles XI., who was entirely absolute, by his last will postponed that of his son to the age of eighteen. In this he favoured the ambitious views of his mother Edwiga-Eleonora, of Holstein, dowager of Charles X., who was appointed by the king, her son, tutoress to the young king, her grandson, and regent of the kingdom, in conjunction with a council of five persons.

The regent had taken a part in the management of public affairs during the reign of her son. She was now advanced in years; but her ambition, which exceeded her genius, prompted her to entertain the hopes of possessing authority for a long time under the king her grandson: she kept him at as great a distance as possible from affairs of state; the young prince passed his time either in hunting or in reviewing his troops, and would even sometimes exercise with them, which amusement seemed only to be the natural effect of his youthful vivacity. He never suffered any dissatisfaction to escape him sufficient to alarm the regent, who flattered herself that the dissipation of mind occasioned by these diversions would render him incapable of application, and leave her the longer in possession of the regal power.

One day, in the month of November, in the same year his father died, after having reviewed several regiments, as Piper, the counsellor of state, was standing by him, he seemed to be absorbed in a profound reverie. "May I take the liberty," said Piper, "of asking your majesty what you are thinking of so seriously?" "I am thinking," replied the prince, "that I am worthy to command these brave fellows; and I don't like that either they or I should any longer receive orders from a woman." Piper immediately seized this opportunity of making his fortune; but, conscious that his own interest was not sufficient for the execution of such a dangerous enterprise, as the removal of the queen from the regency and hastening the period of the king's coming of age, he proposed the affair to count Axel Sparre, a man of an ardent mind, and who sought to procure himself credit. On being flattered with the confidence of the king, Sparre entered into his measures, and undertook the management of the whole business, while he was working only to promote the interest of Piper. The counsellors of the regency were soon brought over to the party, and precipitated the execution of the scheme, in order to recommend themselves the more effectually to the king. They went, in a body, to propose it to the queen, who by no means expected such a measure. The states-general were then assembled; the counsellors of the regency proposed the affair; there was among them not a dissenting voice; the point was carried with a rapidity that nothing could withstand; so that Charles XII. had only to signify his desire of reigning, and in three days the states bestowed the government upon him. The power and credit of the queen sunk in an instant; she led, afterwards, a life of retirement, more suitable to her age, though less agreeable to her disposition. The king was crowned on the twenty-fourth of December following, on which day he made his entry into Stockholm, on a sorrel horse, shod with silver, having a sceptre in his hand, and a crown upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a whole people, fond of novelty, and conceiving always great hopes from a young prince.

The ceremony of the consecration and coronation is performed by the archbishop of Upsal, almost the only privilege that remains to him of the great number that were enjoyed by his predecessors. After having anointed the prince, according to custom, he held the crown in his hand, in order to put it upon his head, when Charles snatched it from him and crowned himself, regarding the poor prelate all the while with a stern look. The multitude, who are always dazzled by everything that has an air of grandeur, applauded this action of the king; even those who had groaned most severely under the tyranny of the father suffered themselves to applaud this arrogance in the son, which was a presage of their slavery.

Charles was no sooner master of the kingdom than he made Piper his chief confidant, and entrusted him at the same time with the management of public affairs, by making him prime minister, though without the name. A few days after he created him a count, which is a dignity of great eminence in Sweden, and not an empty title, that may be assumed, without any importance, as formerly in France.

The commencement of the king's reign afforded no very favourable idea of his character, so that it was imagined he had been more impatient to reign than worthy of it: he cherished, indeed, no dangerous passion, but his conduct discovered nothing but the violences of youth and obstinacy. He seemed to be equally haughty and indolent; even the * ambassadors who resided at his court looked upon him as a person of mean capacity, and represented him as such to their respective masters; the Swedes entertained the same opinion of him; nobody knew his real character; he did not even know it himself, until the storm that suddenly arose in the North furnished him with an opportunity of displaying his concealed talents.

Three powerful princes, taking the advantage of his youth, conspired, almost at the same time, to effect his ruin: the first was his cousin, Frederick IV. king of Denmark; the second was Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland; Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was the third, and the most dangerous. It is necessary to develop the origin of these wars, which produced such great events. To begin with Denmark:

The eldest of the two sisters of Charles XII. was married to the duke of Holstein, a young prince of an undaunted spirit and of a gentle disposition. The duke, oppressed by the king of Denmark, repaired to Stockholm with his spouse, and, throwing himself into the arms of the king, earnestly implored his assistance, not only on account of being his brother-in-law, but as he was likewise the sovereign of a people who bore an implacable hatred to the Danes.

The ancient house of Holstein, which became extinct in that of Oldenburg, had been advanced by election to the throne of Denmark in 1449. All the kingdoms of the North were then elective, though the kingdom of Denmark soon after became hereditary. One of its kings, Christiern III., had such an affection for his brother Adolphus, or at least such a regard for his interest, as is rarely met with among princes. He was unwilling to see him destitute of sovereign power, and yet

* The original letters confirm this.

he could not dismember his own dominions. He therefore divided with him the Duchies of Holstein-Gottorp and Sleswick, by a whimsical kind of agreement, which was, that the descendants of Adolphus should in future govern Holstein in conjunction with the kings of Denmark; that those two duchies should belong to both in common; and that the king of Denmark should be able to do nothing in Holstein without the duke, nor the duke without the king. So strange a union, of which, however, there has been within these few years a similar instance in the same family, was for near the space of eighty years the source of perpetual disputes between the crown of Denmark and the house of Holstein-Gottorp; the kings always endeavouring to oppress the dukes, and the dukes to render themselves independent of the kings. One of these contests had cost the last duke his liberty and sovereignty; both which, however, he recovered at the conferences of Altona in 1689, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who became guarantees for the execution of the treaty. But as a treaty between princes is often no more than a degree of submission to necessity, till the stronger shall be able to crush the weaker, the contest was revived with greater virulence than ever between the new king of Denmark and the young duke; during whose absence at Stockholm the Danes had committed some acts of hostility in the country of Holstein, and had entered into a secret treaty with the king of Poland to crush the king of Sweden himself.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence nor negotiations of the Abbé de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the throne, had been able to prevent from being chosen king of Poland about two years before, was a prince still less remarkable for his incredible strength of body, than for his bravery and gallantry of mind. His court was, next to that of Louis XIV., the most splendid of any in Europe. Never was prince more generous or munificent, or bestowed his favours with a better grace. He had purchased the votes of one half of the Polish nobility, and overawed the other by the approach of a Saxon army. Thinking he should have occasion for his troops, in order to establish himself the more firmly on the throne, he wanted a pretext for retaining them in Poland; he therefore resolved to employ them in attacking the king of Sweden in Livonia, which he did on the following occasion. This province, the most beautiful and the most fertile of the North, belonged formerly to the knights of the Teutonic Order. The possession of this country had been disputed by the Russians, the Poles, and the Swedes. The Swedes had carried it, about one hundred years; and it was formally ceded to them by the Peace of Oliva.

The late king Charles XI., amidst his severities to his subjects in general, had not spared the Livonians. He had deprived them of their privileges, and of part of their patrimonies. Patkul, unhappily so famous afterwards for his tragical death, was deputed by the nobility of Livonia to carry to the foot of the throne the complaints of the province. He addressed his master in a speech, respectful indeed, but bold, and full of that manly eloquence which calamity, when joined to courage, inspires. But kings too frequently consider these public addresses as little more than idle ceremonies, which it is customary to suffer, without paying them any regard. Charles XI., however, who could play the hypocrite extremely well when he was not transported by the violence of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder:—"You have spoken for your country," said he, "like a brave man, and I esteem you for it; go on." Notwithstanding, in a few days after, he caused him to be declared guilty of high-treason, and, as such, to be condemned to death. Patkul, who had secreted himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland, where he was afterwards admitted into the presence of king Augustus. Charles XI. died in the interval, but Patkul's sentence was still in force, and his indignation still unabated. He represented to the Polish monarch the facility of conquering Livonia, where the people were provoked to despair, and ready to throw off the Swedish yoke; at the same time that their king was a child, and incapable of making any defence. These representations were well received by a prince, already anxious to make a conquest of such magnitude. Augustus had engaged at his coronation to exert his utmost efforts to recover the provinces lost to Poland; and he imagined that by making an irruption into Livonia, he should at once please the people and establish his own power; in both these objects, however plausible, he at last found himself disappointed. Everything was soon got ready for a sudden invasion of that province, without even condescending to have recourse to the vain formalities of declarations of war and manifestoes. The storm thickened, at the same time, on the side of Muscovy; the monarch who governed that empire deserves the attention of posterity.

Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Russia, had already rendered himself formidable by the battle he had gained over the Turks in 1697, and by the reduction of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea; but it was by actions still more astonishing than his victories that he aspired to the name of Great. Muscovy or Russia comprehends the northern parts of Asia and of Europe, extending from the frontiers of China, for the space of 1500 leagues, to the borders of Poland and Sweden. This immense country, however, was very imperfectly known to Europe before the time of Czar Peter. The Muscovites were less civilised than the Mexicans when discovered by Cortez; born the slaves of masters as barbarous as themselves, they remained in a state of ignorance, destitute of all the arts, and under such an insensibility of that want as suppressed every motive to industry. An ancient law, which they held as sacred, prohibited them from leaving their native country under pain of death, without the permission of their patriarch. This law, enacted with a view to preclude them from all opportunities of becoming sensible of their slavery, was, nevertheless, acceptable to a people who in the profundity of their ignorance and misery disdained all commerce with foreign nations.

The era of the Muscovites bears date from the creation of the world, since which they conceived seven thousand two hundred and seven years had elapsed, at the beginning of the last century, without being able to assign any reason for this computation. The first day of their year answered

to the 13th of September, new style. The reason alleged for this regulation is, that it is most probable God created the world in autumn, the season when the fruits of the earth are in their full maturity; thus the only appearance of knowledge which they possessed was founded in gross error. Not one of them ever dreamed that the autumn of Muscovy might possibly be the spring of another country, situated in an opposite climate! It is not long since the people at Moscow were going to burn the secretary of a Persian ambassador who had foretold an eclipse of the sun. They did not so much as know the use of figures, but in all their computations made use of little beads, strung upon brass wires; they had no other manner of reckoning in the public offices of the revenue, not even in the treasury of the czar *.

Their religion was, and still remains, that of the Greek Christians, but mixed with many superstitious rites, to which they were the more strongly attached in proportion to their extravagance and the intolerance of the burden. Few Muscovites would dare to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the form of a dove. They regularly observed four Lents in the year, during which times of abstinence they never presumed to eat either eggs or milk. God and St. Nicholas were the objects of their worship, and, next to them, the czar and the patriarch. The authority of the last was as unbounded as the ignorance of the people; he pronounced sentence of death, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, without any possibility of an appeal from his tribunal. He made a solemn procession twice a year on horseback, attended by all his clergy; the czar on foot held the bridle of his horse, and the people prostrated themselves before him in the streets, as the Tartars do before their grand-lama. Confession was in use among them, but it was only in cases of the greatest crimes; in these absolution was necessary, but not repentance. They thought themselves pure in the sight of God as soon as they received the benediction of their papas or priests. Thus they passed, without remorse, from confession to theft and murder; and what was a restraint from vice among other Christians, was with them an incentive to wickedness. They would not even venture to drink milk on a fast, although, on a festival, masters of families, priests, married women, and maids, would make no scruple to intoxicate themselves with brandy. There were religious disputes, however, among them, as well as in other countries; but their greatest controversy was whether the laity should make the sign of the cross with two fingers or with three. One Jacob Nursoff, in the preceding reign, had raised a sedition in Astracan on the subject of this dispute. They had even some fanatics among them, as there are in those civilized nations where every one is a theologian; and Peter, who always carried justice into cruelty, caused some of these unhappy wretches, called Vosko-jesuits, to be burned as martyrs. The czar, in his extensive empire, had many subjects who were not Christians; the Tartars inhabiting the western coasts of the Caspian Sea and the Palus Mæotis are Mahometans; the Siberians, the Ostiaks, and the Samoides, who lie towards the Frozen Sea, were savages, some of whom were idolaters, and others had not even the knowledge of a God; and yet the Swedes, who were sent prisoners among them, were better pleased with their manners than with those of the ancient inhabitants of Muscovy.

Peter Alexiowitz had received an education that tended to augment the barbarism of this part of the world: his natural disposition led him to caress strangers before he knew what advantages he might derive from their acquaintance. A young Genevese, named Le Fort, of an ancient family in Geneva, the son of a druggist, was the first instrument he employed, by a gradual process, to change the face of affairs in Muscovy. This young man, sent by his father as a merchant to Copenhagen, quitted his business and followed an ambassador of Denmark to Muscovy, in consequence of that restlessness of mind which is always experienced by such as feel themselves superior to their situation. He took it into his head to learn the Russian language. The rapid progress which he had made in it excited the curiosity of the czar, who was still a young man. Le Fort became acquainted with him; he insinuated himself into a degree of familiarity; he often talked to him of the advantages of commerce and navigation; he told him how Holland, which had never possessed the hundredth part of the states of Muscovy, made as great a figure, by means of her commerce alone, as Old and New Spain, then both useless and despised, a small province of which she had formerly been. He entertained him with the refined policy of the princes of Europe, with the discipline of their troops, the police of their cities, and the infinite number of manufactures, arts, and sciences, which render the Europeans powerful and happy. These discourses awakened the young emperor as from a lethargy; his mighty genius, repressed but not destroyed by a barbarous education, unfolded itself almost instantaneously. He resolved to be a man to rule over men, and to create a new nation. Many princes before him had renounced their crowns from disgust to the weight of business, but none like him had ceased to be a king in order to learn improvements in the art of governing. This was done by Peter the Great.

He left Muscovy in 1698, having reigned but two years, and went to Holland, disguised under a common name, as if he had been a domestic servant of the same Mr. Le Fort, whom he sent in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General. He had no sooner arrived at Amsterdam than he enrolled himself among the shipwrights of the India Company's wharf, under the name of Peter Michaeloff; but he was commonly known by the name of Peter Bas or Master Peter. He worked in the yard like the other mechanics. At his leisure hours he learned such parts of the mathematics as are useful to a prince, fortification, navigation, and the art of drawing plans. He went into the workmen's shops and examined all their manufactures, in which nothing could escape his observation. From thence he went over to England, where having perfected himself in the art of ship building, he returned to Holland, carefully observing everything that might turn to the advantage of his own country. At length, after two years of such travel and labour

* Similar to the shwan-pan at present in use among the Chinese.

as no man but himself would have willingly submitted to, he again made his appearance in Muscovy, with all the arts of Europe in his train. Artists of every kind followed him in crowds. Then, for the first time, large Russian ships were seen in the Baltic, on the Black Sea, and the ocean. Stately buildings, of a regular architecture, were elevated among the Russian huts. He founded colleges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries. A regular police was introduced into the cities. The clothes and customs of the people were gradually changed, though not without some difficulty; and the Muscovites learned by degrees the true nature of a social state. Even their superstitious rites were abolished; the dignity of the patriarch was suppressed; and the czar declared himself the head of the church. This last enterprise, which would have cost a prince less absolute than Peter both his throne and his life, succeeded almost without opposition, and insured to Peter the success of his other innovations.

Thus, having humbled an ignorant and a barbarous clergy, he ventured to make a trial of instructing them, though by that means he ran the risk of rendering them formidable; but he was too well persuaded of his own power to entertain any fear of it. He caused philosophy and theology to be taught in the few monasteries that still remained. It is granted that this theology still savours of the barbarous period when Peter civilised his people. A person, of undoubted veracity, assured me, he was present at a public disputation, where the question was, "Whether the practice of smoking tobacco was a sin?" The respondent maintained that it was lawful to get drunk with brandy, but not to smoke, because the Holy Scripture saith, "That which proceedeth out of the mouth defileth a man, and that which entereth into it doth not defile him!"

The monks were not pleased with these reforms. The czar had hardly erected printing-houses, when they made use of them to decry him. They declared in print that Peter was Antichrist, because he deprived the living of their beards, and allowed the dead to be dissected in his academy. Another monk, however, who aimed at promotion, refuted this book, and proved that Peter could not be Antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name. The libeller was accordingly broke upon the wheel, and the author of the refutation was made bishop of Rezan.

One law in particular, salutary in a high degree, was, by this reformer of Muscovy, introduced, the want of which reflects disgrace on many civilised nations; by this it was enacted, that no man engaged in the service of the state, no citizen established in trade, and especially no minor, should retire into a convent. Peter knew the incalculable consequences of preventing useful subjects from consecrating themselves to idleness, and of hindering young people from disposing of their liberty at an age when they are incapable of disposing of the least part of their patrimony. But this law, though calculated for the general interest of mankind, is daily eluded by the industry of the monks; as if they were, in fact, gainers by peopling their convents at the expense of their country.

The czar not only reduced the church to the subjection of the state, after the example of the Turkish emperors, but, by a more masterly stroke of policy, he dissolved a militia similar to that of the Janizaries; and accomplished that in a short time which the Sultans had long in vain attempted. He disbanded the Russian Janizaries, who were called Strelitz, and kept the czars in subjection. This body of soldiery, more formidable to their masters than to their neighbours, consisted of about thirty thousand foot, one half of which remained at Moscow, while the other was stationed upon the frontiers. The pay of a Strelitz was no more than four roubles a year; but this deficiency was amply compensated by privileges and extortions. Peter formed at first a company of foreigners, among whom he enrolled his own name, and did not think it beneath his dignity to begin the service in the capacity of a drummer, and to perform the duties of that mean office; so much did the nation stand in need of examples! By degrees he became an officer. He gradually raised new regiments; and, at last, finding himself master of a well-disciplined army, he broke the Strelitz, who durst not resist him. The cavalry was nearly similar to that of Poland, or what the French formerly was when the kingdom of France was no more than an assemblage of fiefs. The gentlemen were mounted at their own expense, and fought without discipline, and sometimes with no other arms than a sabre or a bow; incapable of command, and consequently of conquest.

Peter the Great taught them to obey, both by the example he set, and the punishment he inflicted; for he served in the quality of a soldier and a subaltern officer, and as czar he severely punished the Boyards, that is, the gentlemen who pleaded the privilege of their order not to serve but by their own consent. He established a regular body to serve in the artillery, and took five hundred bells from the churches to be converted into cannon. In the year 1714 he had thirteen thousand pieces of ordnance. He likewise formed companies of dragoons, troops very suitable to the genius of the Muscovites, and to the small size of their horses. In 1738 the Russians had thirty regiments of these dragoons, consisting of one thousand men each, well-disciplined and accoutred. He likewise raised regiments of hussars in Russia, and even established a school of engineers, in a country where, before himself, no one understood the elements of geometry. He was also himself a good engineer, but his chief excellence lay in his knowledge of naval affairs; he was an able sea-captain, a skilful pilot, a good sailor, an expert shipwright; and his knowledge of these arts was the more meritorious, as he was born with a great dread of the water.

When he was young, he could not pass over a bridge without trembling: on all these occasions he caused the wooden windows of his coach to be shut; however, he soon got the better of this constitutional weakness by his courage and resolution. He caused a beautiful harbour to be formed at the mouth of the Tanais, near Asoph, where he proposed keeping a number of galleys; and some time after, thinking these vessels, so long, light, and flat, would probably succeed in the Baltic, he had upwards of three hundred of them built at his favourite city of Petersburgh. He instructed his subjects in the method of building ships with deals only, and taught them the art of navigation. He had even learned surgery, and, in a case of necessity, has been known to tap a person for the dropsy. He

was well informed in mechanics, and instructed the workmen.

The revenue of the czar, compared with the immense extent of his dominions, was indeed inconsiderable. It never amounted to twenty-four millions of livres, reckoning the mark at about fifty livres, as we do at present, though we may not do so to-morrow. But he may always be accounted rich who has it in his power to accomplish great undertakings. It is not the scarcity of money that debilitates a state, it is the want of men, and of men of abilities.

Russia, notwithstanding the women are fruitful, and the men robust, is not very populous. Peter himself, in civilizing his dominions, unhappily contributed to reduce the population. Frequent levies in his wars, which were long and unsuccessful; nations transplanted from the shores of the Caspian Sea to those of the Baltic, worn out by fatigue, or cut off by diseases; three-fourths of the Muscovite children died of the small-pox, which is more dangerous in those climates than in any other; in fine, the melancholy effects of a government, savage for a long time, and barbarous even in its police; these are the causes that in Russia, comprehending so great a part of the continent, there are still vast deserts. Russia is, at present, supposed to contain five hundred thousand families of gentlemen; two hundred thousand lawyers; rather more than five millions of citizens and peasants, who pay a sort of land-tax; six hundred thousand men in the provinces conquered from the Swedes. The Cossacks in the Ukraine, and the Tartars subject to Muscovy, do not exceed two millions; in fine, it appears that in this immense country there are not above fourteen millions of people, that is, a little more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of France *.

While the czar was thus employed in changing the laws, the manners, the militia, and the very face of his country, he likewise resolved to increase his revenues by encouraging commerce, which at once constitutes the riches of a particular state, and contributes to the interest of the world in general. He undertook to make Russia the centre of trade between Asia and Europe. He determined to join the Dwina, the Volga, and the Tanais by canals, of which he drew the plans, and by these means open a new passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from those seas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel, frozen up nine months in the year, and which could not be entered without making a long and dangerous circuit, did not appear to him sufficiently commodious. So long ago, therefore, as the year 1700, he had formed a design of opening a sea-port on the Baltic that should become the magazine of the North, and of building a city that should prove the capital of his empire. Peter had even then attempted the discovery of a north-east passage to China; and the manufactures of Pekin and Paris were intended to embellish his new city.

A road by land, 754 versts† long, running through marshes that were to be drained, was to lead from Moscow to his new city. Most of these projects he actually put in execution; and the two empresses, his successors, have even improved upon those schemes of his that were practicable, and abandoned only such as it was impossible to accomplish. He always travelled through his dominions as much as his wars would permit; but he travelled like a legislator and a naturalist; examining nature everywhere; endeavouring to correct or perfect her; taking himself the soundings of seas and rivers; ordering sluices; inspecting docks; causing mines to be worked; assaying metals; and in giving orders for accurate charts to be drawn, in the execution of which he himself assisted.

The imperial city of Petersburgh, containing at present sixty thousand houses, the residence of a splendid court, and whose amusements are of the most refined taste, he built upon a desert. He formed the harbour of Cronstadt, on the Neva, and St. Croix, on the frontiers of Persia; he erected forts in the Ukraine, and in Siberia; established offices of admiralty at Archangel, Petersburgh, Astracan, and Asoph; founded arsenals; and built and endowed hospitals. All his own houses were mean, and executed in a bad taste; but he spared no expense in rendering the public buildings grand and magnificent.

The sciences, which in other countries have been the slow product of so many ages, were, by his care and industry, introduced into Russia in full perfection. He established an academy, on the plan of the famous societies of Paris and London. The Delisles, the Bulfingers, the Hermannses, the Bernouillis, the celebrated Wolf, a man who excelled in every branch of philosophy, were all invited and brought to Petersburgh at a great expense. This academy is still in existence; and the Muscovites, at length, have philosophers of their own nation.

He obliged the young nobility to travel for improvement, and to bring back into Russia the politeness of foreign countries. I myself have seen young Russians men of genius and science. It was thus that a single individual reformed the greatest empire in the world. It is, however, shocking to reflect, that this reformer of mankind should have been deficient in that first of all virtues, the virtue of humanity. Brutality in his pleasures, ferocity in his manners, and barbarity in his resentments, sullied the lustre of his many virtues. He civilized his subjects, and yet remained a barbarian. Of this he was conscious; and once said to a magistrate of Amsterdam, "I reform my country, but am not able to reform myself." He has executed his sentence upon criminals with his own hands, and, at a debauch at table, has shown his address at cutting off heads.

There are princes in Africa who thus, with their own hands, shed the blood of their subjects; but these princes pass for barbarians. The death of a son, whom he ought to have corrected or disinherited, would have rendered the memory of Peter the object of universal hatred, were it not that the great and many blessings he bestowed upon his subjects were almost sufficient to excuse his cruelty to his own offspring.

Such was czar Peter; and his great projects were little more than in embryo when he joined

* This was written in the year 1727. The population of Russia has greatly increased since that time, as well by military conquest as by the arts of civil policy, and the assiduity which has been used to induce foreigners to come to and reside in the country.

† A verst consists of 754 paces.

the kings of Poland and Denmark against a child, whom they all despised. The founder of the Russian empire was ambitious of being a conqueror; and such he thought he might easily become by the prosecution of a war, which, being so well projected, could not fail, he imagined, of proving useful to all his designs; the art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people.

Besides, he knew his want of a port on the east side of the Baltic, to facilitate the execution of his schemes. He coveted the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia. The Swedes were in possession of it, and from them he resolved to take it by force. His predecessors had claims upon Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia; and the present seemed to him a favourable opportunity for reviving those claims, which had been buried for a hundred years, and rendered null by treaties. He entered, therefore, into a league with the king of Poland, to wrest from young Charles the Twelfth all the territories situated between the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic, Poland, and Muscovy.

CHAPTER II.

A singular and sudden Change in the Character of Charles.—At eighteen years of age he engages in a War against Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy.—Finishes that with Denmark in Six Weeks.—Defeats Eighty Thousand Russians with only Eight Thousand Swedes.—Marches into Poland.—A Description of Poland and its Government.—Charles gains many battles, and becomes master of Poland, where he prepares to appoint a king.

Thus was the infancy of Charles the Twelfth threatened by three powerful sovereigns. The news of these preparations dismayed the country, and alarmed the council. All their distinguished generals were dead; and they had every reason to tremble under the reign of a young king, who had hitherto given them but a mean opinion of his abilities. He hardly ever came to council for any other purpose than to lay his legs across on the table; absent and indifferent, he never appeared to interest himself in anything.

As the council were one day deliberating, in his presence, on the dangerous predicament in which they stood, some of them proposed to avoid the impending storm by negotiations; when the young prince immediately rose, with the grave and assured air of a man of superior abilities, who had fixed his resolution. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am resolved never to begin an unjust war; but never to finish an unjust war but with the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixed; I will march and attack the first who shall declare war; and when I shall have conquered him, I hope to strike terror into the rest." All the old councillors, astonished at this declaration, looked at each other without daring to answer. In fact, astonished at such a king, and ashamed to appear less confident than their sovereign, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

They were still more agreeably surprised, when they beheld him renounce at once the most innocent amusements of his youth. From the first moment of his preparing himself for the war, he began an entirely new course of life, from which he never wavered a single moment. Full of the examples of Alexander and Cæsar, he determined to imitate those two heroes in everything but their vices. He no longer indulged himself in magnificence, sports, and recreations, and reduced his table to the most rigid frugality. He had before loved pomp in his dress, but now he dressed like a common soldier. It was generally supposed that he had formed a strong attachment to a lady of his court; but whether this supposition was true or not, it is certain that he from that time renounced all fondness for the sex, not only from the fear of being governed by them, but for an example to his soldiers, whom he was desirous of bringing back to the most rigid discipline; and, perhaps, also, from the vanity of being deemed the only king who could subdue a passion so difficult to conquer. He likewise resolved to abstain from wine during the rest of his life. Many people have told me that he made this resolution merely to get the better of his inclinations in everything, and to add a new virtue to his heroism; but by far the greater part assured me, that he was determined by those means to punish himself for an excess which he had been guilty of, and for an affront he had offered to a lady at table, even in the presence of the queen his mother. Even if that be true, this self-condemnation of his behaviour, and the abstinence which he imposed on himself throughout his life, is a species of heroism not the less admirable.

His first step was to grant assistance to his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein; eight thousand men were immediately sent into Pomerania, a province bordering upon Holstein, to strengthen the duke against the attacks of the Danes. And indeed the duke had need of them. His dominions were laid waste, his castle of Gottorp taken, and Tonningen was pressed by an obstinate siege, the king of Denmark having arrived before the place in order to enjoy a conquest which he imagined certain. This spark began to fan the empire into a flame. On the one side, the Saxon troops of the king of Poland, those of Brandenburgh, Wolfenbuttle, and Hesse Cassel, advanced to join the Danes. On the other, the eight thousand men sent by the king of Sweden, the troops of Hanover and Zell, and three regiments of Dutch, came to assist the duke. At this time the little duchy of Holstein thus became the theatre of war, two squadrons, the one from England, and the other from Holland, appeared in the Baltic. The peace of Altona, which treaty the Danes violated, had been guaranteed by England and Holland; the English and Dutch therefore were in earnest, at this time, to support the duke of Holstein, because it was for the interests of their commerce to check the growing power of the king of Denmark. They knew that this monarch, being once master of the passage of the Sound, would lay new and heavy imports upon merchandize, as soon as ever he was in a situation to do it with impunity. This mutual interest has long engaged the Dutch and English to maintain, as much as possible, the balance of power between the northern princes; they therefore joined the young king of Sweden, who appeared in danger of being crushed by the combination of so many enemies, and supported him for the same reason that the others attacked him—be-

cause they looked upon him as incapable of defending himself.

Charles was amusing himself with a bear-hunt when he received the news of the Saxons having made an irruption into Livonia; the manner in which he practised this amusement was as novel as dangerous; he used no other arms than forked sticks, and a small net fixed to some trees; a bear of an inconceivable size made immediately at the king, who brought him to the ground, after a long struggle, by the aid only of the net and his stick. This excess of courage gave those who attended him an idea of the valour which he afterwards displayed against his enemies.

Charles set out to commence his first campaign on the 8th of May, new style, in the year 1700; when he quitted Stockholm, to which he never after returned. An innumerable crowd of people accompanied him as far as the port of Carlscroon, offering up prayers for his success, and with tears expressing their admiration. Before he left Sweden, he established at Stockholm a council of defence, consisting of several senators, whose duty it was to take care of everything that regarded the navy, the army, and the fortifications of the country. The body of the senate was to regulate, provisionally, everything in the interior part of the kingdom. Having thus established a regular mode of administration in his dominions, his mind, divested of every other care, was entirely engaged with the war. His fleet consisted of forty-three ships; that in which he himself sailed was called "The King Charles," and was the largest that had ever been seen, carrying one hundred and twenty guns. In this ship, Count Piper, his first minister of state, General Renschild, and the Count de Guiscard, ambassador from France to Sweden, embarked along with him. He joined the allied squadrons, when the Danish fleet refusing the combat, gave the three combined fleets an opportunity of approaching Copenhagen nigh enough to throw into it several shells.

It is certain that the proposal then made to General Renschild to make a descent, and to besiege Copenhagen by land, while it was thus blocked up by sea, came from the king himself. Renschild was astonished at a proposal which showed equal marks of skill and courage in a prince so young and so inexperienced. Everything was immediately prepared for the descent, and orders given for the embarkation of five thousand men, who lay upon the coasts of Sweden, and joined the troops on board. The king quitted his large ship, and went into a frigate: they then began by sending off three hundred grenadiers in small sloops, among which were some small flat-bottomed boats, that carried the fascines, the chevaux-de-frize, and the implements of the pioneers; then followed five hundred chosen men in other sloops; lastly, the king's ships of war arrived, together with two English and two Dutch frigates, who were to favour the debarkation, under cover of their cannon.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the Isle of Zealand, in the midst of a beautiful plain, having the Sound on the north-west, and the Baltic sea on the east, where the king of Sweden then lay. At this unexpected movement of the vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants, confounded by the inactivity of their own fleet, and by the movements of the Swedish vessels, waited with terror to see on what part the storm would fall. The Swedish fleet remained over against Humblebeck, about seven miles from Copenhagen, where the Danes instantly assembled their cavalry. Their foot were posted behind entrenchments, and all the artillery they could bring up was turned against the Swedes.

The king then quitted his frigate and got into the first sloop at the head of his guards; when the French ambassador standing next to him, he said to him in Latin, (for he would never speak French), "You have nothing, Mr. Ambassador, to do with the Danes: you need go no farther, if you please." "Sire," answered the Count de Guiscard, in French, "the king my master ordered me to reside with your majesty; I flatter myself you will not banish me your court, which was never more brilliant than it is to-day." In saying this, he gave his hand to the king, who leaped into the barge, and was immediately followed by Count Piper and the ambassador. They advanced under cover of the cannon of the ships which favoured their landing. The long-boats were still three hundred paces from the shore, when Charles, impatient at the slowness of their approach, threw himself from his barge into the sea, sword in hand, having the water above his waist; his ministers, the French ambassador, the officers, and soldiers, immediately followed his example, and marched to the shore, in spite of a shower of the enemy's musketry. The king, who had never in his life heard a volley of muskets loaded with ball, demanded of Major-general Stuart, whom he perceived near him, what it was that occasioned the whizzing in his ears! "It is the noise of the musket-balls that they fire upon you," said the major to him. "Good," replied the king; "then from henceforward that shall be my music." At this instant, the major who had explained the noise made by the musket-shot received one in his shoulder; and a lieutenant dropped down dead on the other side of the king.

It generally occurs that the troops who are attacked in their trenches are beaten, because those who make the attack always possess an impetuosity which those who merely defend themselves can never arrive at; besides, the waiting the enemy's approach is often an acknowledgment of their own weakness, and of their adversary's superiority. The Danish cavalry and militia, after a feeble resistance, took flight. The king thus become master of their entrenchments, fell upon his knees, to return thanks to God for the first success of his arms. He immediately caused redoubts to be raised towards the town, and marked out with his own hand the place for the encampment. In the mean time he sent back his transports to Schonen, a part of Sweden bordering upon Copenhagen, for a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Everything conspired to favour the vivacity of Charles, whose troops were already assembled on the shore, and ready to embark; accordingly, the next day a favourable wind brought and landed them at Copenhagen. The passage of these forces was effected in the sight of the Danish fleet, which did not dare to advance. Copenhagen, being dispirited, immediately despatched deputies to the king, to beseech him not to bombard the town. He received them on horseback at the head of his regiment of guards, and the deputies threw themselves on their knees before him. He made the town pay him four hundred thousand rix dollars, and ordered them

to bring in all sorts of provisions to the camp, for which he promised faithfully to pay. They carried him the provisions, because it was necessary to obey, although they did not much expect that the conquerors would have so much condescension: the carriers, however, were not a little astonished at being paid generously, and without delay, by the lowest soldiers in the army. A rigid discipline had long been kept up amongst the Swedish troops, which had not a little contributed to this victory; and the young king increased its rigour. There was not a soldier who dared to refuse payment for what he bought, still less to go plundering, nor even to leave the camp. He did still more, for in a victory his troops did not strip the dead till they had obtained his permission; and he easily brought them to observe this regulation. Prayers were regularly said in his camp twice a day, at seven o'clock in the morning, and at four in the afternoon; at which he never failed to assist in person, and to set the soldiers an example of piety as well as of valour. His camp, much better regulated than even the city of Copenhagen, had everything in abundance: the peasants preferred selling their commodities to the Swedes their enemies, rather than to the Danes, who did not pay them so well. Even the citizens were obliged to come, more than once, to seek those provisions which their own markets ought to have furnished.

The king of Denmark was at this time in Holstein, apparently with no other purpose than to raise the siege of Tonningen. He saw the Baltic covered with the enemies' ships, a young conqueror already master of Zealand, and ready to seize on his capital. He therefore caused it to be published throughout his dominions, that persons who took up arms against the Swedes should have their liberty. This declaration was of great weight in a country formerly free, but in which at that time all the peasants, and even many of the citizens, were slaves. Charles sent word to the king of Denmark, that he made war only to oblige him to make peace, and that he must either resolve to do the duke of Holstein justice or see Copenhagen destroyed, and his kingdom delivered up to fire and sword. The Dane was too fortunate in having a conqueror who piqued himself on his justice. A congress was assembled in the town of Trawendal, on the frontiers of Holstein. The king of Sweden would not suffer the negotiations to be protracted by the arts of ministers, but was determined that the treaty should be finished with the same rapidity with which he had descended into Zealand. It was, in effect, concluded on the 5th of August, to the advantage of the duke of Holstein, who was indemnified for all the expenses of the war, and delivered from oppression. The king of Sweden, satisfied with succouring his ally, and humbling his enemy, would accept of nothing for himself. Thus Charles XII. at eighteen years of age, began and finished this war in less than six weeks.

It was precisely at this time that the king of Poland invested the town of Riga, the capital of Livonia, and the czar also advanced on the side of the east, at the head of near one hundred thousand men. Riga was defended by the old count d'Alberg, a Swedish general, who at the age of eighty joined the fire of a young man to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count Fleming, afterwards minister of Poland, equally as great in the field as in the cabinet, and Patkul the Livonian, pressed the siege under the inspection of the king; but in spite of several advantages that the besiegers had gained, the experience of the old count d'Alberg rendered their efforts useless, and the king of Poland despaired of taking the town. He at length availed himself of an honourable pretence for raising the siege. Riga was full of merchandise belonging to the Dutch. The States-General ordered their ambassador at the court of Augustus to make representations to him on that head. The king of Poland wanted no importunity. He consented to raise the siege rather than occasion the least damage to his allies: who were not astonished at this excess of complaisance, the cause of which resulted from themselves.

There remained then nothing more for Charles to do to crown his first campaign, than to march against his rival in glory, Peter Alexiowitz. He was the more exasperated against him, as there were at that time at Stockholm three Muscovite ambassadors, who had just sworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. He could not comprehend, as he piqued himself on a most rigid integrity, how a legislator, like the czar, could make a jest of what ought to be so sacred. The young prince, full of honour himself, did not imagine that there could be a system of morality for kings different from that for individuals. The emperor of Muscovy had just published a manifesto, which he had much better have suppressed. He there alleged, that the reason of his making war was, that he had not sufficient honour paid him when he passed *incognito* through Riga, and, likewise, that they sold their provisions to his ambassadors at too dear a rate. It was for these injuries that he ravaged Ingria with eighty thousand men!

He appeared before Narva, at the head of this great army, on the first of October, at a season of the year more severe in this climate than it is in the month of January at Paris. The czar, who, in such inclement seasons as these, would sometimes ride post four hundred leagues to see a mine or a canal, was not more careful of his troops than of himself; besides, he knew that the Swedes, since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, could carry on war equally as well in the midst of winter as in summer; he, therefore, wished to accustom the Russians likewise to pay no regard to any distinction of seasons, and to render them one day not in the least inferior to the Swedes. In this manner, at a time when the ice and snow obliged other nations, even in temperate climates, to suspend the war, did the czar Peter besiege Narva, within thirty degrees of the Pole, while Charles XII. advanced to relieve it. The czar was no sooner arrived before the place than he hastened to put in practice what he had just learned in his travels. He marked out his camp, fortified it on every side, raised redoubts at due distances, and opened the trenches himself. He had given the command of his army to the duke de Croi, a German, and a skilful general, but who, at that time, was badly seconded by the Russian officers. As for himself, he held no other rank in his own troops than that of a lieutenant. He thus set the example of military obedience to his nobles, who were still undisciplined, and who were only in the habit of governing slaves badly armed, without experience or order; it was not surprising, that he who turned

carpenter at Amsterdam, to procure himself fleets, should serve as lieutenant at Narva, to teach his country the art of war.

The Russians are robust, indefatigable, and perhaps as brave as the Swedes; but time is necessary to confer skill, and discipline alone can render troops invincible. The only regiments from which anything was expected were commanded by German officers; the rest were barbarians, forced from the forests, and covered with the skins of wild beasts: some were armed with arrows, and some with clubs; few of them had fusees; none had seen a regular siege; nor was there a good gunner in the whole army. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which ought to have reduced the little town of Narva to ashes, were scarcely able to make a breach; while, on the other hand, the artillery of the city destroyed at every discharge whole ranks of the enemy in their trenches. Narva was almost without fortifications; and the baron de Hoorn, who commanded it, had not a thousand regulars; and yet this innumerable army could not reduce the town in ten weeks!

It was the 15th of November when the czar was apprised that the king of Sweden, having crossed the sea with two hundred transports, was marching to the relief of Narva. The Swedes were but twenty thousand strong; yet the czar had no superiority but in number. Far then from despising his enemy, he employed every art he was master of to overpower him. Not content with eighty thousand men, he prepared another army to oppose him, and check him at every turn. He had already ordered up near thirty thousand men, who advanced by long marches from Pleskow. He then took a step which would have rendered him contemptible, if a legislator who had performed so many great exploits could be made so. He quitted his camp, where his presence was necessary, in quest of this fresh body of men, which might have arrived very well without him, and appeared by this behaviour to be afraid of engaging in an intrenched camp a young and inexperienced prince who might come to attack him. But, be this as it may, he wanted to inclose Charles between two armies. This was not all: thirty thousand men, detached from the camp before Narva, were posted a league from the city, on the road along which the king of Sweden was to pass; twenty thousand Strelitzes were placed at a greater distance on the same road; and five thousand others formed an advanced guard. All these troops it was necessary for Charles to defeat before he could arrive at the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and a double ditch. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernaw, in the Gulf of Riga, with about sixteen thousand infantry, and a little more than four thousand horse. From Pernaw he hastened his march to Revel, followed by all his cavalry, and only four thousand foot. As he always marched on first, without waiting for the rest of his troops, he soon found himself, with his eight thousand men only, before the enemy's advanced posts. He did not hesitate a moment in attacking them, one after the other, without giving them time to get information as to the small number that engaged them. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes thus rush upon them, thought they had the whole army to encounter; and the advanced guard of five thousand men, who were posted among the rocks, a station in which a hundred resolute men might have repulsed a whole army, betook themselves to flight on the first approach of the Swedes. The twenty thousand that remained, seeing their companions fly, took the alarm and carried disorder with them into the camp. All the posts were carried in two days; and what upon other occasions would have been counted for three victories, did not retard the march of the king a single hour. At last he appeared, with his eight thousand men, fatigued with so long a march, before a camp of eighty thousand Muscovites, defended by one hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon! and scarcely had the troops taken a short repose, when, without deliberating, he gave orders for the attack. The signal was two fusees, and the word, in German, "With the aid of God!" A general officer having represented to him the greatness of the danger, "Why! do you imagine," said he to him, "that, with my eight thousand brave Swedes, I shall not be able to defeat eighty thousand Muscovites!" A moment after, fearing that there appeared a little gasconade in these words, he ran after the officer himself: "Are you not then of my opinion?" said he to him: "Have I not a double advantage over my enemies? the one, that their cavalry can do them no service; and the other, that, the place being narrow, their numbers will only incommode them; and, therefore, I shall in reality be stronger than they." The officer did not wish to express a different opinion; and they marched against the Muscovites, about mid-day, on the 30th of November 1700.

As soon as the cannon of the Swedes had made a breach in their intrenchments, they advanced with their bayonets fixed on their fusees, having at their backs a furious shower of snow, which drove right in the enemy's faces. The Russians stood the slaughter half an hour, not quitting their trenches. The king made his attack upon the right of the camp, where the quarters of the czar were, hoping to encounter him, not knowing that the emperor himself was gone to seek the forty thousand men, who were expected every moment to arrive. At the first discharge of the enemy's muskets the king received a shot in his neck; but it being a spent ball, it lodged in the plaits of his black cravat, and did him no harm. His horse was killed under him. M. de Spart told me, that the king sprang nimbly upon another horse, saying, "These gentry here make me do my exercise;" and continued fighting and giving orders with the same presence of mind. After three hours' engagement, the intrenchments were forced on every side. The king followed the right of the enemy as far as the river Narva with his left wing, if about four thousand men, who were pursuing near forty thousand, can be entitled to that name. The bridge breaking under the fugitives, the river was in a moment filled with the dead. The others returned to their camp in despair, without knowing where they went; there they found some barracks, behind which they posted themselves. There they defended themselves for some time, not being able to make their escape; but, at last, their generals Dolgorouky, Gollofkim, and Fédérowitz, came and surrendered themselves to the king, and laid their arms at his feet; during which the duke de Croi, general of the army, arrived, and likewise surrendered himself, with thirty officers.

Charles received all these prisoners of distinction with as much politeness, and in as friendly a manner, as if he had been paying them the honours of an entertainment in his own court. He detained none but the generals. All the subaltern officers and soldiers were conducted, unarmed, as far as the river Narva, and were there furnished with boats, that they might pass over to their own country. In the mean time night approached, and the Muscovites on the right still continued fighting. The Swedes had not lost fifteen hundred men; while eighteen thousand Muscovites had been killed in their entrenchments, a great number drowned, and many had passed the river; yet there still remained a number in the camp sufficient to have destroyed the Swedes, to the last man. But it is not the number of the dead, it is the terror of the survivors, that occasions the loss of battles. The king took the advantage of the small part of the day that remained, to seize the enemy's artillery. He posted himself advantageously between their camp and the town, where he slept some hours on the ground, wrapped up in his cloak, waiting for day-break, that he might fall on the enemy's left wing, which was not yet entirely routed. But at two o'clock in the morning, General Wade, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and in what manner he had dismissed all the subaltern officers and soldiers, sent to beseech the same favour. The conqueror told him, that he had nothing to do but to approach at the head of his army, and lay down his arms and colours at his feet. Accordingly, this general soon after appeared with his Muscovites, who were about thirty thousand in number. They marched uncovered, soldiers and officers, through less than seven thousand Swedes. The soldiers, in passing before the king, threw their muskets and swords upon the ground, and the officers laid their ensigns and colours at his feet. He caused the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river, without detaining a single soldier prisoner. If he had kept them, the number of the prisoners would have been at least five times greater than that of the conquerors!

He then entered victorious into Narva, accompanied by the duke de Croi, and other general officers of the Muscovites. He caused their swords to be returned them; and knowing that they wanted money, and that the merchants of Narva would not lend them any, he sent a thousand ducats to the duke de Croi, and five hundred to each of the Muscovite officers, who could not cease admiring this treatment, of which they had not even an idea. A relation of the victory was immediately drawn up, to send to Stockholm, and to the allies of Sweden; but the king struck out with his own hand everything which appeared too much in praise of himself, and to reflect on the czar. His modesty could not, however, prevent them from striking, at Stockholm, several medals, to perpetuate the memory of these events. Among others, they struck one which represented the king, on the one side, standing on a pedestal, to which were chained a Muscovite, a Dane, and a Pole; on the other side was a Hercules, armed with his club, having a Cerberus under his feet, with this inscription: *Tres uno contrudit ictu.*

Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Narva, there was one who exhibited a striking instance of the revolution of fortune; he was the eldest son and heir of the king of Georgia; he was called the czarasis Artschelou. This title of czarasis signifies a prince, or son of the czar, among the Tartars as well as in Muscovy; for the word czar, or tsar, meant a king among the ancient Scythians, from whom all these people are descended, and is not derived from the Cæsars of Rome, so long unknown to these barbarians. His father, Mitelleski Czar, and master of the most beautiful part of the country which lies between the mountains of Ararat and the eastern extremities of the Black Sea, had been driven from his throne by his own subjects in 1668, and had chosen rather to throw himself into the arms of the emperor of Muscovy, than have recourse to the Turks. The son of this king, at the age of nineteen, desired to follow Peter the Great in his expedition against the Swedes, and was taken fighting, by some Finland soldiers, who had already stripped him, and were going to kill him, when Count Renschild rescued him from their hands, clothed him, and presented him to his master. Charles sent him to Stockholm, where this unhappy prince died some years after. The king, on seeing him depart, could not help making, in the hearing of his officers, a natural reflection on the strange destiny of an Asiatic prince, born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, going to live a captive among the snows of Sweden. "It is," says he, "as if I were one day to be a prisoner among the Tartars of the Crimea." These words made no impression at the time; but in the sequel they were remembered too well, when an event turned them into a prediction.

The czar was advancing by long marches with the army of forty thousand Russians, thinking to surround his enemy on all sides; when he heard, before he had proceeded half way, of the battle of Narva, and the dispersion of his whole camp. He was not so obstinate as to think of attacking with his forty thousand men, without experience or discipline, a conqueror who had just destroyed eighty thousand men in their entrenchments. He retraced the ground he had passed over, and pursued without ceasing the design of disciplining his troops at the same time that he civilised his subjects. "I know very well," said he, "the Swedes will beat us for a long time, but in the end they themselves will teach us to beat them." Moscow, his capital, was in terror and confusion at this defeat. Nay, such were the hauteur and ignorance of this people, that they imagined they had been conquered by a power more than human, and that the Swedes were real magicians. This opinion was so general, that public prayers were ordered to be put up on this occasion to St. Nicholas, patron of Muscovy. This prayer is too singular not to be repeated: it is as follows:—

"O Thou! who art our perpetual consoler in all our adversities, great St. Nicholas! infinitely powerful! by what sin have we offended thee in our sacrifices, kneelings, bowings, and thanksgivings, that thou hast thus abandoned us? We have implored thy assistance against those terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, and unconquerable destroyers; when, like lions, and bears who have lost their young, they have attacked us, terrified, wounded, and killed, by thousands, us, thy people. As it is impossible that this can be without sorcery and enchantment, we

beseech thee, O great St. Nicholas! to be our champion and our standard-bearer, to deliver us from this tribe of sorcerers, and to drive them far from our frontiers, with the recompense that is their due."

But, while the Muscovites were complaining to St. Nicholas of their defeat, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared himself for new victories.

The king of Poland had reason to expect that his enemy, being conqueror over the Danes and Muscovites, would presently fall upon him; he, therefore, united himself firmer than ever with the czar. These two princes agreed upon an interview, that they might take their measures in concert. They met at Birzen, a small town in Lithuania, without any of those formalities which only serve to retard business, and were unsuitable either to their situation or their humour. The princes of the North see each other with a familiarity which is not yet established in the southern parts of Europe. Peter and Augustus passed five days together in pleasures which bordered upon excess; for the czar, though he wanted to reform his nation, could never correct in himself his dangerous propensity to debauchery.

The king of Poland engaged to furnish the czar with fifty thousand German troops, which were to be hired of different princes, and for which the czar was to pay. The czar, on his side, was to send fifty thousand Russians into Poland, to learn the art of war, and promised to pay to Augustus three millions of rix-dollars in two years. This treaty, if it had been executed, might have been fatal to the king of Sweden; it was a ready and sure method of rendering the Muscovites good soldiers; it was, perhaps, forging chains for a part of Europe.

Charles prepared himself to prevent the king of Poland from reaping the fruit of this league. After having passed the winter at Narva, he appeared in Livonia, in the neighbourhood of Riga, the very same town which Augustus had in vain besieged. The Saxon troops were posted along the Dwina, which is very broad in that place; Charles, who was on the other side of the river, found it necessary to dispute their passage. The Saxons were not commanded by their prince, he being sick, but were headed by the Marshal de Stenau, who took the office of general—Prince Ferdinand, duke of Courland, commanding under him; and that very Patkul now defended his country against Charles XII., sword in hand, who formerly vindicated its rights with his pen, at the hazard of his life, against Charles XI. The king of Sweden had caused some large boats to be built on a new plan, the sides of which were much higher than ordinary, and could be raised or let down like a draw-bridge. When raised, they covered the troops on board; and when let down, they served as bridges to land them. He made use also of another artifice. Having remarked that the wind blew from the north, where he lay, to the south, where the enemy's camps were, he ordered that they should set fire to a quantity of wet straw; from which a thick smoke arising, it spread itself over the river, preventing the Saxons from seeing his troops, or observing what he was about. Under the cover of this cloud, he ordered several barks to put off full of the like wet fuel; so that the cloud, always increasing, and driven by the wind into the eyes of the enemy impossible for them to know whether the passing the river or not. Meanwhile conducted the execution of his stratage ing got over the greater part of the river, says he, to General Renschild, "the D be as favourable to us as the sea of Cop believe me, general, we shall beat the arrived in a quarter of an hour at the o and was mortified to find that he was t person that leaped on shore. He im landed his cannon, and formed a line while the enemy, blinded with smoke, we to oppose him, except by a few random s wind having dispersed the smoke, the Sw the king of Sweden already advancing them.

Marshal Stenau lost not a moment; had he perceived the Swedes, when h them with the best part of his cavalry. lent shock of this body falling upon the S the instant that they were forming their b threw them into disorder; they gave w broken, and pursued even into the riv king of Sweden rallied them in a mom middle of the water, as easily as if he passing them in review; after which his marching in closer ranks than before, Marshal Stenau, and advanced into t Stenau finding that his troops were, degree, panic-struck, like an able gene them retire into a dry place, flanked wi rass and a wood, where his artillery l advantage of the ground, and the time th to the Saxons to recover their first sur stored to them their former courage. Ch not hesitate to attack them; he had fift sand men with him; Stenau and the duke land about twelve thousand, with no other than one dismounted iron cannon. The l obstinate and bloody; the duke had tw killed under him; he penetrated three t the centre of the king's guard; but at la been knocked off his horse by a blow with end of a musket, disorder prevailed th his army, which no longer disputed the His cuirassiers took him up and carried with great difficulty, bruised and half dea the horses' heels, which trampled on h during the hottest part of the action.

The king of Sweden, after his victory Mittau, the capital of Courland. All the this duchy surrendered at discretion, a was a journey rather than a conquest. E without delay into Lithuania, conquerin went along. He felt a flattering satisfac he confessed it, when he entered the tow zen as a conqueror, where the king of Po the czar had conspired against him some before.

It was in this place that he conceive sign of dethroning the king of Poland, by t of the Poles themselves. Being one day his mind entirely taken up with this en and observing his usual abstemiousness he was wrapped in profound silence, and absorbed in the greatness of his conceptio a German colonel, who was present at di served, loud enough to be heard, that th which the czar and the king of Poland h

in the same place was somewhat different from that of his majesty. "Yes," said the king, rising, "and I have the more easily spoiled their digestion;" in short, intermixing a little policy with the force of his arms, he did not delay to prepare the event which he had meditated.

Poland, a part of the ancient Sarmatia, is a little larger than France, but less populous, though it is more so than Sweden. Its inhabitants were converted to Christianity only about seven hundred and fifty years ago. It is very singular that the language of the Romans, who never penetrated into this country, is at this time spoken nowhere in common but in Poland; there everybody speaks Latin, even the servants. This extensive country is very fertile, and the people are, consequently, less industrious. The artists and traders you meet with in Poland are Scots, French, and Jews, who purchase corn, cattle, and different commodities of the country, at a low price; and these they dispose of at Dantzic and in Germany, and sell to the nobles at a high price, to gratify the only species of luxury which they know and love. Thus this country, watered with the most beautiful rivers, rich in pastures, in salt-mines, and covered with luxuriant crops, remains poor in spite of its plenty, because the people are slaves, and the nobility are proud and indolent.

Its government is the most perfect model of the ancient government of the Goths and Celtæ, which has been corrected or altered everywhere else. It is the only state that has preserved the name of a republic with the royal dignity.

Every gentleman has a right to vote in the election of a king; and may even be elected himself. This most estimable right is attended with the greatest abuses; the throne is almost always put up to auction; and as a Pole is seldom rich enough to buy it, it has been often sold to strangers. The nobility and clergy defend their rights against the king, and deprive the rest of the nation of theirs. All the people are slaves; and such is the destiny of men, that by some means or other the many are, everywhere, subjected to the few. There the peasant sows not for himself, but for his lord; to whom himself, his lands, and the labour of his hands belong, and who can sell him, or cut his throat, as he would the beast in his field. All who are gentlemen are independent. There must be an assembly of the whole nation to try him in a criminal cause; and as he cannot be seized till he is condemned, he is hardly ever punished. There is a great number of poor; these engage in the services of the most powerful, receive a salary, and do the meanest offices for it. They like better to serve even their equals, than to enrich themselves by commerce; and, as they dress their masters' horses, give themselves the title of electors of kings, and destroyers of tyrants.

Any person seeing the king of Poland in the pomp of royal majesty, would believe him the most absolute prince in Europe; he is, however, the least so. The Poles really make that contract with him, which in other nations is mere supposition between the king and his subjects. The king of Poland, even at his consecration, and in swearing to the *pacta conventa*, absolves his subjects from the oath of obedience in case he violate the laws of the republic.

He nominates to all offices and confers all honours; nothing is hereditary in Poland but the land, and the rank of the nobility. The son of a palatine, or of the king, has no right to the dignities of his father; but there is this great difference between the king and the republic, that the former can take away no office after he has given it, while the republic may take away the crown from him if he transgresses the laws of the state.

The nobility, jealous of their liberty, often sell their votes, but seldom their affections. Scarcely have they elected a king, but, fearing his ambition, they oppose him by cabals. The grandees whom he has made, and whom he cannot unmake, often become his enemies, instead of remaining his creatures. Those who are attached to the court are objects of hatred to the rest of the nobility; this always forms two parties; an unavoidable division, and even necessary in those countries, where they will choose at the same time to have kings, and to preserve their liberties.

Whatever concerns the nation is regulated in the states-general, which they call diets. These states are composed of the body of the senate, and of several gentlemen. The senators are the palatines and the bishops; the second order is composed of the deputies of the particular diets of each palatinate. At these great assemblies, the archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, and viceroy of the kingdom during the interregnum, presides, and is the first man of the state, next to the king. There is seldom any other cardinal in Poland but him; because the Roman purple giving no precedence in the senate, a bishop who shall be a cardinal will be obliged either to take his rank as senator, or renounce the solid rights of the dignity of his own country, to support the pretensions of a foreign onour.

These diets, by the laws of the kingdom, ought to be held alternately in Poland and Livonia. The deputies often decide their business sword in hand, like their predecessors the ancient Sarmatians; and sometimes even in liquor, a vice of which the Sarmatians were ignorant. Every gentleman deputed to the states-general enjoys the same right which the tribune of the people at Rome had, of opposing the laws of the senate. Any one gentleman who says "I protest!" stops, by that single word, the unanimous resolutions of all the rest; and if he leaves the place where the diet is held, the assembly is dissolved.

To the disorders which arise from this law, they apply a remedy more dangerous than the disease. Poland is seldom without two factions: unanimity in their diets, therefore, being impossible, each party forms confederacies, in which they decide by the plurality of voices, without paying any regard to the protests of the minority. These assemblies, not warranted by law, but authorised by custom, are held in the name of the king, though often without his consent, and against his interest; something in the manner in which the League in France made use of the name of Henry III. to ruin him, and as the parliament of England which brought Charles I. to the block, began by placing that prince's name to all the resolutions which they took to destroy him. When the commotions are finished, it is the part of the general diets to confirm or quash the acts of these confederacies.

A diet can even alter everything that has been done at preceding ones; for the same reason that, in monarchical countries, a king can abolish the laws of his predecessor, and even his own.

The nobility, who make the laws of the republic, constitute its strength also. They appear on horseback upon any great occasion, and are able to form a body of one hundred thousand men. This great army, called the Pospolite, moves with difficulty, and is ill-governed: the difficulty of obtaining provision and forage makes it impossible for it to continue long assembled: it has neither discipline, subordination, nor experience; but the love of liberty which animates it renders it always formidable.

These nobles may be conquered, or dispersed, or even held in slavery for a time, but they soon shake off the yoke; indeed they compare themselves to the reed, which the wind bends to the ground, but which rises again as the wind ceases to blow. It is for this reason that they have no places of strength; they will have themselves to be the only bulwark of the republic; nor will they suffer their king to build any forts, for fear he should make use of them more to oppress than to defend them. Their country is of course entirely open, except two or three frontier towns. If in a war, either civil or foreign, they resolve to sustain a siege, they are obliged to raise fortifications of earth, repair the old walls, that are half ruined, and enlarge their ditches that are almost filled up, so that the town is generally taken before the intrenchments are completed.

The pospolite are not always on horseback to defend the country; they never mount without the order of the diets, though sometimes the simple order of the king is sufficient when the danger is imminent. The ordinary guard of Poland is an army, which ought always to be maintained at the expense of the republic. It is composed of two corps, under command of two different commanders in chief. The first corps is that of Poland, and ought to consist of thirty-six thousand men; the second, to the number of twelve thousand, is that of Lithuania. The two generals are independent the one of the other; and, though they are nominated by the king, they are not accountable to any person for their actions but the republic, and have an unlimited authority over their troops. The colonels are absolute masters of their regiments; and it belongs to them to maintain and pay the soldiery as they are able; but, being seldom paid themselves, they ravage the country, and ruin the peasants, to satisfy their own avidity and that of their soldiers. The Polish lords appear in these armies with more magnificence than they do in the towns, and their tents are more ornamented than their houses. The cavalry, which makes up two-thirds of the army, is composed of gentlemen, and is remarkable for the beauty of their horses, and the richness of their harness and accoutrements.

The gendarmes in particular, whom they distinguish by the names of hussars and pandours, never march without being accompanied by several valets, who hold their horses, which are adorned with plates and nails of silver, embroidered saddles, saddle-bows, and gilt stirrups, and sometimes of massy silver, together with large housings trailing after the manner of the Turks, whose magnificence the Poles imitate as much as possible.

In the same degree that the cavalry is fine and superb, the infantry was then proportionably wretched, ill-clothed, unarmed, without regimentals, or anything uniform. It was so at least till about the year 1710. These infantry, who resemble wandering Tartars, support hunger, cold, fatigue, and all the hardships of war, with astonishing fortitude.

One may see in the Polish soldiers the character of the ancient Sarmatians, their ancestors; the same want of discipline, the same fury to attack, the same readiness to fly from and to return to the attack, and, likewise, the same disposition to slaughter, when they are conquerors.

The king of Poland flattered himself at first, that, in case of necessity, these two armies would fight in his favour; that the Polish pospolite would arm themselves at his orders; and that all these forces, joined to the Saxons, his subjects, and to the Muscovites, his allies, would form a multitude before which the small number of the Swedes would not dare to appear. But he found himself almost at once deprived of these succours, by means of that very eagerness which he had manifested for having them all at once.

Accustomed in his hereditary dominions to absolute power, he imagined, too fondly, that he might govern in Poland as he did in Saxony. The beginning of his reign made malcontents; and his first proceedings irritated the party who had opposed his election, and alienated almost all the rest. The Poles murmured to see their towns filled with Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers lined with troops. More jealous of maintaining their liberty than anxious to attack their neighbours, they did not regard the war against the Swedes, and the irruption into Livonia, as an enterprise advantageous to the republic. It is difficult to deceive a free people respecting their real interests. The Poles knew, that if this war, undertaken without their consent, should prove unsuccessful, their country, open on every side, would become a prey to the king of Sweden; and that if it was successful, they would be enslaved by their own king; who, being then master of Livonia and Saxony, would shut up Poland between these two states. In this alternative, either to be slaves of the king whom they had elected, or to be ravaged by Charles XII. who was justly incensed, they raised but one cry against the war, which they believed to have been declared rather against themselves than Sweden. They regarded the Saxons and the Muscovites as the forgers of their chains; and seeing soon after that the king of Sweden had overcome everything which opposed his passage, and was advancing with a victorious army into the very heart of Lithuania, they exclaimed against their sovereign with so much the more freedom in proportion to his misfortunes.

Lithuania was, at this period, divided between two parties; that of the princes Sapieha, and that of Oginsky. These two factions began from private quarrels, and at last terminated in a civil war. The king of Sweden attached himself to the princes Sapieha; and Oginsky, ill supported by the Saxons, found his party almost annihilated. The Lithuanian army, whom these troubles and the want of money had reduced to a small number, was partly dispersed by the conquerors. The few

who held out for the king of Poland, were separated into small bodies of fugitive troops, who wandered about the country and subsisted by rapine. Augustus saw nothing in Lithuania but the weakness of his own party, the hatred of his subjects, and a hostile army, conducted by a young king, enraged, victorious, and implacable.

There was indeed an army in Poland, but instead of its being composed of thirty-six thousand men, the number prescribed by law, there were not even eighteen thousand; not only badly paid and badly armed, but their generals knew not as yet which side to declare for.

The only resource of the king was, to order his nobility to follow him; but he was afraid of exposing himself to the hazard of a refusal, which would have discovered his weakness, and, consequently, have augmented it.

It was in this state of trouble and uncertainty that all the palatinates demanded a diet of the king, in the same manner as in England, when all the bodies of the state, in times of difficulty, present addresses to the monarch beseeching him to convoke a parliament. Augustus had more need of an army than a diet, in which the actions of the king are strictly scrutinised. However, it was necessary that he should convoke the diet, for fear he should outrage the nation beyond reconciliation; it was accordingly appointed to be held at Warsaw, the 2nd of December, in the year 1701. He soon perceived, however, that Charles had at least as much power as himself in this assembly. Those who favoured the Sapiehas, the Lubomirskys and their friends, the palatine Leczinsky, treasurer of the crown (who owed his fortune to king Augustus), and especially the partisans of the princes Sobiesky, were all secretly attached to the king of Sweden.

The most considerable of these partisans, and the most dangerous enemy to the king of Poland, was the cardinal Radziejousky, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, and president of the diet. He was a man full of artifice and mystery in his conduct, entirely governed by an ambitious woman, whom the Swedes called *Madame Cardinal*, and who never ceased engaging him in intrigue and faction. The talent of the primate consisted, as we are told, in availing himself of circumstances, without seeking to give birth to them. He appeared often to be irresolute, for who is not so in a civil war? King John Sobiesky, the predecessor of Augustus, had first made him bishop of Warmia, and vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Radziejousky, being yet but a bishop, had obtained the cardinalship by the favour of the same king. This dignity soon opened his way to that of primate; thus uniting in his own person everything that overawes mankind, he was in a state to undertake anything with impunity.

The first trial he made of his credit, after the death of John, was to place the prince James Sobiesky on the throne; but the torrent of hatred which the father had incurred, though a truly great man, overwhelmed his son. After this the cardinal primate joined the abbé de Polignac, ambassador of France, to give the crown to the prince of Conti, who was indeed elected: but money and Saxon troops triumphed over his negotiations. He suffered himself, at last, to be drawn over to the party that crowned the elector of Saxony, and waited with patience for an opportunity of making a division between the nation and this new king.

The victories of Charles XII., protector of prince James Sobiesky, the civil war in Lithuania, and the general irritation of the public mind against Augustus, made the cardinal primate believe the time was come when he might send Augustus into Saxony, and open the way to the throne for king John's son. This prince, formerly the innocent object of the hatred of the Poles, had begun to engage their affections from the time of their hatred to king Augustus; but he durst not as yet conceive an idea of so great a revolution as that of which the cardinal was insensibly laying the foundation.

At first he seemed to wish to reconcile the king and the republic; he sent circular letters dictated in appearance by the spirit of concord and charity; common and well-known snares, but with which men are always caught. He wrote an affecting letter to the king of Sweden, conjuring him, in the name of Him whom all Christians equally adored, to give peace to Poland and her king. Charles XII. returned an answer to the cardinal's motives rather than to his words; in the mean time he remained in the grand-duchy of Lithuania with his victorious army, declaring that he would not disturb the diet; that he made war against Augustus and the Saxons, and not against the Poles; and that, so far from attacking the republic, he came to relieve it from oppression. These letters and these answers were intended for the public. The emissaries that were continually going and coming between the cardinal and count Piper, and the secret assemblies at the prelate's house, were the springs that regulated the motions of the diet. They proposed to send an ambassador to Charles XII.; and unanimously demanded of the king, that he should call no more Muscovites to his frontiers, and that he should also send back his Saxon troops.

The bad fortune of Augustus had already done what the diet required of him. The league secretly concluded at Birzen with the Muscovites was now become as useless as it had at first appeared formidable. He was far from being able to send to the czar the fifty thousand Germans he had promised to raise in the empire. Even the czar, a dangerous neighbour of Poland, was in no haste to assist with all his force a divided kingdom, from whose misfortunes he hoped to reap some advantage; he contented himself with sending twenty thousand Muscovites into Lithuania, who did more mischief than the Swedes, flying everywhere before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the Poles; till, at last, being pursued by the Swedish generals, and finding nothing more to pillage, they returned in bodies to their own country. With regard to the shattered remains of the Saxon armies, beaten at Riga, Augustus sent them to winter and recruit in Saxony; to the end that this sacrifice, involuntary as it was, might regain him the affections of the irritated Poles.

Hostilities were now converted into intrigues; the diet was divided into almost as many factions as there were palatines. One day the interests of king Augustus prevailed, the next they were proscribed; every one cried out for liberty and justice; but no one knew what it was either to be

free or just: the time was lost by caballing in private, and haranguing in public; the diet knew neither what they wanted nor what they ought to do. Great assemblies have hardly ever taken right counsel in civil broils, because the most courageous amongst them are engaged in the sedition, and the well-disposed are generally a prey to their fears. The diet dissolved in tumult the 17th of February, in the year 1702, after three months of cabals and irresolution. The senators, who are the palatines and bishops, remained at Warsaw. The senate of Poland has a right to make laws provisionally, which the diet seldom disannul. This body being less numerous, and accustomed to business, was far less tumultuous, and came to a decision with greater despatch. They decreed that they should send to the king of Sweden the embassy proposed in the diet; that the pospolite should mount their horses, and hold themselves in readiness at all events: they made several regulations to appease the troubles in Lithuania, and still more to lessen the authority of their king, which was more to be feared than that of Charles.

Augustus chose rather at that time to receive hard conditions from his conqueror than from his subjects. He determined to sue for a peace to the king of Sweden, and wanted to make a secret treaty with him. It was necessary to conceal this step from the senate, whom he regarded as an enemy still more untractable than Charles. This was a delicate affair; he entrusted it to the countess of Konigsmark, a Swedish lady of high birth, and to whom he was at that time attached. This lady, celebrated in the world for her wit and beauty, was more capable than any minister to bring a negotiation to a happy conclusion. Moreover, as she had an estate in the dominions of Charles XII. and had lived a long time in his court, she had a plausible pretext to see this prince. She, therefore, went to the Swedish camp in Lithuania, and addressed herself directly to count Piper, who too hastily promised her an audience with his master. The countess, among those perfections which rendered her one of the most amiable persons in Europe, had the singular talent of speaking the languages of several countries, which she had never seen, with as much elegance as if she had been born there; she even amused herself sometimes in writing French verses, which might have been mistaken for the production of a person born at Versailles. Those she composed for Charles XII. the historian should preserve; she introduced the heathen gods praising the different virtues of Charles. The piece concluded thus:—

Enfin chacun des dieux discourant à sa gloire,
Le plaçait par avance au temple de Mémoire;
Mais Venus ni Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.

Nay, all the gods to sound his fame combine,
Except the deities of Love and Wine.

All her wit and beauty were thrown away upon a man like the king of Sweden, who persisted in refusing to see her; she, therefore, resolved to throw herself in his way, as he rode out to take the air, which he frequently did. She, one day, met him in a narrow path; she descended from her carriage as soon as she perceived him; the king made her a low bow, turned his horse about, and rode back in an instant; so that the only advantage which the countess of Konigsmark gained from her journey was, the satisfaction of believing that the king of Sweden feared nobody but her.

The king of Poland was now obliged to throw himself into the arms of the senate. He, therefore, made them two proposals, by the palatine of Marienburgh; the one, that they should leave to him the disposition of the army of the republic, to whom he would pay, out of his own revenue, two quarters' advance; the other, that they should permit him to bring back twelve thousand Saxons into Poland. The cardinal primate returned him an answer as severe as the refusal of the king of Sweden. He told the palatine of Marienburgh, in the name of the assembly, "that they had resolved to send an embassy to Charles XII., and that he would not advise him to bring back any Saxons."

In this extremity the king wished to preserve the appearance at least of royal authority. He sent one of his chamberlains on his own part, to wait upon Charles, to know from him, where and how his Swedish majesty would be pleased to receive the embassy of his master and the republic. Unfortunately, they had forgotten to ask a passport from the Swedes for this chamberlain; the king of Sweden, therefore, instead of giving him audience, caused him to be thrown into prison, saying, "that he expected an embassy from the republic, and not from Augustus." This violation of the right of nations no law, but that of a superior force, could excuse.

Afterwards, Charles, having left behind him garrisons in several towns in Lithuania, advanced beyond Grodno, a town well known in Europe for the diets that are held there, but ill built, and badly fortified. A few miles on the other side Grodno he met with the embassy of the republic; it was composed of five senators. They desired, in the first place, to regulate the ceremony of their introduction, a thing the king was a little unacquainted with; they then demanded that the republic should be styled "Most Serene;" and that the coaches of the king and the senators should be sent to meet them. They were answered, that the republic should be styled "Illustrious," and not "Most Serene;" and that the king never made use of a coach; that he had many officers about him, but no senators; that a lieutenant-general should be sent to meet them, and that they should come on their own horses.

Charles XII. received them in his tent, with some appearance of military pomp; their discourse was full of caution and reserve. It was remarked, that they were afraid of Charles, that they did not love Augustus, but that they were ashamed to take, by command of a stranger, the crown from a king whom they had elected. Nothing was concluded; and Charles gave them to understand, that he would settle all disputes at Warsaw.

His march was preceded by a manifesto, which the cardinal and his party spread over Poland in eight days. Charles, in this manifesto, invited all the Poles to join their vengeance to his, and pretended to persuade them that his interest and theirs was the same. They were, however, very different; but the manifesto, supported by a great party, by the confusion of the senate, and the

approach of the conqueror, made a very strong impression. They were obliged to own Charles for protector, because he would be so, and because it was happy for them that he contented himself with this title.

The senators who opposed Augustus published this manifesto aloud, even in his presence; the few who were attached to him observed a profound silence. At last, when they were apprised that Charles was advancing, by long marches, they all prepared, in the greatest confusion, to depart; the cardinal quitted Warsaw among the first; the greater part fled with precipitation; some retired to their estates, to wait the end of this affair, while others went to raise their friends. Nobody remained with the king but the ambassadors of the emperor and the czar, the pope's nuncio, together with a few bishops and palatines attached to his fortunes. He found it necessary to fly, likewise, as there was nothing as yet decided in his favour. He hastened, before his departure, to hold a council with the small number of senators who still represented the senate; but however zealous they were to serve him, they were nevertheless Poles, and had all conceived so great an aversion to Saxon troops, that they did not dare to grant him the liberty of recalling more than six thousand men for his defence; and even voted that those should be commanded by the grand-general of Poland, and sent back immediately after the peace. The armies of the republic, indeed, they submitted to his disposal.

After this resolution the king, too weak to resist his enemies, quitted Warsaw, little satisfied, even with his own party. He immediately published orders for assembling the pospolite and the armies, which were little more than empty names. He had nothing to hope for in Lithuania, where the Swedes then were; the army of Poland, reduced to a few troops, wanted arms, provisions, and inclination to fight. The greater part of the nobility, intimidated, irresolute, and disaffected, remained at their different estates. In vain did the king, authorised by the laws of the land, order, on pain of death, that every gentleman should mount his horse and follow him; it was become a problematical point whether they ought to obey him or not. His great resource was in the Saxon troops of the electorate, where the form of government being entirely absolute, did not leave him a doubt of their obedience. He had already secretly commanded twelve thousand Saxons to march, who were advancing with precipitation; he, likewise, recalled the eight thousand men he had promised the emperor in his war against France, and whom the necessity into which he was reduced obliged him to withdraw. To introduce so many Saxons into Poland was to exasperate the people at large, and violate the law made by his own party, who allowed him only six thousand: but he well knew, that if he was conqueror, they would not dare to complain; and if he was conquered, that they would not forgive him for introducing even the six thousand. At the time these soldiers were arriving in troops, and he was going from one palatinate to another, to assemble the nobility who were attached to him, the king of Sweden appeared before Warsaw, on the 5th of May, 1702. At the first summons the gates were opened to him; he dismissed the Polish garrison, disbanded the city-guard, established posts in every part of the town, and ordered the inhabitants to come and deliver to him their arms; but, satisfied with disarming them, and being unwilling to irritate, he demanded a contribution of no more than one hundred thousand livres.

Augustus, while employed in assembling his forces at Cracow, was very much surprised to see the cardinal arrive there. This man pretended to support the decency of his character to the very last, and endeavoured to dethrone the king with the exterior behaviour of a good subject; he gave him to understand, that the king of Sweden appeared disposed to listen to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly asked permission to seek him. The king granted him what he was not able to refuse; that is to say, an opportunity of doing him more mischief.

The cardinal primate hastened immediately to find the king of Sweden, before whom he had not as yet dared to present himself. He saw this prince at Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw, but without the ceremonies with which he had received the ambassadors of the republic; he found this conqueror dressed in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with gilt copper buttons, large boots, and buff-skin gloves, which came up to his elbows, in a chamber without tapestry, in which were his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein, count Piper, his first minister, and several general officers. The king advanced several paces to meet the cardinal, and they had a conference together of a quarter of an hour, both standing the whole time, which Charles finished, by saying aloud,—"I will not give peace to the Poles till they have elected another king." The cardinal, who expected such a declaration, caused it to be immediately made known to all the palatinates; assuring them of the extreme sorrow he felt at it, and representing, at the same time, the necessity there was to obey the conqueror.

At this news the king of Poland was convinced that he must either lose the throne or preserve it by a battle; he exhausted all his resources for this great decision; all his Saxon troops had arrived from the Saxon frontiers, and the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, where he still was, came in crowds to offer their services: he exhorted each of these gentlemen to remember their oaths, and they promised to shed the last drop of their blood to support him. Encouraged by their adhesion, and by the troops who bore the name of "The Army of the Crown," he went, for the first time, to seek the king of Sweden in person, whom he soon found, advancing towards Cracow.

The two kings met July 13, 1702, on a vast plain, near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow; Augustus had nearly twenty-four thousand men, while Charles had no more than twelve thousand. The battle began by discharges of artillery. At the first discharge from the Saxons, the duke of Holstein, who commanded the Swedish cavalry, a young prince of courage and virtue, received a cannon-ball in his reins: the king asked if he was killed, and was told yes; he made no answer; some tears fell from his eyes, and he held his hand up to his face for a moment; when, all on a sudden, he spurred his horse with all his might, and rushed into the midst of the enemy, at the head of his guards.

The king of Poland did everything that could be expected from a prince contending for his crown; he led his troops three times to the charge; but he had only the Saxons to fight by him; for the Poles, who formed his right wing, all fled at the commencement of the battle, some through fear, and others through disaffection. Charles's good fortune carried all before it, and gained him a complete victory; he took possession of the enemy's camp, their colours and artillery, and of Augustus's military chest. He did not stop in the field of battle, but marched directly to Cracow, pursuing the king of Poland, who fled before him. The citizens of Cracow had the temerity to shut the gates against the conqueror; he ordered them to be forced, and the garrison did not dare to fire a single gun, but were driven, with whips and canes, into the castle, where the king entered with them. One officer of artillery only having courage to prepare himself to put the match to a cannon, Charles threw himself upon him, and tore it out of his hand; the commander threw himself on his knees before the king. Three Swedish regiments were quartered, at discretion, among the citizens, and the town taxed with a contribution of a hundred thousand rix-dollars. The count de Steinbock, who was made governor, being informed there were some treasures hid in the tombs of the kings of Poland, in the church of St. Nicholas, at Cracow, had them opened; but found nothing, except some ornaments of gold and silver belonging to the church, of which, however, he took a part; Charles even sent a gold cup to one of the Swedish churches; which would have raised the Polish Catholics against him, could anything have prevailed against the terror of his arms.

He departed from Cracow with a fixed resolution to pursue the king of Poland without ceasing; but, a few miles from the town, his horse fell, and he broke his thigh bone; he was obliged to be carried back to Cracow, where he was confined to his bed for six weeks in the hands of his surgeons. This accident gave Augustus a little time to breathe; he immediately caused it to be reported throughout Poland and Germany, that Charles XII. was killed by this fall; this false report, believed for some time, threw every mind into astonishment and apprehension. In this short interval he assembled all the orders of the kingdom (before convoked at Sendomir), first at Marienburg and then at Lublin; this assembly was very numerous, few of the palatinates refusing to send their deputies thither. He regained almost every heart by presents and promises, and that affability, so necessary to absolute kings, to make themselves beloved, and to elected kings, to enable them to maintain their thrones. The diet was soon undeceived with regard to the false report of the death of the king of Sweden; but motion having been given to this great body, it still suffered itself to be carried along by the impulse it had received, all the members swearing to continue faithful to their sovereign; so much are great assemblies given to change! The cardinal primate himself, affecting still to be attached to Augustus, came to the diet of Lublin, where he kissed his majesty's hand, and did not refuse to take the oath with the rest! The oath was, "that they had never attempted, nor ever would attempt, anything against Augustus." The king excused the cardinal from the first part of the oath, and the prelate blushed when he swore to the last. The result of this diet was, that the republic of Poland should maintain an army of fifty thousand men, at their own expense, for the use of their sovereign; that they should give six weeks to the Swedes, to deliberate either as to peace, or the prosecution of the war; and the same time to the princess Sapieha, and the first authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to come and ask pardon of the king of Poland.

But during these deliberations, Charles recovered from his wound, and overturned everything before him. Always firm in the design of forcing the Poles to dethrone their king with their own hands, he caused a new assembly to be convoked at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal primate, to oppose that of Lublin; his generals represented to him, that this affair might be attended with endless delays, and prove ineffectual at last; that, in the interval, the Muscovites were improving in military science every day, in presence of the troops he had left in Livonia and Ingria; that the skirmishes which often happened in those provinces between the Swedes and the Russians were not always attended with advantages to the former; and, lastly, that his presence there might very soon be necessary. Charles, as unshaken in his projects as impatient in his actions, replied:—"Should I be obliged to stay here fifty years, I will not depart till I have dethroned the king of Poland."

He left the assembly of Warsaw to contend with that of Lublin by speeches and pamphlets, and to endeavour to justify their proceedings by the laws of the kingdom; laws always equivocal, which each party interprets to his own interest, and which success alone renders incontestible. As for himself, having increased his victorious troops with six thousand horse and eight thousand foot, which he had received from Sweden, he marched against the remainder of the Saxon army, which he had beat at Clissau, and which had an opportunity to rally and recruit, while his fall from his horse had confined him to his bed; the army shunned his approach, and retired towards Prussia, to the north-west of Warsaw. The river Bug was between him and his enemies; Charles swam across it, at the head of his cavalry, whilst the infantry sought a ford, somewhat higher. They came up with the Saxons the 1st of May, 1703, at a place called Pultusk. General Stenau commanded them, to the number of about ten thousand. The king of Sweden, in his precipitate march, had no more than the same number, presuming that a less would suffice. The terror of his arms was so great, that one-half of the Saxon troops fled at his approach, without giving him battle. General Stenau stood, indeed, for a moment, with two regiments, but was soon obliged to join in the general flight; and this army was dispersed before it was conquered. The Swedes did not take more than a thousand prisoners, nor kill more than six hundred; having more difficulty to pursue than to defeat them.

Augustus having nothing but the remains of his Saxons, who were beaten on every side, retired in haste to Thorn, an ancient town of Royal Prussia, upon the Vistula, and under the protection of the Poles. Charles immediately prepared to besiege

it; and the king of Poland, who did not think himself secure, retired, and flew into every corner of Poland where he could possibly assemble any soldiers, and into which the Swedes had not penetrated. In the mean time, Charles, amidst so many rapid marches, swimming across rivers, and hurried along with his infantry, mounted behind his cavalry, had not been able to bring up his cannon before Thorn, and was obliged to wait till it came from Sweden by sea.

While he was posted here, a few miles from the town, he would frequently advance too nigh the ramparts, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy. The plain dress which he always wore was, in these dangerous excursions, of more utility than he was aware of; as it prevented his being remarked and singled out by his enemies, who would have fired upon his person. One day, having advanced too near, with one of his generals *, named Lieven, who was dressed in a blue coat trimmed with gold, and being afraid that the general would be too easily distinguished, he ordered him to walk behind him; prompted to it by that magnanimity which was so natural to him, and which prevented him from reflecting, that he exposed his own life to imminent danger to save that of his subject. Lieven saw, too late, his error in putting on a remarkable dress, which endangered all those who were near him; and fearing equally for the king in any place whatever, hesitated whether he should obey; in the midst of this contest, the king took him by the arm, and, placing himself before him, screened him entirely; but at this instant a volley of cannon, which came in flank, struck the general dead, on the spot which the king had scarcely quitted. The death of this man, killed exactly in his stead, and because he had endeavoured to save him, contributed not a little to confirm the opinion which he entertained throughout his life of an absolute predestination; and made him believe that his fate, which had preserved him in so singular a manner, had still reserved him for the execution of greater things.

He now succeeded in every undertaking; his negotiations and his arms were equally happy. He was present as it were in every part of Poland; for his grand marshal, Renschild, was in the heart of the kingdom with a large body of troops; about thirty thousand Swedes, under different generals, spread to the north and east over the frontiers of Muscovy, withstood the efforts of the whole Russian empire; and Charles himself was in the west, at the other end of Poland, at the head of his choicest troops.

The king of Denmark, tied up by the treaty of Travendal, which his weakness had prevented him from breaking, remained silent. This monarch, always prudent, did not dare to discover his disgust at seeing the king of Sweden so near his dominions. At a greater distance towards the south-west lay the duchy of Bremen, between the rivers Elbe and Weser, the most remote territory of the ancient Swedish conquests, filled with strong garrisons, and opening to the conqueror a free passage into Saxony and the German empire. Thus, from the German ocean, almost to the mouth of the Borysthenes, comprehending the whole breadth of Europe, and even to the gates of Moscow, all was in consternation, and on the point of a general revolution. His ships, masters of the Baltic, were employed to transport into Sweden the prisoners he had made in Poland. Sweden, tranquil in the midst of these great commotions, enjoyed a profound peace, and shared in the glory of its king, without bearing the burthens of war, as the victorious troops were paid and maintained at the expense of the conquered.

In this general silence of the north before the arms of Charles XII. the town of Dantzic dared to displease him. Fourteen frigates, and forty transports, were bringing the king a reinforcement of six thousand men, with cannon and ammunition, to begin the siege of Thorn. It was necessary for these succours to sail up the Vistula. At the mouth of this river is Dantzic, a free and wealthy town, which enjoys with Thorn and Elbing the same privileges in Poland that the imperial towns possess in Germany. Its liberty has been alternately attacked by the Danes, the Swedes, and several princes of Germany, and nothing has preserved it but the mutual jealousy of those powers. Count Steinbock, one of the Swedish generals, assembled the magistrates in the king's name, and demanded passage for the troops and some provisions. The magistrates, with an imprudence common to those who treat with a superior power, were afraid either to refuse or absolutely to grant his request. The general, however, obliged them to grant him more than he had at first demanded, and even laid the town under a contribution of one hundred thousand crowns, by which means he made them pay for their imprudent hesitation. At last, the reinforcement, cannon, and ammunition, having arrived before Thorn, they began the siege the 22nd of September. Robel, governor of this place, defended it for a month with a garrison of five thousand men, at the end of which time he was obliged to surrender at discretion; the garrison were made prisoners of war, and sent into Sweden. Robel was presented to the king, disarmed. That prince, who never lost an opportunity of honouring merit in his enemies, gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a considerable present in money, and dismissed him on his parole. The honour which the town of Thorn derived from having formerly given birth to Copernicus, the discoverer of the true system of the globe, was of no service to it with a conqueror too little acquainted with these subjects, and who had not yet learned to reward anything but valour: but this poor petty town was condemned to pay forty thousand crowns; an excessive contribution for such a place.

Elbing, built on an arm of the Vistula, founded by the Teutonic knights, and annexed likewise to Poland, did not profit by the fault of the Dantzickers, but hesitated too long about giving passage to the Swedish troops. It was still more severely treated than Dantzic; Charles entered Elbing the 13th of December, at the head of four thousand men, with bayonets fixed to the ends of their fusees. The inhabitants, struck with terror, threw themselves on their knees in the streets, and begged for mercy: he had them all disarmed, quartered his soldiers upon the citizens, and then, having sent for the magistracy, he exacted, that very day,

* The first editions stated that this general was in scarlet; but the chaplain, Norberg, having sufficiently proved he was in blue, we have corrected the past error.

a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns. There were in the town two hundred pieces of cannon, and four hundred thousand pounds weight of powder, which he seized. A battle gained could not have procured him so many advantages.

All these successes were introductory to the dethronement of the king of Poland. Scarcely had the cardinal sworn to his king that he would attempt nothing against him, than he repaired to the assembly at Warsaw, always under the pretext of peace. He arrived, speaking of nothing but concord and obedience, though he was accompanied by a number of soldiers, whom he had raised on his own estate. At last he threw off the mask, and on the 14th of February 1704, in the name of the assembly, declared "Augustus, elector of Saxony, incapable of wearing the crown of Poland." They all pronounced, with one voice, the throne to be vacant. The will of the king of Sweden, and consequently that of the diet, was to give to prince James Sobiesky the throne of the king his father, king John. James Sobiesky was at Breslaw, in Silesia, waiting with impatience for the crown which his father had worn. He was, one day, hunting with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, a few miles from Breslaw, when thirty Saxon horsemen, secretly sent by king Augustus, rushing suddenly out of a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two princes, and carried them off without resistance. Fresh horses had been prepared, on which they were conducted to Leipsic, and there closely confined. This stroke deranged the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the whole assembly of Warsaw.

Fortune, who sports with crowned heads, placed Augustus, almost at the same instant, nearly in danger of being taken himself. He was at table, three leagues from Cracow, relying upon an advanced guard posted at some distance, when general Renschild appeared, after having carried off this guard. The king of Poland had but just time to mount his horse with ten other persons; general Renschild pursued him for three days, on the point of seizing him every moment. The king fled as far as Sendomir, the Swedish general still pursuing him; and it was only by singular good fortune that this prince escaped.

During all this time the party of Augustus and that of the cardinal treated each other as traitors to the country. The army of the crown was divided between these two factions. Augustus, at last, forced to accept of support from the Muscovites, repented that he had not recourse to them sooner. One time he fled into Saxony, where his resources were exhausted; then he returned to Poland, where no one dared to assist him. On the other hand the king of Sweden, victorious and tranquil, reigned over Poland more absolutely than Augustus had ever done.

Count Piper, who had a mind as much formed for politics as his master's was for true greatness, now proposed to Charles XII. that he should himself take the crown of Poland. He represented to him how easily it might be done with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, already subdued. He tempted him with the title of "Defender of the Evangelic Religion," a name which flattered the ambition of Charles. It would be easy, he said, to do in Poland what Gustavus Vasa had done in Sweden to establish Lutheranism, and to break the chains of the people, already enslaved by the nobility and clergy. Charles was tempted for a moment, but glory was his idol; to that he sacrificed his own interest, and the pleasure he would have enjoyed in taking Poland from the pope. He told count Piper that he was more flattered by giving than gaining kingdoms; and added, smiling, "You were intended for the minister of an Italian prince."

Charles was still near Thorn, in that part of Royal Prussia which belongs to Poland; from thence he extended his views to what was passing at Warsaw, and made himself respected by the neighbouring powers. Prince Alexander, brother of the two Sobieskys who were carried into Silesia, came and implored his assistance to revenge his wrongs. Charles granted his request so much the more readily, as he imagined he could revenge himself at the same time; but impatient to give a king to Poland, he proposed to prince Alexander his mounting the throne, from which fortune seemed determined to exclude his brother. Charles little expected a refusal; but prince Alexander told him, that nothing should ever engage him to profit by the misfortunes of his elder brother. The king of Sweden, count Piper, all his friends, and particularly the young palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus Leczinsky, pressed him to accept the crown: he was inflexible. The neighbouring princes heard with astonishment this uncommon refusal, and knew not which to admire most, a king of Sweden, who at twenty-two years of age gave away the crown of Poland, or prince Alexander, who refused it.

CHAPTER III.

Stanislaus Leczinsky elected King of Poland.—Death of the Cardinal Primate.—Masterly Retreat of General Schulemburg.—Exploits of the Czar.—Foundation of Petersburg.—Battle of Frauenstad.—Charles enters Saxony.—Peace of Altranstad.—Augustus abdicates the Crown in favour of Stanislaus.—General Patkul, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, is broken upon the wheel, and quartered.—Charles receives Ambassadors from several Princes.—Visits Augustus at Dresden, unattended.

YOUNG Stanislaus Leczinsky was at this time deputed by the assembly of Warsaw to make a report to the king of Sweden of several differences which had arisen during the absence of prince James. Stanislaus had a happy countenance, full of boldness and sweetness, with an air of probity and frankness, which, of all external advantages, is the greatest, and gives more force to words than even eloquence itself. The wisdom with which he discoursed of the king Augustus, the assembly, the cardinal primate, and of the different interests which divided Poland, struck Charles. King Stanislaus did the honour to inform me, that he said to the king of Sweden in Latin, "How can we proceed to an election if the two princes, James and Constantine Sobieaky, are captives!" and that Charles made answer, "How can we deliver the republic if we do not make an election!" This conversation was the only intrigue that placed Stanislaus on the throne. Charles purposely prolonged the conference that he might

the better sound the genius of the young deputy. After the audience, he said aloud, that till then he had not seen a man so proper to reconcile all parties. He made no delay in informing himself of the character of the palatine Leczinsky. He learnt that he was brave in the strictest sense, and inured to fatigue; that he accustomed himself to sleep on a straw mattress, and would not have any of his domestics to attend his person; that he observed a temperance not common to that climate, possessed great economy, was adored by his vassals, and the only lord, perhaps, in Poland, who had any friends, at a time when men acknowledged no ties but those of interest and faction. This character, which in several things accorded with his own, determined him entirely; and at the end of the conference he said aloud, "There is the man that shall always be my friend;" which words they soon perceived signified, "There is the man that shall be king."

Charles, who had formed his determination instantaneously, could not have found in all Poland a man more proper to reconcile all parties than the person he had chosen. The leading features of his character were humanity and benevolence. When Stanislaus was afterwards withdrawn into the duchy of Deux Ponts, some partisans who had formed a design of carrying him off, were taken in his presence. "What have I done to you," said he to them, "that you would deliver me to my enemies? of what country are you?" Three of these adventurers replied, that they were Frenchmen. "Well, then," said he, "be like your countrymen, whom I esteem, and be incapable of a base action." When he had finished speaking he gave them all that he had about him, his money, watch, and gold box, and they quitted him with tears and with admiration. This I know from two persons who were ocular witnesses of the fact. I can assert, with the same certainty, that, one day, as he was arranging the state of his household, he put upon the list a French officer who was attached to him. The treasurer asked in what quality his majesty chose he should be upon the list. "In quality of my friend," said the prince.

I have seen a considerable work which he had composed, to reform, if it had been possible, the laws and manners of his country. In this writing he sacrifices the privileges of the nobility, to which he belonged, and the royal prerogative, which had been given him, to the public good, and to the necessities of the people; a sacrifice which is more glorious than the gaining of battles.

When the primate of Poland found that Charles XII. had nominated the palatine Leczinsky, as Alexander had nominated Abdalonimus, he waited upon the king of Sweden, to endeavour to make him change this resolution, as he wished to give the crown to one Lubomirsky. "But what have you to allege against Stanislaus Leczinsky?" replied the conqueror. "Sire," said the primate, "he is too young." To which the king drily replied, "He wants but little of my age;" turned his back upon the prelate, and immediately sent the count de Hoorn to signify to the assembly of Warsaw, that it was necessary to elect a king in five days, and that they must also elect Stanislaus Leczinsky. The count de Hoorn arrived the 7th of July, and fixed the day of election on the 12th, in the same manner as he would have ordered the march of a battalion. The cardinal primate, disappointed of the fruit of so many intrigues, returned to the assembly, and exerted his whole strength to set aside an election in which he had no part. But the king of Sweden arriving at Warsaw, incognito, obliged him, for that time, to be silent: all that the primate could now do was, not to be present at the election; and as he could neither oppose the conqueror, nor was willing to second him, he confined himself to an useless neutrality.

Saturday, the 12th of July, the day fixed for the election, being come, they assembled at three o'clock in the afternoon at Colo, a field appointed for this ceremony: the bishop of Posnania came and presided at the assembly, in the place of the cardinal primate. He arrived, attended by several gentlemen of the party. The count de Hoorn and two other general officers assisted publicly at this solemnity, as ambassadors extraordinary from Charles to the republic. The session lasted till nine in the evening, when the bishop of Posnania closed it, by declaring, in the name of the diet, Stanislaus elected king of Poland; they instantly threw up their hats into the air, and the noise of their acclamations drowned the cries of the opposers. Charles XII. was among the crowd, and was the first to cry "Live Stanislaus!"

It was of no service to the cardinal primate, or to those who were willing to remain neuter, to absent themselves from the election: they were obliged next day to attend and perform homage to their new king. He received them as if he had been perfectly satisfied with their conduct; but the greatest mortification they underwent was, that of being compelled to follow him to the quarters of the king of Sweden. That prince rendered to the sovereign he had just made, all the honours due to the king of Poland; and to give a greater weight to his new dignity, he assigned him both money and troops.

Charles XII. departed immediately from Warsaw to finish the conquest of Poland. He had ordered his army to rendezvous before Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Russia, a place important in itself, and still more so, by the riches which it contained; it was imagined that it would have held out fifteen days, on account of the fortifications which Augustus had built there. The conqueror sat down before it on the 5th of September, and the next day carried it by assault; all who dared to resist were put to the sword. The troops, victorious and masters of the town, did not separate themselves to run to pillage, notwithstanding the great treasures which were in Leopold. They formed in order of battle in the great square; there, those who remained in the garrison came and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The king caused it to be published, by the sound of trumpet, that all those inhabitants who had any effects belonging to Augustus or his adherents, should bring them to him before the close of the day, on pain of death. The measures were so well taken that few dared to disobey; and four hundred chests, filled with gold and silver coin, plate, and other valuable things, were brought to the king.

The beginning of the reign of Stanislaus was distinguished almost at the same time by an event widely different. Some affairs, which absolutely demanded his presence, had obliged him to remain

at Warsaw. He had with him his mother, his wife, and two daughters. In this confusion he had nearly lost his second daughter, who was but one year old. She had been carried away by her nurse, who had lost her way, and he found her in the manger of a stable in a neighbouring village, where she had been abandoned. It was this very infant whom fate, after still greater vicissitudes, elevated to be queen of France.

The cardinal primate, the bishop of Posnania, and some grandees of Poland, composed the new court of Stanislaus; it was guarded by six thousand Poles of the army of the crown, who had lately entered into his service, but whose fidelity had not as yet been proved. General Hoorn, Governor of the town, had not more than fifteen hundred Swedes with him. There was a profound tranquillity at Warsaw, and Stanislaus proposed to depart in a few days for the conquest of Leopold; when all on a sudden, he was informed that a numerous army was approaching the town: it was king Augustus, who by a new effort, and one of the most skilful marches that ever general made, had deceived the king of Sweden, and was coming with twenty thousand men, to fall upon Warsaw, and to carry off his rival.

Warsaw was very badly fortified; the Polish troops entrusted with its defence were not to be relied on; and Augustus having spies in the town, Stanislaus must have perished had he remained there. He accordingly sent back his family, into Posnania, under a guard of Polish troops, such as he had most confidence in. The cardinal primate fled among the first to the frontiers of Prussia; many of the nobles took different routes; as for the new king, he immediately set out to find Charles XII.; learning at an early period to suffer disgrace, and forced to quit the capital, of which he had been but six weeks before elected sovereign. The bishop of Posnania was the only person who could not escape; he was confined by a dangerous distemper in Warsaw. Part of the six thousand Poles followed Stanislaus, the rest escorted his family. Such whose fidelity it was not judged prudent to expose to the temptation of returning to the service of Augustus, were sent into Posnania. As for general Hoorn, who was governor of Warsaw for the king of Sweden, he remained with his fifteen hundred Swedes in the castle.

Augustus entered into his capital as a sovereign irritated and triumphant. The inhabitants, before laid under contribution by the king of Sweden, were still more hardly treated by Augustus. The cardinal's palace, and all the houses of the confederate lords, with all their wealth, both in town and country were given to pillage. What was the most surprising in this sudden revolution was, that the pope's nuncio, who came with king Augustus, demanded in the name of his master, that they should deliver up to him the bishop of Posnania, as being accountable to the church of Rome, in the quality of a bishop, and the favourer of a prince placed on the throne by the arms of a Lutheran.

The court of Rome, which has always endeavoured to augment its temporal by means of its spiritual power, had a long time since established in Poland a kind of jurisdiction, at the head of which is the pope's nuncio: its ministers never let slip any favourable opportunity to extend their power; a power revered by the multitude, but always opposed by those of more wisdom. They assumed to themselves the right of judging of all ecclesiastical causes; and in times of trouble had usurped several other prerogatives, in which they maintained themselves till about the year 1728, when these abuses were corrected; abuses such as are never reformed till they become absolutely intolerable. Augustus, happy in any opportunity of punishing the bishop of Posnania with decorum, and at the same time desirous to please the court of Rome, against which at any other time he would have exerted himself, delivered the Polish prelate into the hands of the nuncio. The bishop, after beholding his house pillaged, was carried by the soldiers to the house of the Italian minister, and from thence into Saxony, where he died. Count de Hoorn sustained in the castle, where he was shut up, the continual fire of the enemy, till the place being no longer able to hold out, he surrendered himself prisoner of war, together with his fifteen hundred Swedes. This was the first advantage that Augustus had, during the torrent of his bad fortune, over the victorious arms of his enemy.

This last effort was an expiring blaze just going out. His troops, who were assembled in haste, consisted of Poles, ready to abandon him on the first misfortune; of Saxon recruits, who had never till then seen anything of war; of vagabond Cossacks, more fit to plunder the conquered than to conquer; and all of them trembling at the very name of the king of Sweden. This conqueror, accompanied by king Stanislaus, went to seek his enemy at the head of his choicest troops. The Saxon army fled everywhere before him. The towns for thirty miles round sent him their keys; nor was there a day which was not signalized by some advantage. Success became too familiar to Charles. He said, "It was rather going to hunt than going to war;" and complained that his victories cost him so little.

Augustus entrusted the command of his army for some time to count de Schulemburg, a very able general, but who had need of all his experience at the head of a dispirited army. He studied more to preserve his master's troops than to conquer. He carried on the war by cunning, the two kings pushed it with vigour. He stole several marches upon them, took possession of some advantageous posts, and sacrificed part of his cavalry to give his infantry time to make a sure retreat. After many feints and counter-marches, he found himself near Punitz, in the palatinate of Posnania, thinking that Stanislaus and the king of Sweden were at fifty leagues' distance from him. He learned upon his arrival, that the two kings had marched those fifty leagues in nine days, and that they were come to attack him with ten or twelve thousand horse; Schulemburg had but eight thousand foot and a thousand horse. It was necessary to maintain himself against a superior army, against the name of the king of Sweden, and against the natural fear with which so many defeats had naturally inspired the Saxons. He had always maintained, against the opinions of the German generals, that infantry was able to resist cavalry in the open field, even without the assistance of chevaux-de-frize; and he this day made the experiment, against a victorious cavalry, com-

manded by the two kings, and by the choicest of the Swedish generals. He posted himself so advantageously that he could not be surrounded; the first rank, armed with pikes and fusees, knelt with one knee upon the ground; and the soldiers, placed closely together, presented to the enemy's horse a kind of rampart, pointed with pikes and bayonets; the second rank inclined a little over the shoulders of the first; and the third, standing upright, fired at the same time from behind the other two. The Swedes, with their usual impetuosity, pressed down upon the Saxons, who expected them with firmness: the fire of the fusees, together with the points of the pikes and bayonets, maddened the horses, who began to rear and caper instead of advancing. By these means the Swedes attacked in disorder, and the Saxons defended themselves by keeping their ranks. If Charles had dismounted his cavalry, Schulemburg's army must have been routed without resource. This was the chief apprehension of that general, who expected that his enemy would take this resolution every moment; but neither the king of Sweden, who had so often put in practice all the stratagems of war, nor any of his generals, conceived this idea. This unequal combat of a body of cavalry against infantry, continued, with frequent interruptions and resumed attacks, near three hours; the Swedes lost more horses than men. Schulemburg gave ground at last, but his troops were not broken; he formed them into an oblong square; and, though he was wounded in five places, he, in this manner, maintained an orderly retreat, in the middle of the night, to the little town of Gurau, about three leagues from the field of battle; but he had scarcely begun to breathe in this place, when the two kings suddenly appeared in his rear.

Beyond Gurau, in marching towards the river Oder, was a thick wood, by leading them through which the Saxon general saved his fatigued infantry. The Swedes, without hesitation, pursued them through the wood, advancing with difficulty through paths scarcely passable by foot travellers; the Saxons had not crossed the wood above five hours before the Swedish cavalry. On the other side of this wood runs the river Parts, at the foot of a village named Rutsen. Schulemburg, who ordered boats to be immediately assembled, had carried over his troops, of which half were destroyed; Charles arrived at the time that Schulemburg had reached the opposite shore. Never did a conqueror pursue his enemy so vigorously. The reputation of Schulemburg depended upon his escaping from the king of Sweden: the king of Sweden, on his side, imagined his glory interested in taking Schulemburg, and the remains of his army: he lost no time, but made his cavalry swim over. The Saxons found themselves enclosed between this river of Parts and the great river of the Oder, which takes its source in Silesia, and is very deep and rapid at this place. The destruction of Schulemburg appeared inevitable; he attempted, however, to extricate himself from this extremity by one of those strokes of art which are equivalent to victories, and which are so much the more glorious as fortune has no share in them. He had no more than four thousand men remaining: upon his right was a mill, which he filled with his grenadiers; upon his left a marsh; a ditch lay before him, and his rear-guard was upon the banks of the Oder. He had no pontoons for passing the river, but, so early as the evening before, he had ordered floats to be prepared. Charles, the moment of his arrival, attacked the mill, persuaded that, as soon as it was taken the Saxons must either perish in the river or in the field; or that, at least, they must surrender at discretion, together with their general. However, the floats were ready, the Saxons passed the Oder by favour of the night: and, when Charles had forced the mill, he no longer found the enemy's army. The two kings bestowed their encomiums upon this retreat, which is, to this day, spoken of with admiration in the empire; and Charles could not prevent himself from saying, "Schulemburg has conquered us to-day." But what covered Schulemburg with honour was of very little benefit to Augustus; that prince abandoned Poland once more to his enemies: he retired into Saxony, and repaired, with precipitation, the fortifications of Dresden; being apprehensive, and not without reason, for the capital of his hereditary dominions.

Charles XII. now beheld Poland reduced to subjection; and his generals, following their king's example, had just beaten, in Courland, several small bodies of the Muscovites, who, since the great battle of Narva, had only shown themselves in small parties, and made war in this country like the vagabond Tartars, who pillage, fly, and then return only to fly again.

Wherever the Swedes came they imagined themselves sure of a victory, even when they were only twenty to a hundred: at this happy conjuncture Stanislaus prepared for his coronation. Fortune, who had elected him at Warsaw, and who had also driven him thence, again recalled him thither, amidst the acclamations of a crowd of nobility, whom the fortune of war had attached to him. A diet was convened in that city, and every obstacle removed; nor were there any, but the court of Rome, who opposed him. It was natural for Rome to declare for king Augustus, who, from a protestant, had become a catholic, that he might mount the throne; and against Stanislaus, placed on the same throne by the great enemy of the catholic religion. Clement XI. at that time pope, sent briefs to every prelate of Poland, and, in particular, to the cardinal primate, by which he threatened all with excommunication who dared to assist at the consecration of Stanislaus, or who attempted anything against the rights of king Augustus.

If these briefs were delivered to the bishops who were at Warsaw, it was to be feared that some would obey through weakness, and that the greater part, availing themselves of the circumstance, would become more troublesome in proportion as they felt themselves more necessary; every precaution was therefore used that the letters of the pope should not be received in Warsaw: however, a Franciscan received the briefs secretly, in order that he might deliver them into the prelate's hands: he immediately gave one to the suffragan of Chelm; this prelate, who was strongly attached to Stanislaus, carried it to the king unopened: the king caused the monk to be brought to him, and asked him, how he dared to take charge of such a business: the Franciscan replied, that it was by order of his general. Stanislaus desired him for the future to mind the orders of his king in preference to those of the general of the Franciscans,

and instantly banished him the town. The same day a placard was published by the king of Sweden, by which it was forbidden, under the most grievous penalties to all ecclesiastics, secular as well as regular, then in Warsaw, to concern themselves with the affairs of state. For greater security, he had guards planted at the gates of every prelate, and forbade any stranger to enter the town: he took upon himself these little severities in order that Stanislaus should not quarrel with the clergy at his accession. He said, that he relaxed himself from his military fatigues in stopping the intrigues of the Romish court, and that he must fight against that with paper, when he was obliged to attack other sovereigns with real arms.

The cardinal primate was solicited by Charles and Stanislaus to come and perform the ceremony of the coronation: but, as he did not imagine himself obliged to quit Dantzic to consecrate a king whom he did not wish to have been elected, and as his policy was, never to do anything without a pretext, he resolved to provide a lawful excuse for his refusal: he therefore caused the pope's brief to be fixed in the night time to the gate of his own house. The magistrates of Dantzic, struck with the indignity, made strict search after the offenders, but they were never found. The primate pretended to be irritated, but was, nevertheless, well satisfied: he had thus obtained a pretext for not consecrating the new king, and, at the same time, kept fair with Charles XII., Augustus, Stanislaus, and the pope! He died a few days after, leaving his country in dreadful confusion; having gained no advantage by all his intrigues; and having embroiled himself at once with the three kings, Charles, Augustus, and Stanislaus, the republic, and the pope, who had ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his conduct: but, as even politicians have sometimes remorse in their last moments, he wrote to king Augustus on his death-bed, imploring his pardon.

The consecration was performed with tranquillity and a degree of pomp, on the 4th of October, 1705, in the city of Warsaw, notwithstanding the custom which subsists in Poland of crowning the kings at Cracow. Stanislaus Leczinsky, and his wife Charlotta Opalinska, were consecrated king and queen of Poland by the hands of the archbishop of Leopold, assisted by several other prelates. Charles XII. saw the ceremony incog.; the only gratification he derived from his conquests!

While he was giving a king to the conquered Poles, and Denmark did not dare to trouble him; while the king of Prussia sought his friendship, and Augustus was withdrawing himself to his hereditary dominions, the czar was becoming every day more and more formidable: he had but weakly supported Augustus in Poland, but he had made powerful diversions in Ingria. As for himself, he not only began to be a good soldier, but he likewise taught the art of war to the Muscovites; discipline was established throughout his troops; he had able engineers, an artillery well served, and many good officers; and he likewise knew the great art of subsisting his armies. Some of his generals had learned both how to fight, and, as occasion required, to decline fighting: besides he had built a navy, capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltic. Confiding in all these advantages, entirely owing to his own genius, and the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by assault, August 21, 1704, after a regular siege, and after he had prevented its receiving any succours, either by sea or land. The soldiers, once masters of the town, hastened to pillage, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities; the czar ran on every side to stop the disorder and massacre; he snatched the women from the hands of the soldiers, who, after they had violated them, were going to cut their throats: he was even obliged to kill with his own hand, several Muscovites, who would not obey his orders. They show, to this day, at Narva, in the townhouse, the table upon which he laid his sword when he entered it; and they repeat the words with which he addressed the citizens who were assembled there: "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants that this sword is stained, but with that of the Muscovites, which I have shed to save your lives."

If the czar had always observed this humanity he had been the first of men. He aspired to more than the destruction of towns: he, at that time, was founding a city not far from Narva, in the midst of his new conquests; this was the city of Petersburg, which he made his residence and the centre of commerce: it is situated between Finland and Ingria, on a marshy island, around which the river Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the Gulf of Finland: he himself drew the plan of the city, the fortress, and the harbour, the quays which embellish it, and the forts which defend its entrance. This island, uncultivated and a mere desert, nothing but a heap of mud during the short summer of those climates, and in the winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entry but through pathless woods and deep morasses, and which had till then been the haunt of wolves and bears, was occupied in 1703, with above three hundred thousand men, whom the czar had assembled from his dominions. The peasants of the kingdom of Astracan and those who inhabit the frontiers of China were transported to Petersburg. It was necessary to clear forests, to make roads, to drain marshes, and to raise banks, before he could lay the foundation of the city: nature was forced in everything. The czar was determined to people a country which did not appear to be destined for men: neither the inundations which ruined his works, the sterility of the soil, the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which destroyed two hundred thousand men in the beginning, could make him change his resolution: the town was founded in spite of the obstacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unfortunate war, had raised against it. Petersburg had become a city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ships. The emperor attracted strangers by his beneficence, distributing lands to some, giving houses to others, and welcoming every artist that came to civilize this savage climate. Above all, he had rendered Petersburg inaccessible to the efforts of his enemies. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, were not able to injure this infant colony. It was tranquil in the midst of the war which surrounded it.

The czar, thus creating to himself new dominions, always held out his hand to Augustus, who was losing his; he persuaded him, by General Patkul who had lately entered into the service of

Muscovy, and was then the czar's ambassador in Saxony, to come to Grodno, to confer with him once more on the unhappy state of his affairs. Augustus came there with some troops, accompanied by General Schulemburg, whose passage over the Oder had rendered him famous through the north, and in whom he placed his last hope.

The czar arrived there also, followed by an army of seventy thousand men. These two monarchs concerted new plans for carrying on the war. Augustus, being dethroned, was no longer afraid of irritating the Poles by abandoning their country to the Muscovite troops. It was resolved that the army of the czar should divide itself into several bodies, to dispute every inch of ground with the king of Sweden. It was at the time of this interview that Augustus renewed the order of the White Eagle; a weak resource, to attach to his interests some Polish lords, more desirous of real advantage than of an empty honour, which becomes ridiculous when bestowed by a prince who has nothing of a king but the name. The conference of the two kings terminated in an extraordinary manner: the czar departed suddenly, and left his troops with his ally, to hasten and crush a rebellion with which he was threatened in Astracan. Scarcely was he gone, before Augustus ordered Patkul to be arrested at Dresden. All Europe was surprised that he dared, against the law of nations, and in appearance against his own interest, to throw into prison the ambassador of the only prince who protected him.

The secret spring of this transaction, as a son of king Augustus did me the honour to tell me, was as follows: Patkul, proscribed in Sweden, for having defended the privileges of Livonia, his native country, had been general to Augustus; but his high and lofty spirit could ill accord with the haughtiness of General Fleming, the favourite of the king, who was more imperious and lofty than himself; he, therefore, passed into the service of the czar, whose general he then was, and his ambassador at the court of Augustus. Possessed with a penetrating genius, he plainly perceived that the views of Fleming and the chancellor of Saxony were, to propose a peace to the king of Sweden, at any price whatsoever. He immediately formed a design to prevent them, and to effect an accommodation between the czar and Sweden. The chancellor discovered this project of Patkul's, and obtained leave to seize his person. King Augustus told the czar, that he was a traitor who betrayed them both. He was, however, no further culpable than in having served his new master too well; but an ill-timed service frequently meets with the punishment due to treason.

In the mean time, on one side, seventy thousand Russians were divided into several small bodies, burning and ravaging the lands of Stanislaus' adherents; while, on the other, Schulemburg was advancing with fresh troops. The good fortune of the Swedes dispersed these two armies in less than two months. Charles XII. and Stanislaus attacked the separate bodies of the Muscovites, one after the other, with such vivacity, that one Muscovite general was beat before he heard of the defeat of his companion.

No obstacle could stop the conqueror; for, if he found a river between him and the enemy, Charles and his Swedes swam across it. A party of Swedes took the baggage of Augustus, in which they found two hundred thousand crowns of silver coin. Stanislaus seized eight hundred thousand ducats belonging to prince Menzikoff, the Muscovite general. Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours; every soldier leading a horse in his hand, to mount when his own was weary. The Muscovites terrified, and reduced to a small number, fled in confusion beyond the Borysthenes.

While Charles was driving the Muscovites before him, even into the very heart of Livonia, Schulemburg, at length, repassed the Oder, and advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men, to give battle to the grand marshal Renschild, who was esteemed the best general of Charles XII., and was called the Parmenio of this Alexander of the North. These two illustrious generals, who seemed to participate in the destiny of their masters, met in a place called Frauenstad, a spot already fatal to the troops of Augustus. Renschild had but thirteen battalions, and twenty-two squadrons, which made in all about ten thousand men. Schulemburg had double that number. It is remarkable, that he had in his army a body of six or seven thousand Muscovites, who had been long disciplined in Saxony, and were looked upon as veteran troops, combining the ferocity of the Muscovites with the discipline of the Germans. The battle of Frauenstadt was fought the 12th of February, 1706; but this very general Schulemburg, who, with four thousand men had, in some measure, baffled the fortune of the king of Sweden, sunk under that of general Renschild. The combat did not last a quarter of an hour. The Saxons did not resist a moment, and the Muscovites threw down their arms as soon as they saw the Swedes! The panic was so sudden, and the disorder so considerable, that the conquerors found, on the field of battle, seven thousand loaded fusees, which the enemy had thrown down without firing. Never was defeat more sudden, more complete, or more disgraceful; and yet no general ever made a finer disposition than Schulemburg, even in the opinion of the Swedish generals, as well as of the Saxons, who saw in the result of this day, how little human prudence has to do with the control of events.

Among the prisoners they found an entire regiment of French. These unfortunate men had been taken by the Saxon troops, in 1704, at the famous battle of Hochstet, so fatal to the grandeur of Louis XIV. They had entered since that into the service of king Augustus, who had formed them into a regiment of dragoons, and had given the command to a Frenchman of the house of Joyeuse. The colonel was killed at the first, or rather, the only charge of the Swedes, and the whole regiment were made prisoners of war.

The same day these Frenchmen begged to serve Charles XII., and they were accordingly received into his service by a singular destiny, which reserved them once more to change their conqueror into their master.

Though the Muscovites begged their lives on their knees, they were inhumanly massacred, about six hours after the combat, to revenge the violences offered by their countrymen, and in order that the Swedes might disengage them-

selves of prisoners whom they knew not how to dispose of.

The king heard of this new victory when he returned from Lithuania; but the satisfaction he received from it was disturbed by a small degree of jealousy. He could not help saying, "This is the last time that Renschild shall be compared with me."

Augustus now saw himself without resources; he had no place left him but Cracow, in which he was shut up with two regiments of Muscovites, two of Saxons, and some troops of the army of the crown, by whom he was even afraid of being delivered up to the conqueror; but his ruin was complete, when he learned that Charles XII. had at length entered Saxony, on the 1st of September, 1706.

He had marched through Silesia even without deigning to inform the court of Vienna. Germany, of course, was alarmed; the diet of Ratisbon, which represents the empire, but whose resolutions are often ineffectual in proportion to their solemnity, declared the king of Sweden an enemy to the empire if he passed the Oder with his army; this circumstance determined him to march the sooner into Germany.

At his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants fled on every side. Charles behaved here as he did at Copenhagen; he caused it everywhere to be published, that he was only come to give them peace, and that all those who would return home, and pay the contributions he demanded, should be treated as his proper subjects, but that the rest should be pursued without quarter. This declaration, from a prince who was never known to break his word, made those return in crowds who had before fled from fear. He pitched his camp at Altranstad, near the plain of Lutzen, a field famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. He went to see the place where that great man was killed. When they had conducted him to the spot, "I have endeavoured," said he, "to live like him; God will, perhaps, one day, grant me a death equally glorious."

He sent orders from the camp to the states of Saxony to assemble, and transmit to him, without delay, the registers of the electoral finances. As soon as he had them in his power, and was informed justly of what Saxony was able to furnish, he taxed it at six hundred and twenty-five thousand rix-dollars a month. Besides this contribution, the Saxons were obliged to furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of meat, two pounds of bread, two pots of beer, and four sols a day, together with forage for their horses. The contributions thus regulated, the king established a new police, to protect the Saxons from the insolence of his soldiers; he ordered that in every town where he placed garrisons the innkeepers who quartered them should give certificates every month of their conduct, in default of which the soldier was not to have his pay. Besides this, inspectors went every fifteen days from house to house, to inform themselves whether the Swedes had committed any outrage; and they were likewise authorised to indemnify the innkeeper, and punish the offender.

The severe discipline the troops of Charles XII. were kept under is well known, and that they never pillaged towns taken by assault, before they received permission; that they even then plundered in a regular manner, and left off at the first signal. The Swedes boast, to this day, of the discipline which they observed in Saxony, while the Saxons complain of the terrible outrages they committed; contradictions which it would be impossible to reconcile, were it not known how differently different men behold the same object. It was scarcely possible but that the conquerors would sometimes abuse their rights, as the conquered would take the slightest injuries for the most enormous outrages. One day as the king was riding near Leipsic, a Saxon peasant came and threw himself at his feet, entreating him to do him justice on a grenadier, who had just taken from him what was designed for his family's dinner. The king immediately caused the soldier to be brought to him; "Is it true," said he, with a stern countenance, "that you have robbed this man?" "Sire," said the soldier, "I have not done him so much injury as you have done his master; you have taken from him a kingdom, I have taken from this fellow nothing but a turkey." The king gave the peasant ten ducats, with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of his reply, saying to him, "Remember, friend, that if I have taken a kingdom from Augustus, I have kept nothing to myself."

The great fair of Leipsic was held as usual; the merchants were in perfect security; they never saw one Swedish soldier in the fair; one would have said, that the army of the king of Sweden was in Saxony only to preserve the safety of the country. He commanded throughout the electorate with a power as absolute, and a tranquillity as profound, as he did in Stockholm.

King Augustus, wandering in Poland, deprived at once of his kingdom and electorate, at last wrote a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. begging him to grant a peace. He secretly charged the Baron d'Imhoff, in conjunction with M. Fingstein, referendary of the privy council, to carry this letter; and gave them both full powers, and a blank signed; "Go," said he to them, "endeavour to obtain for me reasonable and Christian conditions." He was reduced to the necessity of concealing these overtures, and to decline the open mediation of any prince; for, being then in Poland at the mercy of the Muscovites, he had reason to fear that dangerous ally, whom he was now going to abandon, would take vengeance on him for his submission to the conqueror. His two plenipotentiaries arrived at the camp of Charles XII. in the night, and had a private audience. The king, having read the letter, told them they should have his answer immediately; and, accordingly, retiring to his closet, he wrote as follows:—

"I consent to give peace on the following conditions, in which it must not be expected that I ever will make the least alteration.

I. "That Augustus renounce for ever the crown of Poland; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king; and that he promise never to think of remounting the throne, not even after the death of Stanislaus.

II. "That he cancel all other treaties, particularly those he has made with the Muscovites.

III. "That he honourably send back to my camp the princes Sobiesky, with the other prisoners whom he has taken.

IV. "That he deliver up all the deserters who have entered into his service, particularly John Patkul; and that he stop all proceedings against such as have deserted from his service and entered into mine."

This written answer he gave to count Piper, with orders to negotiate the particulars with the plenipotentiaries of Augustus. These gentlemen were shocked at the severity of the proposals, and used all the little arts that men without power can employ, to mitigate, if possible, the rigour of the king. They had several conferences with count Piper; but that minister answered all their arguments with this short reply; "Such is the will of the king, my master, and he never changes his resolution."

While these negotiations were carrying on privately in Saxony, fortune seemed to put Augustus in a condition to obtain more honourable terms, and to treat with his conqueror on a more equal footing.

Prince Menzikoff, generalissimo of the Muscovite, entered Poland with a body of thirty thousand men, at a time when Augustus not only did not desire their assistance, but even dreaded it. He had only with him some Polish and Saxon troops, making in all about six thousand men. With so small a body of troops, surrounded by the army of prince Menzikoff, he had everything to fear in case the negotiation should be discovered. He saw himself at once dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being taken prisoner by his ally. In this delicate crisis, one of the Swedish generals, named Meyerfield, at the head of ten thousand men, appeared at Calish, near the palatinate of Posnania. Prince Menzikoff pressed Augustus to give them battle; who, being greatly embarrassed, delayed the engagement under various pretexts; for though the enemy had but one-third of his number, there were four thousand Swedes in Meyerfield's army, and that alone was sufficient to render the event doubtful. To attack the Swedes during the negotiation and to lose the battle was, in effect, to deepen the abyss in which he was already plunged. He resolved, therefore, to send a trusty servant to the Swedish general, to give him some distant hints of the peace expected, and advised him to retreat. But his advice produced an effect contrary to what he expected. General Meyerfield thought they were laying a snare to intimidate him; and for that reason resolved to hazard the battle.

The Russians now, for the first time, conquered the Swedes in a pitched battle. This victory, which Augustus gained almost against his will, was entire and complete. In the midst of his bad fortune, he entered triumphant into Warsaw, formerly his flourishing capital, but then a dismantled and ruined town, ready to receive any conqueror, and to acknowledge the strongest for king. He was tempted to seize upon this moment of prosperity to march with the Muscovite army to attack the king of Sweden in Saxony. But when he reflected that Charles XII. was at the head of an army hitherto invincible; that the Russians would abandon him on the first intelligence of the treaty he had begun; that his Saxon dominions, already drained of men and money, would be equally ravaged by the Swedes and Muscovites; that the empire, engaged in a war with France, could afford him no assistance; and that, in the end, he should be left without dominions, money, or friends; he thought it most advisable to comply with the terms the king of Sweden should impose. These became still more severe, when Charles heard that Augustus had attacked his troops during the negotiation. His resentment, and the pleasure of reducing an enemy still lower, who had just vanquished his forces, made him inflexible upon all the articles of the treaty. Thus the victory of Augustus served only to render his situation the more miserable; a circumstance which, perhaps, never happened to any one but himself.

He had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Warsaw, when Fingstein, one of his plenipotentiaries, arrived from Saxony with the treaty of peace which deprived him of his crown. Augustus hesitated for a while, but at length signed it, and set out for Saxony, vainly hoping that his presence would soften the king of Sweden, and that his enemy would perhaps remember the ancient affiance of their families, and the affinity of blood that ran in their veins.

These two princes met, for the first time, without ceremony, at count Piper's quarters, at a place called Gutersdorff. Charles was, as usual, in his jack-boots, with a piece of black taffety tied round his neck instead of a cravat; his clothes of coarse blue cloth, with gilt copper buttons. He had a long sword by his side, which had served him in the battle of Narva, and on the pommel of which he frequently leaned. The conversation turned wholly upon these jack-boots; Charles informing Augustus that he had not laid them aside for six years, except when he went to bed. These trifles were the only subject of discourse between the two kings, one of whom had just deprived the other of his crown! Augustus especially spoke with an air of complaisance and satisfaction, which princes and men accustomed to the management of great affairs know how to assume amidst the most cruel mortifications. The two kings dined together twice. Charles always affected to give Augustus the right hand; but far from mitigating the rigour of his demands, he only increased their severity. It was, doubtless, a very mortifying thing for a sovereign to be forced to deliver up a general officer, and public minister. It was still a greater debasement to be obliged to send the jewels and archives of the crown to his successor, Stanislaus. But that which rendered his degradation complete, was his being at last compelled to congratulate on his accession to the throne, the very man who was going to usurp his place. Charles required Augustus to write a letter to Stanislaus. The dethroned king endeavoured to evade the demand; but Charles insisted upon his writing the letter, and he was obliged to comply. Here follows an exact transcript of it, which I have seen. It is faithfully copied from the original, which is still in the possession of king Stanislaus.

"SIR AND BROTHER,

"WE little imagined it would have been necessary to enter into a literary correspondence with

your majesty; nevertheless, in order to oblige his majesty of Sweden, and to avoid the suspicion of our being unwilling to gratify his desire, we hereby congratulate you on your accession to the throne; and wish you may find in your native country more faithful subjects than we have left there. All the world will do us the justice to believe, that we have received nothing but the most ungrateful returns for our good offices, and that the greater part of our subjects seemed to have no other aim than to hasten our ruin. Wishing that you may never be exposed to the like misfortunes, we commit you to the protection of God.

"Your brother and neighbour,
Dresden, April 8, 1707. AUGUSTUS, King."

Augustus was obliged to give orders to all his magistrates no longer to style him king of Poland, and to erase this title, which he now renounced, from the public prayers. He was less averse to the release of the Sobieskies; these princes, upon quitting their prison, refused to see him; but the sacrifice of Patkul was the severest of all. The czar of Muscovy, on the one hand, loudly demanded him back as his ambassador; and, on the other, the king of Sweden, with dreadful menaces in case of refusal, insisted that he should be delivered up to him. Patkul was then confined in the castle of Konigstein, in Saxony. Augustus thought he might easily gratify Charles XII. and save his own honour. He sent his guards to deliver this unhappy man to the Swedish troops; but he previously despatched a secret order to the governor of Konigstein to let his prisoner escape. The bad fortune of Patkul defeated the efforts made use of to save him. The governor, knowing that Patkul was very rich, had a mind to make him purchase his liberty. The prisoner, still relying on the law of nations, and informed of the intentions of Augustus, refused to pay for that which he thought he had a title to obtain for nothing. The guards who were commissioned to seize the prisoner arrived during this interval, and immediately delivered him to four Swedish captains, who carried him forthwith to the head quarters at Altranstad, where he remained for three months, fastened to a stake, with a heavy iron chain; from whence he was conducted to Casimir.

Charles, forgetting that Patkul was the czar's ambassador, and considering him only as his own subject, ordered a council of war to proceed against him with the utmost rigour. He was condemned to be broken alive on the wheel and then quartered. A chaplain came to inform him of the fatal sentence, without acquainting him with the manner in which it was to be executed. Patkul, who had braved death in so many battles, finding himself alone with a priest, and his courage being no longer supported by pride or passion, the sources of human intrepidity, poured a flood of tears into the chaplain's bosom. He was betrothed to a Saxon lady, a woman of birth, of merit, and of beauty, and whom he expected to have married about the time that he found himself condemned to die. He entreated the chaplain to wait upon her, to give her all the consolation in his power, and to assure her that he died full of the most tender affection for his incomparable mistress. When he was brought to the place of punishment, and beheld the wheel and stakes, prepared for his execution, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself into the arms of the minister, who embraced him, covered him with his cloak, and wept over him. A Swedish officer then read aloud a paper to the following effect:—

"This is to give notice! That it is the express order of his majesty, our most merciful lord, that this man, who is a traitor to his country, be broke upon the wheel and quartered, in order to atone for his crimes, and to be an example to others; that every one may beware of treason, and faithfully serve his king." At the words "our most merciful lord," Patkul cried out, "What mercy!" and at those of "traitor to his country,"—"Alas!" said he, "I have served it but too well!" He received sixteen blows, and suffered the most excruciating tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate John Reinold Patkul, ambassador and general of the emperor of Russia*.

Those who looked upon him only as a rebel, said that he deserved death; but those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province that had privileges to defend, and remembered that he had been banished from Livonia, for no other reason than his having defended those privileges, called him a martyr to the liberty of his country. It was on all hands agreed, however, that the title of ambassador to the czar ought to have rendered his person sacred. The king of Sweden alone, educated in the principles of arbitrary power, thought that he had only performed an act of justice, while all Europe condemned his cruelty.

The mangled limbs of Patkul remained exposed upon gibbets till 1713, when Augustus, having regained his throne, caused these testimonies of the necessity to which he had been reduced at Altranstad to be gathered together. They were brought to Warsaw in a box, and delivered to him, in the presence of the French envoy. The king of Poland, showing the box to this minister, only said, "These are the limbs of Patkul!" without adding anything either to blame his conduct or bewail his memory, and without any one daring to speak on so delicate and mournful a subject.

About this time a Livonian, named Paikel, an officer in the Saxon troops, who had been taken prisoner in the field, was condemned at Stockholm, by a decree of the senate; but his sentence was only to lose his head. This difference of punishments, in the same case, made it but too plain that Charles in putting Patkul to such a cruel death, was more anxious to avenge himself than to punish the criminal. Be that as it may,

* The chaplain who attended this unhappy man has left a most appalling account of his execution, or rather murder. The executioner, either from unskilfulness or in pursuance of orders to execute the sentence in "the most rigorous manner," (which were given, according to the chaplain's account,) after the infliction of sixteen blows upon the various limbs, failed to destroy him by the *coup de grace*, as it was called; a blow upon the chest, which dealt with vigour was always fatal. This blow, although repeated, was ineffectual, and the wretched sufferer actually dragged his mangled frame, on all-fours, to the block, begging in piteous accents that his tortures might be ended by decapitation. The chaplain's account may be found in the fifth volume of Somers's Tracts.—Ed.

Paikel, after his condemnation, proposed to the senate to impart to the king the secret of making gold, on condition that he should obtain his pardon. He made the experiment in prison in presence of colonel Hamilton and the magistrates of the town; and whether he actually discovered some useful secret, or, which is more probable, the art of deceiving with ability, they carried the gold which was found in the crucible to the mint at Stockholm, and gave the senate such a full, and seemingly, such an important account of the matter, that the queen-dowager, Charles's grandmother, ordered his execution to be suspended till the king should be informed of this uncommon affair, and send his orders accordingly..

The king made answer, "That as he had refused the pardon of the criminal to the entreaties of his friends, he never would grant to interest what he had denied to friendship." This inflexibility had something in it very heroical in a prince, especially as he thought the secret practicable. Augustus, upon hearing this story, said, "I am not surprised at the king of Sweden's indifference about the philosopher's stone: he has found it in Saxony."

When the czar was informed of the strange peace which Augustus had, notwithstanding their former treaties, concluded at Altranstad; and that Patkul, his ambassador plenipotentiary, was delivered up to the king of Sweden, in contempt of the laws of nations, he loudly complained of these indignities to the several courts of Europe. He wrote to the emperor of Germany, to the queen of England, and to the States General of the United Provinces. He gave the terms of cowardice and treachery to the sad necessity to which Augustus had been obliged to submit. He conjured all these powers to interpose their mediation to procure the restoration of his ambassador, and to prevent the affront, which, in his person, was going to be offered to crowned heads. He conjured them, by the motives of honour, not to debase themselves so far as to become guarantees of the treaty of Altranstad; a concession which Charles XII. meant to extort from them by his threatening and imperious behaviour. These letters had no other effect than to set the power of the king of Sweden in a stronger light. The emperor, England, and Holland, were then engaged in a ruinous war with France, and judged it a very unseasonable juncture to exasperate Charles XII., by refusing the vain ceremony of being guarantees to a treaty. With regard to the unhappy Patkul, there was not a single power that interposed its good offices in his behalf; from whence it appears, what little confidence a subject ought to put in princes, and how much all the monarchs in Europe, at that time, stood in awe of the king of Sweden.

It was proposed in the council of the czar to retaliate this cruelty on the Swedish officers, who were prisoners at Moscow; but the czar would not consent to a barbarity which would have been attended with fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovites prisoners in Sweden than Swedes in Muscovy.

He studied a more advantageous revenge. The main body of the enemy's army lay inactive in Saxony. Lewenhaupt, general of the king of Sweden, who was left in Poland with about twenty thousand men, was not able to guard the passes into a country without forts and full of factions. Stanislaus was in the camp of Charles. The emperor of Muscovy seized this opportunity, and reentered Poland with above sixty thousand men. These he divided into several bodies, and marched with a flying camp to Leopold, where there was no Swedish garrison. All the towns of Poland yielded to any one that appeared before their gates at the head of an army. He caused an assembly to be convoked at Leopold, of much the same nature with that which had dethroned Augustus at Warsaw.

Poland had at that time two primates, as well as two kings; the one nominated by Augustus, the other by Stanislaus. The primate, nominated by Augustus, summoned the assembly of Leopold, to which they, whom that prince had abandoned by the peace of Altranstad, and such as were brought over by the money of the czar, immediately repaired. Here it was proposed to elect a new sovereign; so that Poland was upon the point of having three kings at once, without being able to say which was the real one.

During the conferences at Leopold the czar, whose interest was closely connected with that of the emperor of Germany, on account of the common dread which they entertained of the power of the king of Sweden, secretly obtained from him a number of German officers, who, daily arriving, increased his strength in a considerable degree, by bringing with them discipline and experience. These he engaged in his service, by several instances of liberality; and, the more to encourage his own troops, he gave his picture, set with diamonds, to all the general officers and colonels who had fought at the battle of Kalish: the subaltern officers had medals of gold, and every private soldier a medal of silver. These monuments of the victory of Kalish were all struck in the new city of Petersburg; where the improvement of the arts kept pace with the desire of glory and spirit of emulation which the czar had instilled into his troops.

The confusion, the multiplicity of factions, and the continual ravages prevailing in Poland, hindered the diet of Leopold from coming to any resolution. The czar, therefore, transferred it to Lublin; but the change of place did not lessen the disorder and perplexity in which the whole nation was involved. The assembly contented itself with neither acknowledging Augustus, who had abdicated the throne, nor Stanislaus, who had been elected against their will; but they were neither sufficiently united, nor had resolution enough to nominate another king. During these fruitless deliberations, the party of the princes Sapieha, that of Oginsky, those who secretly adhered to Augustus, and the new subjects of Stanislaus, all made war upon one another, plundered each other's estates, and completed the ruin of their country. The Swedish troops, commanded by Lewenhaupt, one part of which lay in Livonia, another in Lithuania, and a third in Poland, were daily in pursuit of the Russians, and set fire to everything that opposed Stanislaus. The Russians ruined their friends and foes without distinction; and nothing was to be seen but towns reduced to ashes, and wandering troops of Poles, deprived of all their substance, and detesting alike

their two kings, Charles XII. and the czar of Muscovy.

In order to quiet these commotions, and to secure the peaceable possession of the throne, Stanislaus set out from Altranstad on the 15th of July, 1707, accompanied by general Renschild, and sixteen Swedish regiments, and furnished with a large sum of money. He was acknowledged wherever he came. The discipline of his troops, which made the barbarity of the Muscovites to be more sensibly felt, conciliated the affections of the people. His extreme affability, in proportion as it was better known, reconciled to him almost all the different factions; and his money procured to him the greatest part of the army of the crown. The czar, apprehensive of wanting provisions in a country which his troops had laid waste, retired into Lithuania, where he had fixed the general rendezvous of his army, and where he resolved to establish magazines. This retreat left Stanislaus the undisturbed sovereign of almost all Poland.

The only person who gave him any uneasiness, was count Siniausky, grand general of the crown, having been nominated by Augustus. This man, possessed of no contemptible talents, and who entertained the most ambitious views, was at the head of a third party. He neither acknowledged Augustus nor Stanislaus; and, after having used his utmost efforts in order to procure his own election, contented himself with being the head of a party, since he could not be king. The troops of the crown, which continued under his command, had no other pay but the liberty of pillaging their own country with impunity; and all those who had either suffered or were apprehensive of suffering from the rapacity of these freebooters, soon submitted to Stanislaus, whose power was increasing every day.

The king of Sweden was then in his camp at Altranstad, receiving ambassadors from almost all the princes in Christendom; some entreating him to quit the empire, others desiring him to turn his arms against the emperor; and it was then the general report, that he intended to join with France in humbling the house of Austria. Among these ambassadors came the famous John, duke of Marlborough, on the part of Anne, queen of Great Britain. This man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle which he did not gain, was at St. James's a perfect courtier, in parliament the head of a party, and in foreign countries the most able negotiator of his time. He has done France as much mischief by his politics as by his arms. M. Fagel, secretary of the States-General, a man of the greatest merit, has been heard to say, that when the States-General had, more than once, resolved to oppose the schemes which the duke was about to lay before them, the duke came, spoke to them in French, a language in which he expressed himself but very indifferently, and yet he brought them all over to his opinion. Of the truth of this story lord Bolingbroke assured me.

He maintained with prince Eugene, the companion of his victories, and Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, the whole weight of the war which the allies carried on against France. He knew that Charles was incensed against the empire and the emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the French; and, that if this conqueror should espouse the cause of Louis XIV. the allies must be entirely ruined.

Charles indeed had given his word in 1700, that he would not intermeddle in the quarrel between Louis XIV. and the allies; but the duke of Marlborough could not believe that any prince would be so great a slave to his word as not to sacrifice it to his grandeur and interest. He therefore set out from the Hague, with a resolution to sound the intentions of the king of Sweden. M. Fabricius, who then attended Charles XII., assured me that the duke of Marlborough, on his arrival, applied secretly, not to count Piper, the prime minister, but to baron de Gortz, who now began with Piper to share the confidence of the king. He even went to the quarters of Charles XII. in the coach of this nobleman; where there passed some marks of coldness between the duke and the chancellor Piper: by whom, however, being afterwards presented, together with Robinson, the English minister, he spoke to the king in French. He told him, "that he should esteem it a singular happiness to have an opportunity of learning, under his command, such parts of the art of war as he did not yet understand." To this polite compliment the king made no return, and seemed to forget that it was Marlborough who was speaking to him. He even thought, as I have been told, that the dress of this great man was too much studied, and that it had too little air of a soldier. The conversation was tedious and embarrassing; Charles XII. speaking in the Swedish tongue, and Robinson serving as an interpreter. Marlborough, who was never in haste to make proposals, and who by a long course of experience had learned the art of diving into the real characters of men, and discovering the connexion between their most secret thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, regarded the king with the utmost attention. When he spoke to him of war in general, he thought he perceived in his majesty a natural aversion to France, and remarked, that he talked with pleasure of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the czar to him, and observed that his eyes always kindled at the name, notwithstanding the calmness of the conversation. He remarked, besides, a map of Muscovy lying before him upon the table. He wanted no more to convince him that the real design and sole ambition of the king of Sweden was to dethrone the czar, as he had done the king of Poland. He was sensible that if Charles remained in Saxony, it was only to impose some hard conditions on the emperor of Germany. He knew the emperor could make no resistance, and that thus all disputes would be easily accommodated. He left Charles therefore to follow the bias of his own mind; and, satisfied with having discovered his intentions, made him no proposals. These particulars I had from the duchess of Marlborough, his widow, who is still living.

As few negotiations are terminated without money, and as ministers are sometimes known to sell the hatred or favour of their masters, it was the general opinion throughout Europe, that the duke of Marlborough would not have succeeded so well with the king of Sweden, had he not made a handsome present to count Piper, whose memory still labours under the imputation. For my own part, after having traced this report to its source,

with all the care and accuracy of which I am master, I found that Piper received a small present from the emperor by the hands of the count de Wratislau, with the consent of his master, but nothing from the duke of Marlborough. Certain it is, Charles was so firmly resolved to dethrone the emperor of Russia, that he asked nobody's advice on that subject, nor wanted the instigation of count Piper to prompt him to wreak his long-meditated vengeance on the head of Peter Alexiowitz.

But what fully justifies the character of that minister was, the honour which, long after this period, was paid to his memory by Charles XII., who, having heard that Piper was dead in Russia, caused his body to be transported to Stockholm, and gave him a magnificent funeral, at his own expense.

The king, who had not, hitherto, experienced any reverse of fortune, nor even met with any interruption in his victories, thought one year would be sufficient for dethroning the czar; after which, he imagined he might return and set himself up as the arbiter of Europe. But, first of all, he resolved to humble the emperor of Germany.

Baron de Stralenheim, the Swedish envoy at Vienna, had quarrelled, at a public entertainment, with the count de Zobar, chamberlain of the emperor. The latter having refused to drink the health of Charles XII. and having declared that prince had acted ungenerously towards his master, Stralenheim gave him at once the lie and a box on the ear, and, besides this insult, boldly demanded reparation from the imperial court. The fear of displeasing the king of Sweden obliged the emperor to banish his subject, whom he ought rather to have avenged. Charles was not satisfied with this condescension, but insisted that count Zobar should be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to yield. The count was put into the hands of the king, who sent him back, after having detained him some time a prisoner at Stettin. He also demanded, contrary to the law of nations, that they should deliver up to him fifteen hundred unhappy Muscovites, who, having escaped the fury of his arms, had fled into the imperial territories. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this strange demand; and had not the Russian envoy at Vienna dexterously given these unhappy wretches an opportunity of escaping by different roads, they must have been delivered into the hands of their enemies.

The third, and last, of his demands was the strongest measure of all. He declared himself the protector of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia, a province belonging to the house of Austria, not to the Empire. He insisted that the emperor should grant them the liberties and privileges which had been established by the treaties of Westphalia, but which were extinguished, or at least eluded, by those of Ryswick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of such a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all he desired. The Lutherans of Silesia had above a hundred churches, which the Catholics were obliged to cede to them by this treaty: but many of these concessions, procured for them by the king of Sweden's good fortune, they were afterwards deprived of when that prince was no longer in a condition to impose laws.

The emperor who made these forced concessions, and complied in everything with the will of Charles XII., was Joseph, the eldest son of Leopold, and brother to Charles VI., who succeeded him on the throne. The pope's inter-nuncio, at that time residing at the court of Joseph, reproached him in very severe terms, alleging that it was a most scandalous condescension for a catholic emperor, like him, to sacrifice the interest of his own religion to that of heretics. "You may think yourself very fortunate," replied the emperor, with a smile, "that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me become a Lutheran; for if he had, I do not know what I should have done."

The count de Wratislau, the emperor's ambassador with Charles XII., brought to Leipsic the treaty in favour of the Silesians, signed with his master's hand; upon which Charles observed, he was the emperor's best friend. He was far from being pleased, however, that the court of Rome should have employed all its arts and intrigues in order to thwart his scheme. He treated with the utmost contempt the weakness of that court, which, having one half of Europe for its irreconcileable enemy, and placing no confidence in the other, can only support its credit by the finesse of its negotiations; nevertheless he resolved upon revenge. He told the count de Wratislau, that the Swedes had formerly subdued Rome, and had not degenerated like her. He sent the pope word, that he would one day re-demand the effects which queen Christina had left at Rome; and it is hard to say how far this young conqueror might have carried his resentment and his arms, had fortune favoured his designs. At that time nothing appeared impossible to him. He had even sent several officers, privately, into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength of those countries. Certain it is, that if any one had been able to overturn the empire of the Turks and Persians, and afterwards to pass into Italy, it had been Charles XII. He was as young as Alexander, as brave, as enterprising, more indefatigable, more robust, and more virtuous: the Swedes also were perhaps better soldiers than the Macedonians. But such projects, which are called divine when they succeed, are regarded only as chimerical when they fail of success.

At length, having removed every obstacle, and accomplished all his designs, having humbled the emperor, given laws in the empire, protected the Lutheran religion in the midst of the Catholics, dethroned one king, and crowned another, and rendered himself the terror of all the princes around him, he began to prepare for his departure. The pleasures of Saxony, where he had remained inactive for a whole year, had by no means abated the austerity of his mode of living. He rode out thrice a day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself with his own hands, drank no wine, sat at table only a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble.

The Swedes were still ignorant whither their king intended to lead them. It was only supposed he meant to go to Moscow. A few days before his departure, he ordered the quarter-master-general to give him, in writing, the route from Leipsic.—At that word he paused a moment; and, lest the quarter-master should discover his

project, he added, with a smile, "To all the capital cities of Europe." The quarter-master brought him a list of all these routes, at the head of which he placed, in great letters, "The route from Leipsic to Stockholm." The generality of Swedes were extremely desirous of returning home; but the king was far from intending to lead them back to their native country. "Mr. Quarter-master," said he, "I plainly see whither you would lead me; but we shall not return to Stockholm so soon."

The army was already on its march, and was passing by Dresden, when Charles, who was at the head of his men, always riding, as usual, two or three hundred paces before his guards, suddenly vanished from their sight. Some officers advanced, at full gallop, to see where he was: they ran to all parts, but could not find him. In a moment the alarm was spread through the whole army. The troops were ordered to halt; the generals assembled together, and were already in the utmost consternation; when at length they learned from a Saxon, who was passing by, what was become of the king.

Having approached very near Dresden, he took it into his head to pay a visit to Augustus. He entered the town on horseback, followed by three or four general officers. The sentinels at the gate asked them their names. Charles said his name was Carl, and that he was a Draban; and all the rest took fictitious names. Count Fleming, seeing them pass through the town, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could possibly be done on such an occasion immediately presented itself to the mind of that minister, who suggested it to Augustus. But Charles entered the chamber in his boots, before Augustus had time to recover from his surprise. Augustus was then sick, and in his night-gown; but dressed himself in haste. Charles breakfasted with him, as a traveller who comes to take leave of his friend; and then expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. During the short time he was engaged in walking round them, a Livonian, who had been proscribed in Sweden, and now served in the Saxon army, imagining that he could never find a more favourable opportunity of obtaining his pardon, entreated Augustus to ask it of Charles; persuading himself that his majesty would not refuse so small a favour to a prince from whom he had taken a crown, and in whose power he now seemed to be. Augustus readily undertook to make the request. He was then at some distance from the king, and was conversing with Hord, a Swedish general. "I believe," said he, smiling, "your master will not refuse me." "You do not know him," replied General Hord; "he is more likely to refuse you here than anywhere else." Augustus, however, was not dissuaded from preferring the petition, in very pressing terms; and Charles refused it in such a manner as to prevent a repetition of the request. After having passed some hours in this strange visit, he embraced Augustus and departed. Upon rejoining his army, he found all his generals still in consternation. They told him they had determined to besiege Dresden if his majesty had been detained prisoner. "Right," said the king; "but they durst not." Next day, upon hearing the news that Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden, "You will find," said Baron Stralenheim, "they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday." A few days after, Renschild coming to wait upon the king, expressed his surprise at this unaccountable visit to Augustus. "I confided," said Charles, "in my good fortune; but I have seen the moment that might not have been so fortunate for me. Fleming had no mind that I should leave Dresden so soon."

CHAPTER IV.

Charles leaves Saxony.—Goes in pursuit of the Czar.—Penetrates into the Ukraine.—His Defeats.—Is wounded.—The Battle of Pultowa.—Consequences of that battle.—Charles is forced to take refuge in Turkey.—How received in Bessarabia.

CHARLES, at length, took leave of Saxony in September 1707, at the head of forty-three thousand men, formerly covered with steel, but now glittering with gold and silver, and enriched by the spoils of Poland and Saxony; every soldier carrying with him fifty crowns in ready money. The regiments were not only complete, but every company had several supernumeraries, who waited for vacancies. Besides this army, count Lewenhaupt, one of his best generals, waited for him in Poland, with twenty thousand men. He had also another army, of fifteen thousand, in Finland; and fresh recruits were coming to him from Sweden. With all these forces, it was not doubted but that he would dethrone the czar.

The emperor of Russia was, at that time, in Lithuania, endeavouring to reanimate the party which Augustus appeared to have forsaken. His troops, divided into several bodies, fled on all sides, at the first news of the king of Sweden's approach. He had, himself, enjoined his generals never to wait for this conqueror with unequal forces; and he was, accordingly, well obeyed.

The king of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious march, received an ambassador on the part of the Turks. This ambassador had his audience at count Piper's marquée, in which all visits of ceremony were received. On these occasions this minister supported the dignity of his master by the appearance of a little magnificence, while the king, who was always worse lodged, worse served, and more plainly dressed, than the meanest officer in his army, used to say, that his palace was at count Piper's. The Turkish ambassador presented Charles with a hundred Swedish soldiers, who, having been taken by the Calmucks, and sold in Turkey, had been purchased by the grand seignior, who had sent them back to the king, as the most acceptable present he could make him. Not that the Ottoman pride deigned to pay homage to the glory of Charles XII., but because the sultan, being the natural enemy of the emperors of Russia and Germany, was desirous to fortify himself against them by the friendship of Sweden and the alliance of Poland. The ambassador likewise complimented Stanislaus upon his accession to the throne; so that this king was, in a short space of time, acknowledged by Germany, France, England, Spain, and Turkey. There remained only the pope, who deferred the acknowledgment till time should have settled the crown upon the head of a prince who might otherwise be deprived of it by a sinister accident.

Charles had scarcely given audience to the Turkish ambassador, before he went in pursuit of the Muscovites. The Russians had quitted and returned to Poland above twenty different times during the course of the war. This country, open on every side, with no fortresses to cut off the retreat of an army, gave the Muscovites an opportunity of often revisiting the very spot where they had formerly been vanquished, and even of penetrating as far into the heart of the kingdom as the vanquisher. During Charles's stay in Saxony the czar had advanced as far as Leopold, situated at the southern extremity of Poland; but was, at this time, at Grodno, in Lithuania, a hundred leagues from Leopold.

Charles left Stanislaus in Poland to defend his new kingdom, with the assistance of ten thousand Swedes, and his own subjects, against his foreign and domestic enemies; while he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and marched, amidst frost and snow, to Grodno, in the month of January 1708.

He had already passed the Niemen, about two leagues from the town, before the czar knew anything of his march. Upon the first news of the arrival of the Swedish army, however, the czar quitted the town of Grodno, by the north gate, and Charles entered it by the south; having only six hundred of his guards with him, the rest not being able to keep his pace. The czar fled with above two thousand men, apprehending that a whole army was entering Grodno. But being informed the same day, by a Polish deserter, that he had abandoned the place to no more than six hundred men, and that the main body of the army was still five leagues distant, he lost no time in detaching fifteen hundred horse of his own troops, in the evening, to surprise the king of Sweden in the town. This detachment, under favour of the darkness, arrived, undiscovered, at the first Swedish guard, which, though consisting only of thirty men, sustained for half a quarter of an hour the efforts of the whole fifteen hundred. The king, who was at the other end of the town, flew to their assistance, with the remainder of his six hundred guards; upon which the Russians retreated with precipitation. His army was not long in joining him, when he set out in pursuit of the enemy. All the Russian troops dispersed through Lithuania retired hastily to the eastward, into the palatinate of Minsk, near the frontiers of Muscovy, their general rendezvous. The Swedes, whom the king had likewise divided into several bodies, continued to pursue the enemy for more than thirty leagues. Both the pursued and the pursuers made forced marches almost every day, though in the middle of winter. Indeed, all seasons of the year had long become indifferent to the soldiers both of Charles and the czar: that terror alone, which the name of Charles inspired, was now the only difference between the Russians and the Swedes.

The country between Grodno and the Borysthenes, eastward, consists of morasses, deserts, and immense forests. Even in the cultivated spots there were no provisions to be had; the peasants burying their grain, and whatever else could be so preserved, under ground. These subterraneous magazines were discoverable only by boring the earth with iron augers; the Muscovites and the Swedes alternately making use of these provisions: but they were not always to be found, and even then were not sufficient.

The king of Sweden, who had anticipated these difficulties, had provided biscuit for the subsistence of his army, so that nothing could impede his march. After having traversed the forest of Minsk, where he was constantly obliged to cut down the trees to clear the road for his troops and baggage, he found himself, on the 15th of June, 1708, on the banks of the river Berezina, opposite to Borislow.

Here the czar had assembled the flower of his army, and entrenched himself to great advantage, his design being to hinder the Swedes from crossing the river. Charles posted some regiments on the banks of the Berezina, over against Borislow, as if he meant to attempt a passage in the face of the enemy; at the same time marching his army three leagues higher up the river, he threw a bridge across it, cut his way through a body of three thousand men who defended that pass, and, without halting, marched on toward the main body of the enemy. The Russians did not wait his approach, but decamped, and retreated towards the Borysthenes, breaking up the roads and destroying everything in their way, in order to retard the pursuit of the Swedes.

Charles, overcoming all these obstacles, continued advancing towards the Borysthenes. He was opposed in his march by twenty thousand Muscovites, entrenched at a place called Hollosin, behind a morass, which could not be approached without passing a river: Charles did not delay the attack till the rest of his infantry should arrive, but plunged into the water, at the head of his guards, and crossed the river and the morass, the water frequently reaching above his shoulders. While he was thus pressing forward to the enemy, he ordered his cavalry to go round the morass and attack them in flank: the Muscovites, astonished that no barrier could defend them, were instantly routed by the king, who attacked them on foot with his guards, and by the Swedish cavalry: these, having forced their way through the enemy, joined him in the midst of the battle. He then mounted on horseback; but observing soon after, among many others, a young Swedish gentleman named Gullienstiern, for whom he had a great regard, wounded, and unable to walk, he obliged him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot, at the head of his infantry. Of all the battles he had fought, this was perhaps the most glorious, being that in which he encountered the greatest dangers, and displayed the most consummate skill and prudence: the memory of it is still preserved by a medal, with this inscription on one side—*Silvæ, Paludes, Aggeres, Hostes victi:* on the reverse, the following verse of Lucan—

"Victrices copias alium laturus in orbem."

The Russians, everywhere driven from their posts, repassed the Borysthenes, which divides Poland from Muscovy; but this did not induce Charles to give over the pursuit: he followed them across that great river, which he passed at Mohilow, the last town of Poland, and which alternately belonged to the Poles and to the Russians, the common fate of frontier towns.

The czar, seeing his empire, in which he had lately established the polite arts and a flourishing,

trade, thus exposed to a war which in a short time, might overturn all his mighty projects, and perhaps his throne also, began to think seriously of peace; and, accordingly, ventured to make some overtures, by a Polish gentleman, whom he sent to the Swedish army. Charles, who had not been accustomed to make peace with his enemies, except in their own capitals, replied, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow." When this haughty answer was reported to the czar, he said, "My brother Charles always affects to play the part of Alexander; but I flatter myself he will not find in me another Darius."

From Mohilow, where the king passed the Borysthenes, advancing towards the north, about thirty leagues along the banks of that river, but still upon the frontiers of Poland and Muscovy, you enter the country of Smolensko, through which lies the great road leading from Poland to Muscovy: this way the czar directed his flight, and the king pursued him by long marches, so that part of the Russian rear-guard was frequently engaged with the dragoons of the vanguard of the Swedes. The latter had, generally, the advantage; but they were weakened, even by victory, in these small skirmishes, which were never decisive, and in which they constantly lost a number of men.

It was near Smolensko, on the 22d of September, 1708, that the king attacked a body of ten thousand horse and six thousand Calmucks. The Calmucks are Tartars, living between the kingdom of Astracan, subject to the czar, and that of Samarcand, belonging to the Usbec Tartars, and the country of Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. The country of the Calmucks extends, eastward, to the mountains which divide the dominions of the Mogul from the western parts of Asia. The inhabitants of that part of the country which borders upon Astracan are tributary to the czar, who lays claim to an absolute authority over them; but their vagrant life hinders him from making it good, and obliges him to treat them in the same manner in which the grand seignior treats the Arabs, sometimes conniving at, and sometimes punishing their depredations. There are always some of these Calmucks in the Russian army; and the czar had even subjected them to a regular discipline, like the rest of his soldiers. Charles attacked these troops with only six regiments of horse and four thousand foot, broke the Muscovites at the first onset, at the head of his regiment of Ostrogoths, and obliged them to fly. He pursued them through rugged and hollow ways, where the Calmucks, a while concealing themselves, soon re-appeared, and cut off the regiment at the head of which the king fought from the rest of the Swedish army. The Russians and Calmucks jointly surrounded this regiment, and forced their way even to the king's person. Two aides-de-camp, fighting near him, fell at his feet: the king's horse was killed under him; and, as one of his equerries was presenting him with another, both the equerry and horse were shot dead upon the spot. Charles then fought on foot, surrounded by his officers. Many of them were taken, wounded, or slain, or pushed to a great distance from the king by the crowds that assailed them, so that he was soon left with no more than five attendants. With his own hand he had killed above twelve of the enemy, without receiving a single wound! owing to that surprising good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and upon which he constantly relied. At length, a colonel, named Dardof, forced his way through the Calmucks, and, with a single company of his regiment, arrived time enough to save the king: the rest of the Swedes put the Tartars to the sword. The army joined its ranks; Charles mounted his horse; and, fatigued as he was, pursued the Russians to the distance of two leagues.

The conqueror was still in the great road to the capital of Muscovy; but the distance from Smolensko, near which the battle was fought, to Moscow, is about a hundred French leagues, and the army began to be in want of provisions. Count Piper earnestly entreated the king to wait till general Lewenhaupt, who was bringing him supplies, together with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, should arrive. The king, who seldom, indeed, took counsel of any, not only rejected this wholesome advice, but, to the great astonishment of all the army, quitted the road to Moscow, and began to march southward towards the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, situated between Little Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country extends about a hundred French leagues from north to south, and almost as many from east to west: it is divided into two parts, nearly equal, by the Borysthenes, which runs from the north-west to the south-east; the chief town is Bathurin, upon the little river Sem. The most northern part of the Ukraine is rich and well cultivated; the southernmost, in the forty-eighth degree of latitude, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and yet one of the most desolate; its wretched form of government stifles, in embryo, all the blessings which nature, if properly encouraged, would produce for the inhabitants. The people of these cantons, indeed, neither sow nor plant; because the Tartars of Budziac, Precop, and Moldavia, being all of them freebooters, would rob them of their harvests.

The Ukraine has constantly aspired after liberty; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the states of the grand seignior, and by Poland, it has been obliged to choose a protector, and, consequently, a master, in one of these three states. The inhabitants were originally under the protection of the Poles, who treated them too much like vassals; they afterwards submitted to the Russians, who governed them with as despotic a sway. They had formerly the privilege of electing a prince, under the name of general; but they were soon deprived of that right, and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow. The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman, named Mazeppa, born in the palatinate of Podolia; he had been educated as page to John Casimir; and had received some tincture of polite learning in his court. An intrigue which he had had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman having been discovered, the husband caused him to be whipped with rods, to be bound stark naked upon a wild horse, and turned adrift in that condition. The horse, which had been brought out of the Ukraine, returned to his own country, and carried Mazeppa with him, half dead with hunger and fatigue: some of the country people gave him assistance, and he lived among them for

a long time, signalising himself in several excursions against the Tartars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks, and his reputation greatly increasing, the czar found it necessary to make him prince of the Ukraine.

Being one day at table with the czar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him the task of disciplining the Cossacks, and rendering them docile and dependent. Mazeppa replied, that the situation of the Ukraine, and the genius of those people, were insuperable objects to such a scheme. The czar, who began to be overheated with wine, and had not at all times the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him impaled. Mazeppa, on his return to the Ukraine, conceived the idea of a revolt, the execution of which was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon after appeared on the frontiers. He was determined to render himself independent, and to erect the Ukraine, with some other ruins of the Russian empire, into a powerful kingdom. Brave, enterprising, and indefatigable, he entered secretly into a league with the king of Sweden to accelerate the ruin of the czar, and to convert it to his own advantage.

The king appointed an interview near the river Desna, where Mazeppa promised to meet him, at the head of thirty thousand men, with ammunition and provisions, together with all his treasures, which were immense. The Swedish army, therefore, continued its march on that side, to the great regret of all the officers, who knew nothing of the king's treaty with the Cossacks. In the mean time Charles sent orders to Lewenhaupt to bring his troops and provisions, with all possible despatch, into the Ukraine, where he proposed to pass the winter, that, having once secured that country, he might the more easily conquer Muscovy in the ensuing spring. He continued still to advance towards the river Desna, which falls into the Borysthenes at Kiow.

The obstructions the troops had hitherto encountered in their march were trifling, in comparison to what they met with in this new route: they were obliged to cross a marshy forest of fifty leagues. General Lagercron, who led the way with five thousand soldiers and pioneers, misled the army thirty leagues too far to the east; nor did the king discover Lagercron's mistake till after a wearisome march of four days. With difficulty they regained the right road; but almost all their artillery and wagons were lost, being either stuck fast, or entirely sunk in the morass.

At length, after a march of twelve days, attended with many vexatious and untoward circumstances, during which they had consumed the small quantity of biscuit that was left, the army, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, arrived on the banks of the Desna, the very spot which Mazeppa had marked out as a place of rendezvous; but, instead of meeting with that prince, they found a body of Muscovites advancing towards the other side of the river. The king was astonished, but resolved immediately to pass the Desna, and attack the enemy. The banks of the river were so steep, that the soldiers were obliged to descend to the water with ropes. They crossed it in their usual manner, some on floats, which were made in haste, and others by swimming. The body of Muscovites which arrived at the same time did not exceed eight thousand men, so that it made but little resistance; and this obstacle was also surmounted.

Charles advanced farther into this desolate country, equally as uncertain as to his route as he was of the fidelity of Mazeppa. The Cossack appeared at last, but rather like a fugitive than an ally. The Muscovites had discovered and defeated his design; they had fallen upon his troops and cut them in pieces. His principal friends being taken with arms in their hands, had, to the number of thirty, been broken on the wheel; his towns were reduced to ashes; his treasures plundered; the provisions he was preparing for the king of Sweden seized; and it was with great difficulty that he himself made his escape with six thousand men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. He gave the king, nevertheless, some hopes that he should be able to assist him, by his intelligence, in that unknown country, and by the affection of the Cossacks, who, being enraged against the Russians, flocked to the camp, and supplied the army with provisions.

Charles still flattered himself that general Lewenhaupt's arrival would repair his misfortune. He was to bring with him about fifteen thousand Swedes, who were better than a hundred thousand Cossacks, together with ammunition and provisions. At length he arrived, in much the same condition as Mazeppa. He had already passed the Borysthenes above Mohilow, and advanced twenty leagues beyond it, on the road to the Ukraine. He was bringing the king a convoy of eight thousand wagons, with the money which he had levied in his march through Lithuania. He no sooner approached the town of Lesno, near the conflux of the rivers Pronia and Sossa, which fall into the Borysthenes at a great distance beneath it, than the czar appeared, at the head of near forty thousand men.

The Swedish general, who had not sixteen thousand effective men, however, disdained availing himself of entrenchments. A long train of victories had inspired the Swedes with so much confidence, that they never informed themselves of the number of their enemies, but only of the place where they were. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, 1708, in the afternoon, Lewenhaupt, without hesitation, advanced against him. In the first attack the Swedes killed fifteen hundred Russians. The czar's army was thrown into confusion, and fled on all sides. The emperor of Russia saw himself upon the point of being entirely defeated. He was sensible that the safety of his dominions depended upon the success of this day, and that he must be utterly ruined, should Lewenhaupt join the king of Sweden with a victorious army.

The moment he saw his troops begin to give way, he flew to the rear-guard, where the Cossacks and Calmucks were posted. "I charge you," said he, "to fire upon every one that runs away, even on me myself, should I be so cowardly as to fly." Returning then to the van, he rallied his troops himself, assisted by the princes Menzikoff and Gallitzin. Lewenhaupt, who had received strict orders to rejoin his master, chose rather to continue his march than renew the battle, imagining

he had done enough to prevent the enemy from pursuing him.

Next morning, about eleven o'clock, the czar attacked him upon the border of the morass, and extended his lines, with a view to surround him. The Swedes faced about on all sides, and the battle was maintained with equal obstinacy. The loss of the Muscovites was three times greater than that of the Swedes; the former still kept their ground; and the victory was left undecided.

At four in the afternoon General Baver arrived with a reinforcement of Muscovite troops. The battle was then renewed, for the third time, with more eagerness than ever, and lasted till night; when, at length, superior numbers prevailed; the Swedes were broken, routed, and driven back to their baggage. Lewenhaupt rallied his troops behind the wagons. The Swedes were conquered, but disdained to fly. They were about nine thousand in number, and not so much as one of them deserted. The general drew them up in order of battle with as much ease as if they had not been defeated: the czar, on the other side, remained all night under arms, and forbade his officers under pain of being cashiered, and his soldiers under pain of death, to leave their ranks in order to plunder.

Next morning, at daybreak, he ordered a fresh assault. Meantime Lewenhaupt had retired to an advantageous situation, at the distance of a few miles, after having spiked part of his cannon, and set fire to his baggage-wagons.

The Muscovites arrived time enough to prevent the whole convoy from being consumed by the flames. They seized about six thousand carriages, which they saved. The czar, anxious to complete the defeat of the Swedes, sent one of his generals, named Phlug, to attack them again for the fifth time. That general offered them an honourable capitulation; Lewenhaupt refused it, and fought a fifth battle, as bloody as any of the former. Of the nine thousand soldiers he had left, he lost about one half, the other remained unbroken. At length, night coming on, the Swedish general, after having sustained five battles, against forty thousand men, passed the Sossa, with about five thousand soldiers that remained. The czar lost about ten thousand men in these five engagements, in which he had the glory of conquering the Swedes; and Lewenhaupt, that of disputing the victory for three days, and of effecting a retreat without having been forced in his last post. Thus he arrived at his master's camp, with the honour of bravely defending himself, but bringing with him neither ammunition nor army. Thus the king of Sweden found himself destitute of provisions, cut off from all communication with Poland, and surrounded with enemies, in the heart of a country where no resource was left him but his own courage.

In this extremity, the memorable winter of 1709, which was still more severe in that part of Europe than in France, destroyed numbers of his troops; for Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies, and ventured to make long marches during this bitter cold. It was in one of these marches that two thousand men fell almost frozen to death before his eyes. The dragoons had no boots, and the infantry were without shoes, and almost without clothes. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of wild beasts in the best manner they could, and they were frequently in want of bread. They had been obliged to throw almost all their cannon into the marshes and rivers, for want of horses to draw them; so that this once flourishing army was reduced to twenty-four thousand men, ready to perish with hunger. They no longer received any advices from Sweden, nor were able to send any thither. In this condition only one officer complained. "What," said the king to him, "are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a true soldier, I will lead you to such a distance, that you shall hardly be able to hear from Sweden once in three years."

The marquis de B***, afterwards ambassador in Sweden, told me, that a soldier ventured, in presence of the whole army, to present to the king, with an air of complaint, a piece of bread that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, which was the only food they then had, and of that not even a sufficiency. The king received the piece of bread without the least emotion, ate every morsel of it, and then coolly said to the soldier, "It is not good, but it may be eaten." This incident, trifling as it is, if indeed anything that increases respect and confidence can be called trifling, contributed more than all the rest to make the Swedish army support those hardships which would have been intolerable under any other general.

In this condition he at last received letters from Stockholm; but they brought only advice of the death of his sister, the duchess of Holstein, who was carried off by the small-pox, in the month of December 1708, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She was a princess as mild and gentle as her brother was imperious in his disposition and implacable in his revenge. He had always entertained a great affection for her, and was the more afflicted with her death, as, now beginning to taste of misfortunes himself, he was of course become a little more susceptible. He was informed that money and troops had at the same time been raised in Sweden, agreeably to his orders; but nothing could reach his camp, as between him and Stockholm there were near five hundred leagues to march, and an enemy superior in number to engage.

The czar, who was as active as the king, after having sent fresh troops to the assistance of the confederates of Poland, who, under the command of general Siniawsky, exerted their joint efforts against Stanislaus, immediately advanced into the Ukraine, in the midst of this severe winter, to make head against the king of Sweden. He continued to pursue the politic scheme he had formed of weakening his enemies by petty skirmishes; wisely judging that the Swedish army must, in the end, be entirely ruined, as it could not possibly be recruited. The cold must certainly have been very severe, as it obliged the two monarchs to agree to a suspension of arms. But, on the 1st of February, they renewed their military operations, in the midst of frost and snow.

After several slight skirmishes and some losses, the king perceived, in the month of April, that he had only eighteen thousand Swedes remaining. Mazeppa alone, the prince of the Cossacks, supplied them with provisions, without which assistance the army must have perished with cold and

hunger. At this conjuncture the czar made proposals to Mazeppa, to return again to his allegiance. But whether it was that the terrible punishment of the wheel, by which his friends had perished, made the Cossack apprehend the same danger for himself, or that he was desirous of revenging their deaths, he continued faithful to his new ally.

Charles, with his eighteen thousand Swedes, had neither lost the design nor the hope of penetrating to Moscow: he, therefore, towards the end of May, laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Vorska, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine, and more than thirteen leagues from the Borysthenes. This country is inhabited by the Zaporavians, the most extraordinary people on the earth. They are a collection of ancient Russians, Poles, and Tartars, professing a species of Christianity, and exercising a species of plunder resembling that of the Buccaneers. They elect a chief, whom they frequently depose or strangle. They suffer no woman to live among them, but carry off all the children for twenty or thirty leagues around, and bring them up in their own manners. In the summer, they always live in the open fields; in the winter, they shelter themselves in large barns, which contain four or five hundred men. They fear nothing, live free, and brave death for the smallest booty, with the same intrepidity as Charles XII. did in order to obtain the power of bestowing crowns. The czar gave them sixty thousand florins, in the hope to engage them in his interest. They took his money, but, through the intrigues of Mazeppa, immediately declared in favour of Charles; though their service was of very little consequence, as they esteem it a folly to fight for anything but plunder. It was of no small advantage, however, that they were prevented from doing harm. The number of their troops was, at most, but about two thousand. Ten of their chiefs were presented one morning to the king; but they had great difficulty to prevail on them to remain sober, as they commonly begin the day by getting drunk. They were brought to the entrenchments, where they showed their dexterity in firing with long carbines; for, being placed on the mounds, they killed at the distance of six hundred paces such of the enemy as were pointed out. To this banditti Charles added several thousand Wallachians, whom he had hired from the cham of Little Tartary. He then laid siege to Pultowa with all these troops of Zaporavians, Cossacks, and Wallachians; which, joined to his eighteen thousand Swedes, made up an army of about thirty thousand men; but an army in a wretched condition, and in want of everything. The czar had formed a magazine in Pultowa, which if the king had taken, he would have opened himself a way to Moscow; and have been able at least, amidst the great abundance he would then have possessed, to wait the arrival of the reinforcements which he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Pomerania, and Poland. His only resource, therefore, being in the conquest of Pultowa, he pressed the siege of it with great ardour. Mazeppa, who carried on a correspondence in that town, assured him that he would soon be master of it. This hope re-animated the whole army; for the soldiers considered the taking of Pultowa as the end of all their miseries.

The king was sensible, from the beginning of the siege, that he had taught his enemies the art of war; for, in spite of all his precautions, prince Menzikoff threw succours into the town; by which means the garrison was strengthened, to the number of almost five thousand men.

They made several sallies, and sometimes with success; they, likewise, sprung mines: but what rendered the town impregnable, was the approach of the czar with seventy thousand men. Charles set out to reconnoitre them on the 27th of May, the day of his birth, and beat one of their detachments; but as he was returning to his camp, he received a shot from a carbine, which pierced his boot, and shattered the bone of his heel. There was not the least alteration observable in his countenance from which it could be suspected that he was wounded: he continued to give orders with great composure, and, after this accident, remained near six hours on horseback. One of his domestics, observing that the sole of the king's boot was covered with blood, ran to call the surgeons; the pain was now become so exquisite, that they were obliged to assist him in dismounting, and to carry him into his tent. The surgeons examined the wound, and were of opinion that the leg must be cut off. The consternation of the army, on this occasion, was inexpressible, until one of the surgeons, named Newman, who had more skill and courage than the rest, affirmed, that by making deep incisions he could save the king's leg. "Fall to work then presently," said the king to him; "cut boldly, and fear nothing." He himself held his leg with both his hands, and beheld the incisions that were made in it, as if the operation had been performed upon another person.

While they were laying on the dressings, he ordered an assault to be made the next day; but he had hardly given this order, before he was informed that the whole army of the enemy was advancing against him. It became then necessary to alter his measures. Charles, wounded and incapable of acting, saw himself situated between the Borysthenes and the river that runs to Pultowa, in a desert country, without any places of security, without ammunition, and in the face of an army which at once cut off his retreat and prevented his being supplied with provisions. In this extremity he did not assemble a council of war, as has been published in some other accounts; but, on the night between the 7th and 8th of July, he sent for field-marshal Renschild into his tent, and without deliberation, or the least discomposure, ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for attacking the czar next day. Renschild made no objections, and went to carry his orders into execution. At the door of the king's tent he met count Piper, with whom he had had a misunderstanding for some time, which frequently happens between the minister and the general. Piper asked him if he had any news. "No," said the general, coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as count Piper had entered the tent, "Has Renschild told you anything," said the king. "Nothing," answered Piper. "Well, then, I will tell you," replied the king: "To-morrow we shall give battle." Count Piper was terrified at so desperate a resolution; but as he well knew it was impossible to persuade his master to change his mind, he expressed his surprise only by his silence, and left Charles to sleep until break of day.

On the 8th of July, 1709, the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought between the two most extraordinary monarchs that were then in the world: Charles XII., illustrious, in consequence of a succession of victories, during nine years; and the Czar Peter, distinguished by nine years of labours, taken to form troops equal to those of Sweden: the one glorious, for having given away dominions; the other, for having civilised his own: Charles, fond of dangers, and fighting for glory alone; Alexiowitz, not avoiding dangers, and making war only for advantage: the Swedish monarch, liberal from greatness of soul; the Muscovite, never giving but with some design: the one, master of a continence and sobriety beyond example, of a magnanimous disposition, and never cruel but once; the other, not having yet divested himself from the barbarism of his education, and of his country, as much the object of terror to his subjects as of admiration to strangers, and too prone to excesses, which even shortened his days. Charles bore the title of "Invincible," of which a single moment might deprive him: the neighbouring nations had given Peter Alexiowitz the name of "Great," which, as he did not owe it to his victories, he could not lose by a defeat.

To have an accurate idea of this battle and the place where it was fought, we must figure to ourselves Pultowa on the north, the camp of the king of Sweden on the south, stretching a little towards the east; his baggage about a mile behind him, and the river of Pultowa on the north of the town, running from east to west.

The czar had passed the river about a league from Pultowa, towards the west, and was beginning to form his camp.

At break of day the Swedes appeared before the trenches, with four iron cannon, the whole of their artillery; the rest were left in the camp, with about three thousand men, and four thousand remained with the baggage: so that the Swedish army which advanced against the enemy consisted of about one-and-twenty thousand men, of which there were about sixteen thousand Swedes.

The generals Renschild, Roos, Lewenhaupt, Schlipenback, Hoorn, Sparre, Hamilton, the prince of Wirtemberg the king's relation, and some others, the greatest part of whom had seen the battle of Narva, put the subaltern officers in mind of that day, when eight thousand Swedes defeated an army of eighty thousand Muscovites in their entrenchments. The officers exhorted the soldiers by the same motive, every one encouraging each other in their march.

The king, carried in a litter, at the head of his infantry led the march. A party of the cavalry advanced, by his order, to attack that of the enemy; and the battle began with this engagement at half an hour past four in the morning. The enemy's cavalry was posted toward the west, on the right side of the Russian camp. Prince Menzikoff and count Gallitzin had posted them at certain distances between redoubts, lined with cannon. General Schlipenback, at the head of the Swedes, rushed upon this body of cavalry. All those who have served in the Swedish troops know that it is almost impossible to withstand the fury of their first attack. The Muscovite squadrons were broken and routed. The Czar, who ran up to rally them in person, had his hat pierced with a musket-ball; Menzikoff had three horses killed under him; the Swedes cried out "Victory!"

Charles did not doubt but that the battle was gained: he had sent, in the middle of the night, general Creuts with five thousand horse or dragoons, who were to take the enemy in flank, while he attacked them in front; but, as his ill fortune would have it, Creuts mistook his way, and did not appear. The czar, who thought he was ruined, had time to rally his cavalry. He now, in his turn, fell upon that of the king, which, not being supported by the detachment of Creuts, was broken in its turn. Schlipenback was taken prisoner in this engagement. At the same time seventy-two pieces of cannon played from the camp upon the Swedish cavalry; and the Russian infantry, opening their lines, advanced to attack that of Charles.

The czar now detached prince Menzikoff to go and take a position between Pultowa and the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff executed his master's orders with dexterity and expedition; and not only cut off the communication between the Swedish army and the camp before Pultowa, but, meeting with a corps of reserve, three thousand in number, he surrounded them, and cut them to pieces. If Menzikoff performed this exploit of his own accord, Russia owes its preservation to him: if it was by the order of the czar, he was an adversary worthy of Charles XII. Meanwhile the Russian infantry advanced from their lines into the plain, in order of battle. On the other hand, the Swedish cavalry rallied within a quarter of a league from the enemy; and the king, assisted by field-marshal Renschild, made the necessary dispositions for a general engagement.

He ranged the remainder of his troops in two lines, his infantry occupying the centre, and his cavalry the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same manner: he, however, had the advantage of numbers, and of seventy-two pieces of cannon; while the Swedes had no more than four to oppose him, and began to be in want of powder.

The emperor of Muscovy was in the centre of his army, having then only the title of major-general, and seemed to obey general Zeremetoff. But he rode from rank to rank in the character of emperor, mounted on a Turkish horse, which was a present from the grand seignior, animating the captains and soldiers, and promising rewards to them all.

At nine in the morning the battle was renewed. One of the first discharges of the Russian artillery carried off the two horses of Charles's litter. He caused two others to be put to it. A second discharge broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. Of four-and-twenty Drabants who relieved each other in carrying him, one-and-twenty were killed. The Swedes, struck with consternation, began to give way, and the cannon of the enemy continuing to mow them down, the first line fell back upon the second, and the second began to fly. In this last action, only one line, of ten thousand Russian infantry, routed the whole Swedish army; so much were matters changed!

All the Swedish writers affirm that they would have gained the battle if they had not committed several blunders; but all the officers agree that it was a great error to give battle at all, and a greater still to shut themselves up in a desert

country, contrary to the advice of the most prudent generals, in opposition to a warlike enemy, three times stronger than Charles, both in the number of men, and in the many resources from which the Swedes were entirely cut off. The remembrance of Narva was the principal cause of Charles's misfortune at Pultowa.

The prince of Wirtemberg, general Renschild, and several principal officers, were already made prisoners; the camp before Pultowa was stormed; and all was thrown into a degree of confusion for which there was no remedy. Count Piper, with some officers of the Chancery, had left the camp, and neither knew what to do nor what was become of the king, but ran about from one corner of the field of battle to the other. A major, named Bere, offered to conduct them to the baggage; but the clouds of dust and smoke which covered the country, and the confusion of mind so natural amidst such consternation, brought them directly to the counterscarp of the town, where they were all made prisoners by the garrison.

The king refused to fly, and was unable to defend himself. It was at this instant that general Poniatowsky happened to be near him: he was a colonel in Stanislaus's Polish guards, a man of extraordinary merit, who had been induced, from his attachment to the person of Charles, to follow him into the Ukraine, without possessing any command. He was a man who, in all the occurrences of life, and amidst those dangers in which others would, at most, have displayed their courage, always took his resolution with despatch, prudence, and success. He made a sign to two Drabants, who took the king under the arms and placed him on horseback, notwithstanding the extreme anguish of his wounds.

Poniatowsky, though he had no command in the army, became on this occasion a general through necessity, and rallied five hundred horse near the king's person; some of them Drabants, others officers, and a few private troopers. This body being collected, and animated by the misfortune of their prince, made their way through more than ten Russian regiments, and conducted Charles, through the midst of the enemy, for the space of a league, to the baggage of the Swedish army.

Charles, being pursued in his flight, had his horse killed under him: colonel Gieta, though wounded, and fainting with loss of blood, gave him his. Thus, in the course of the flight, they twice put this conqueror on horseback, who had not been able to mount a horse during the engagement.

This surprising retreat was of great consequence in such distressful circumstances; but he was obliged to fly still further. They found count Piper's coach among the baggage; for the king had never used one since he left Stockholm: they put him into this vehicle, and took their route towards the Borysthenes with great precipitation. The king, who from the time they put him on horseback till his arrival at the baggage had not spoken a single word, at length inquired what was become of count Piper. They told him he was taken prisoner, with all the officers of the Chancery*. "And general Renschild, and the duke of Wirtemberg!" added the king. "They are also prisoners," said Poniatowsky. "Prisoners to the Russians!" returned Charles, shrugging up his shoulders: "Come, then, let us rather go to the Turks." They could not perceive, however, the least mark of dejection in his countenance; and whoever had seen him at that time, without knowing his situation, would never have suspected that he was conquered and wounded.

While Charles was making his escape, the Russians seized his artillery in the camp before Pultowa, his baggage, and his military chests, in which they found six millions in specie, the spoils of the Poles and Saxons. About nine thousand men, Swedes and Cossacks, were killed in the battle, and about six thousand taken prisoners. There still remained about sixteen thousand men, including the Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Borysthenes, under the conduct of general Lewenhaupt. He marched one way with these fugitive troops, and the king took another road, with some of his horse. The coach in which he rode broke down in their march, and they again set him on horseback. To complete his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood; where, his courage being no longer able to support his exhausted spirits, the pain of his wound becoming more intolerable through fatigue, and his horse falling under him through weariness, he lay several hours at the foot of a tree, in danger of being surprised every moment by the conquerors, who were searching for him on all sides.

At last, in the night of the 9th or 10th of July, he found himself opposite the Borysthenes. Lewenhaupt had just come up with the remains of his army. The Swedes beheld with a mixture of joy and grief their king, whom they supposed to have been dead. The enemy approached, and the Swedes had neither a bridge to pass the river, time to make one, powder to defend themselves, nor provisions to support an army which had eaten nothing for two days. At the same time, the remains of this army were Swedes, and the conquered king was Charles XII. Almost all the officers imagined that they were to wait there with firmness for the Russians, and either conquer or die on the banks of the Borysthenes. There was no doubt but Charles would have taken this resolution had he not been exhausted with weakness. His wound was now come to a suppuration, attended with a fever: and it has been remarked, that men of the greatest intrepidity, when seized with a fever, which is common in suppuration, lose that instinct of valour which, like other virtues, requires the direction of a clear head. Charles was now no longer himself. It is what I have been assured of, and what is most probably the truth. They carried him along like a sick person, in a state of insensibility. Happily a sorry calash was still remaining, which they accidentally had brought with them. This they put on board a little boat; and the king and general Mazeppa embarked in another. The latter had saved several coffers full of money; but the current being too rapid, and a violent wind beginning to rise, the Cossack threw more than three-fourths of his treasures into the river, to lighten the boat. Mullern, the king's chancellor, and count Poniatowsky, a man more necessary to the king than ever, by the resources which his ingenuity furnished in every difficulty, crossed over in other barks, with some

* Mullern, the chancellor, escaped, as will be seen below

officers. Three hundred of the Swedish cavalry, and a great number of Poles and Cossacks, trusting to the goodness of their horses, ventured to swim across the river. Their troops, keeping close together, resisted the current and broke the waves; but all those who attempted to pass a little below were carried down by the stream, and perished in the river. Of the infantry who risked the passage, not one arrived on the opposite shore.

While the shattered remains of the army were in this extremity, prince Menzikoff approached with ten thousand horsemen, having each a foot-soldier behind him. The carcases of the Swedes, who had died by the way of their wounds, fatigue, and hunger, sufficiently apprised him of the road which the fugitive army had taken. The prince sent a trumpet to the Swedish general, to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were immediately despatched by Lewenhaupt to receive the commands of the conqueror. Before this period, sixteen thousand Swedish soldiers under King Charles would have attacked the whole forces of the Russian empire, and would have perished to a man rather than surrender; but, after the loss of a battle, and flight of two days, deprived of the presence of their prince, who was himself constrained to fly, the strength of every soldier being exhausted, and their courage no longer supported by hope, the love of life overcame their natural intrepidity. Colonel Troutefette alone, afterwards governor of Stralsund, observing the Muscovites approach, advanced, with one Swedish battalion, to attack them, hoping, by this means, to induce the rest of the troops to follow his example. But Lewenhaupt was obliged to put a stop to this movement. The capitulation was settled, and the whole army were made prisoners of war. Some soldiers, in despair at the thoughts of falling into the hands of the Muscovites, precipitated themselves into the Borysthenes. Two officers of the regiment of the brave Troutefette killed each other, and the rest were made slaves. They all filed off in the presence of prince Menzikoff, laying their arms at his feet, as thirty thousand Muscovites had done nine years before at those of the king of Sweden at Narva; with this difference, that the king dismissed all these Muscovite prisoners, whom he did not fear, and the czar retained the Swedes who were taken at Pultowa.

These unfortunate men were afterwards dispersed through the czar's dominions, particularly in Siberia, a vast province of Great Tartary, which extends eastward, to the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In this barbarous country, where even the use of bread was unknown, the Swedes, become ingenious through necessity, exercised the trades and employments of which they had the least notion. All the distinctions of fortune among men were now levelled. The officer who could not follow any trade was obliged to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, now turned tailor, clothier, joiner, mason, or goldsmith, and who earned his subsistence. Some of the officers became painters, and others architects; some of them taught the languages and mathematics. They even established some public schools, which in time became so useful and famous, that children were sent there from Moscow.

Count Piper, the king of Sweden's prime minister, was for a long time confined in prison at Petersburg. The czar was persuaded, as well as the rest of Europe, that this minister had sold his master to the duke of Marlborough, and turned the arms of Sweden against Russia, which might otherwise have given peace to Europe. He therefore rendered his confinement the more severe. This minister died a few years after in Muscovy, little assisted by his own family, who lived in opulence at Stockholm, and vainly lamented by his king; who would never condescend to offer a ransom for his minister, which he feared the czar would not accept of, as no cartel of exchange had ever been settled between Charles and the czar.

The emperor of Muscovy, elated with a joy which he took no pains to conceal, received the prisoners upon the field of battle, whom they brought to him in crowds; and asked every moment, "Where then is my brother Charles?"

He did the Swedish generals the honour of inviting them to his table. Among other questions which he put to them, he asked General Renschild "What might be the number of his master's troops before the battle?" Renschild answered, "that the king alone had the muster-roll, and would never communicate it to any one; but that for his own part, he imagined the whole might be about thirty thousand, of which eighteen thousand were Swedes, and the rest Cossacks." . The czar seemed surprised, and asked "how they durst venture to penetrate into so distant a country, and lay siege to Pultowa with such a handful of men?" "We were not always consulted," replied the Swedish general; "but, like faithful servants, we obeyed our master's orders, without ever presuming to contradict them." The czar, at this answer, turned about to some of his courtiers who were formerly suspected of having engaged in a conspiracy against him. "Ah!" said he, "see how a king ought to be served;" and then, taking a glass of wine, "To the health," says he, "of my masters in the art of war." Renschild asked him who were the persons whom he honoured with so high a title. "You, gentlemen, the Swedish generals," replied the czar. "Your majesty is very ungrateful, then," replied the count, "for having handled your masters so rudely." After dinner, the czar caused their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and behaved to them like a prince who wished to give his subjects a lesson of generosity and politeness, with which he was well acquainted. But this very prince, who treated the Swedish generals with so much humanity, caused all the Cossacks that fell into his hands to be broken upon the wheel.

Thus the Swedish army, which had left Saxony in triumph, was now no more. One half had perished with hunger, and the other half were either massacred or made slaves. Charles XII. had lost, in one day, the fruit of nine years' labour and of almost a hundred battles. He was a fugitive in a wretched calash, having by his side major-general Hord, who was dangerously wounded. The rest of his party followed, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in wagons, through a desert where they neither saw huts, tents, men, beasts, nor roads: everything was wanting, even water itself. It was now the beginning of July; the country lay in the forty-seventh degree of latitude; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun more insupportable; the

horses dropped down by the way, and the men were ready to die of thirst. A brook of muddy water, which they found towards evening, was their only resource; they filled some bladders with this water, which saved the lives of the king's little troop. After a march of five days, he at last found himself on the banks of the river Hypanis, now called the Bog, by the barbarians, who have disfigured the very names of those countries which once flourished so nobly in possession of the Greek colonies. This river unites with the Borysthenes some miles lower, and falls along with it into the Black Sea.

On the other side of the Bog, towards the south, stands the little town of Oczakow, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants, seeing a troop of soldiers approach, to whose dress and language they were strangers, refused to carry them over the river without an order from Mehemet Pacha, governor of Oczakow. The king sent an express to the governor to demand a passage. This Turk not knowing what to do, in a country where one false step frequently costs a man his life, did not dare to take anything upon himself, without having first obtained the permission of the seraskier of the province, who resides at Bender in Bessarabia. While they were waiting for this permission, the Russians, who had made the king's army prisoner, had crossed the Borysthenes, and were approaching to take him also. At last the pacha of Oczakow sent word to the king, that he would furnish him with one small boat, to transport himself and two or three of his attendants. In this extremity the Swedes took by force what they could not obtain by gentle means: some of them went over to the further side in a small skiff, seized on some boats, and brought them to the hither bank of the river. This proved their safeguard; for the masters of the Turkish barks, fearing they should lose such a favourable opportunity of getting a good freight, came in crowds to offer their service. Exactly at the same time a favourable answer arrived from the seraskier of Bender; but the Muscovites appeared; and the king had the mortification to see five hundred of his men seized by the enemy, whose insulting bravadoes he even heard. The pacha of Oczakow, by means of an interpreter, asked his pardon for the delays which had occasioned the loss of these five hundred men, and humbly entreated him not to complain of it to the grand seignior. Charles promised, though not without giving him as severe a reprimand as if he had been speaking to one of his own subjects.

The commander of Bender, who was likewise a seraskier, a title which answers to that of general and pacha of the province, which signifies governor and intendant, immediately sent an aga to compliment the king, and to offer him a magnificent tent, with provision, baggage-wagons, and all the conveniences, officers, and attendants, necessary to conduct him to Bender in a splendid manner: for it is the custom of the Turks not only to defray the charges of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but likewise to supply the necessities of those princes who take refuge among them, during the time of their stay, in the most liberal manner.

CHAPTER V.

State of the Ottoman Porte.—Charles takes up his Residence near Bender.—His Employments.—His Intrigues at the Porte.—His Designs.—Augustus reascends his Throne.—The King of Denmark makes a Descent upon Sweden.—All the other Dominions of Charles are attacked.—The Czar enters Moscow in Triumph.—The affair of Pruth.—History of the Czarina, who, from a Peasant, became an Empress.

ACHMET III. at that time governed the Turkish empire. He had been placed upon the throne in 1703, in the room of his brother Mustapha, by a revolution, like to that which transferred the crown of England from James II. to his son-in-law William. Mustapha, by submitting in everything to his mufti, whom the Turks abhorred, provoked the whole empire to rise against him. His army, by the assistance of which he hoped to punish the malcontents, joined his enemies. He was seized, and deposed in form, and his brother taken from the Seraglio in order to be created sultan, almost without spilling a single drop of blood. Achmet shut up the deposed sultan in the Seraglio at Constantinople, where he lived for several years, to the great astonishment of Turkey, which had long been accustomed to see the death of her princes immediately follow their dethronement.

The new sultan, as the only recompense for a crown for which he was indebted to the ministers, to the generals, to the officers of the Janissaries, and, in a word, to those who had any hand in the revolution, put them all to death, one after another, for fear they should, one day, attempt a second revolution. By the sacrifice of so many brave men he weakened the strength of the nation, but, at the same time, established his throne, at least for some years. He next applied himself to increase his riches, and was the first of the Ottoman race who ventured to make a small alteration in the current coin, and to impose new taxes; but he was compelled to stop short in both these enterprises, for fear of an insurrection. The rapacity and tyranny of the grand seignor are seldom extended farther than the officers of the empire, who, whatever they may be in other respects, are domestic slaves to the sultan; while the rest of the Mussulmans live in profound tranquillity, without fearing for their lives, their fortunes, or their liberty.

Such was the Turkish emperor in whose territories the king of Sweden sought an asylum. As soon as he set foot in the sultan's dominions, he wrote him a letter, which bears date the 13th of July, 1709. Several copies of this letter were spread abroad, all of which are now held spurious; but among all that I have seen there is no one which does not exhibit the hauteur of the author, and is not more conformable to his courage than consistent with his situation. The sultan did not return him an answer till towards the end of September. The pride of the Ottoman Porte made Charles feel the distinction it placed between a Turkish emperor and a king of part of Scandinavia, a conquered and fugitive Christian. In other respects, all these letters, which are seldom written by sovereigns themselves, are but vain formalities, which neither discover the character of the princes nor the state of their affairs.

The situation of Charles XII. was no other than that of a captive honourably treated, yet he conceived the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies, and flattered himself that he should reduce Poland under the yoke, and subdue Russia. He had an envoy at Constantinople; but the person that served him most effectually in his vast projects was the count de Poniatowsky, who went to Constantinople without any commission, and soon rendered himself necessary to the king, agreeable to the Porte, and, at last, dangerous to the grand viziers themselves*.

One of the persons who seconded his designs with the greatest address was Fronseca, a Portuguese Jew, and by profession a physician, settled at Constantinople, a man of knowledge and of the world, well qualified for the management of business, and perhaps the only philosopher of his nation; his profession procured him a free access to the Ottoman Porte, and frequently gained him the confidence of the viziers. With this gentleman, who confirmed to me all the particulars I am going to relate, I was very well acquainted at Paris. Count Poniatowsky has informed me, both by letters and in conversation, that Fronseca had the address to convey some letters to the sultana valide, the mother of the reigning emperor, who had formerly been ill-used by her son, but had now acquired credit in the Seraglio. A Jewess who was often admitted to this princess never ceased to recount to her the exploits of the king of Sweden, and charmed her ear by these relations. The sultana, moved by that secret inclination which most women feel themselves inspired with in favour of extraordinary men, even without having seen them, openly espoused this prince's cause in the Seraglio, whom she called by no other name than that of a lion. "When will you," would she sometimes say to the sultan her son, "assist my lion to devour this czar!" She even went as far as to dispense with the austere rules of the Seraglio, and write several letters, with her own hand, to count Poniatowsky, in whose custody they still are at the time of my writing this History.

In the mean while, the king was conducted to Bender in the most honourable manner. His route was through the desert, formerly called the Wilderness of the Getæ. The Turks took care that nothing should be wanting on the way to render his journey agreeable. A great many Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped from the Muscovites, came by different roads to increase his train on their march. By the time he reached Bender, he had eighteen hundred men, who with their horses, were all maintained and lodged at the expense of the grand seignor.

The king chose to encamp near Bender, rather than lodge in the town. The seraskier Jussuff Pacha caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him; and tents were likewise provided for all the lords of his retinue. Some time after Charles built a house in this place; the officers followed his example, and the soldiers raised barracks; so that this camp insensibly became a little town. The king, not being yet cured of his wound, was compelled to have a carious bone extracted from his foot; but as soon as ever he could mount a horse, he resumed his usual labours, always rising before the sun, tiring three horses a day, and exercising his soldiers. His sole amusement was sometimes playing at chess; and, as the characters of men are often discovered by the most trifling incidents, it may not be improper to observe that in his play he always moved the king, and even made more use of him than of the other pieces; by which he lost every game.

At Bender, Charles found himself amidst an abundance of everything, very uncommon to a conquered and fugitive prince; for, besides the superfluity of provisions, and the five hundred crowns a day which he received from the Ottoman munificence, he still drew money from France, and borrowed of the merchants at Constantinople. A part of this money served to forward his intrigues in the Seraglio, in buying the favours of the viziers, or of procuring their ruin. The rest he distributed with great profusion among his officers, and the Janissaries who composed his guard, at Bender. Grothusen, his favourite and treasurer, was the dispenser of his liberality; a man who, contrary to the custom of persons in that station, was as fond of giving as his master. He carried him one day an account of sixty thousand crowns in two lines; ten thousand crowns given to the Swedes and Janissaries, by the generous orders of his majesty, and the rest disposed of by myself. "It is thus I would have my friends give in their accounts," said the king: "Mullern makes me read whole pages for the sum of ten thousand livres. I like the laconic style of Grothusen much better." One of his old officers, who was suspected of being somewhat covetous, complained to him that his majesty gave all to Grothusen: "I give money," replied the king, "to none but those who know how to use it." This generosity frequently reduced him so low, that he had not wherewith to give. More economy in his liberality would have been equally as honourable, and more for his interest; but it was the failing of this prince to carry every virtue to excess.

Great numbers of strangers went from Constantinople to see him. The Turks, and the neighbouring Tartars, came to Bender in crowds; all respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in being present twice a day at public prayers, made them say, "This is a true Mussulman:" and they burned with impatience to march along with him to the conquest of Muscovy.

During his stay at Bender, which was much longer than he expected, he insensibly acquired a taste for reading. Baron Fabricius, a gentleman belonging to the duke of Holstein, a young man of an amiable character, who possessed that gaiety of temper and easy turn of wit which is so agreeable to princes, was the person who engaged him in these literary amusements. He had been sent to reside with him at Bender, to take care of the interests of the young duke of Holstein; and he succeeded therein by rendering himself agreeable. He had read all the best French authors. He persuaded the king to read the tragedies of Peter Corneille, those of Racine, and the works of Despréaux. The king had no relish for the Satires of the last author, which, indeed, are far from

* It was from this nobleman I received not only the remarks which have appeared in print, and of which the chaplain Norberg has availed himself, but likewise several other manuscripts relating to this History.

being his best pieces; but he was very fond of his other writings. When he read that passage of the Eighth Satire where the author treats Alexander as a fool and a madman, he tore the leaf.

Of all the French tragedies, Mithridates was that which pleased him most, because the situation of that monarch, vanquished, and still breathing revenge, was conformable to his own. He showed M. Fabricius the passages that struck him, pointing them out with his finger; but would never read any of them aloud, nor ever hazard a single word in French. Nay, when he afterwards saw M. des Alleurs, the French ambassador at the Porte, a man of distinguished merit, but acquainted only with his mother tongue, he answered him in Latin; of which, when M. des Alleurs protested he did not understand four words, the king, rather than talk French, sent for an interpreter.

Such was the employment of Charles XII. at Bender, where he waited till a Turkish army should come to his assistance. His envoy presented memorials in his name to the grand vizier, and Poniatowsky supported them with all his interest. The talent of insinuation never fails of success. He was always dressed in the Turkish fashion whenever he appeared in public, and had free access to every place. The grand seignor presented him with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the grand vizier said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other, and will lead him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men." This grand vizier was called Chourlouli-Ali Pacha; he was the son of a peasant of the village of Chourlou. A low extraction is not held as a reproach among the Turks, who know nothing of nobility, neither that which is annexed to certain employments nor that which consists in titles. With them the dignity and importance of a man's character depend entirely upon his personal services; a custom which prevails in most of the eastern countries, and indeed a custom the most natural, and which might be productive of the most beneficial effects, if posts of honour were conferred on none but men of merit; but the viziers, for the most part, are no better than the creatures of a black eunuch, or a favourite female slave.

The grand vizier soon changed his mind. Charles could do nothing but negotiate: but the Czar could give money, which he did; and even made that of Sweden serve him on this occasion. The military chest which he took at Pultowa furnished him with new arms against the vanquished king; and whether war should be made upon the Russians was no longer a question in the Divan. The interest of the czar was omnipotent at the Porte, which granted such honours to his envoy as the Muscovite ministers had never before enjoyed at Constantinople. He was allowed to have a seraglio, that is to say, a palace, in the quarter of the Franks, and the liberty of conversing with other foreign ministers. The czar even thought he might demand that general Mazeppa should be put into his hands, as Charles had caused the unhappy Patkul to be delivered up to him. Chourlouli-Ali Pacha knew not how to refuse anything to a prince who seconded his demands with millions in his hand. Thus the very same grand vizier who had before promised, in the most solemn manner, to lead the king of Sweden into Muscovy, with two hundred thousand men, dared to ask his consent to the sacrifice of general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is hard to say how far the vizier might have pushed the affair, had not Mazeppa, who were now seventy years of age, died exactly at this juncture. The grief and indignation of the king were greatly augmented when he learned that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was publicly attended at Pultowa, and that those brave soldiers were every day exposed to sale in the market at Constantinople. In fact, the Russian ambassador said aloud that the Mussulman troops at Bender were placed there more with a view to secure the king's person than to do him any honour.

Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey, as he had before been by his arms in the Ukraine, saw himself deceived and despised by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His attendants began to despair. He himself alone remained firm, and never appeared dejected even for a moment. The sultan he believed to be ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouli-Ali, his grand vizier; he resolved therefore to acquaint him with them; and Poniatowsky undertook the execution of this hazardous enterprise. The grand seignor goes every Friday to the mosque, surrounded by his Solasks, a kind of guards, whose turbans are ornamented with such high feathers that they conceal the sultan from the sight of the people. When any one has a petition to present to the grand seignor, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the petition aloft. Sometimes the sultan deigns to receive it himself; but he more frequently orders an aga to take charge of it, and has the petitions brought to him on his return from the mosque. There is no fear of any one daring to importune him with useless memorials and trifling petitions, as less is written at Constantinople in a whole year than at Paris in one day. There is still less danger of any memorials being presented against the ministers, to whom the sultan often sends them without reading. Poniatowsky had only this method to convey the king of Sweden's complaints to the grand seignor. He drew up a heavy charge against the grand vizier; M. de Feriol, then the French ambassador, and who gave me an account of the whole affair, had the memorial translated into the Turkish tongue. A Greek was hired to present it. This Greek, having mingled with the guards of the grand seignor, held the paper so high for a long time, and made such a noise, that the sultan observed him, and took the memorial himself.

This method of presenting memorials to the sultan against his viziers was frequently put in practice. A Swede, called Leloing, gave in another petition a few days after. Thus, in the Turkish empire, was Charles XII. reduced to the necessity of employing the same expedients with an oppressed subject.

Some days after this, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, as the only answer to his complaints, five-and-twenty Arabian horses, one of which, that had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housing enriched with precious stones, with stirrups of massy gold. This present was accompanied with an obliging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason

to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the sultan's consent. Chourlouli-Ali too, who knew the art of dissembling, sent the king five very curious horses. But Charles, with a lofty air, said to the person who brought them, "Return to your master, and tell him I never receive presents from my enemies."

Poniatowsky having already dared to present a memorial against the grand vizier, next formed the bold design of deposing him. He knew that this vizier was disagreeable to the sultana-mother; that the Kislar-Aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the Janissaries, also hated him: he therefore prevailed on all three of them to declaim against the vizier. It was something very surprising to see a Christian, a Pole, an uncommissioned agent of the king of Sweden, who had taken refuge among the Turks, caballing almost openly at the Porte against a viceroy of the Ottoman empire, who, at the same time, was both an able minister and a favourite of his master. Poniatowsky could never have succeeded, and the idea of such a project alone would have cost him his life, if a power superior to all those that operated in his favour had not given a finishing stroke to the fortune of the grand vizier Chourlouli.

The sultan had a young favourite, who afterwards governed the Ottoman empire, but was killed in Hungary in 1716, at the battle of Peterwaradin, gained over the Turks by prince Eugene of Savoy. His name was Coumourgi-Ali Pacha. His birth was very little different from that of Chourlouli, being the son of a coalheaver; Coumourgi being derived from the Turkish word *coumour*, which signifies coal. The emperor Achmet III. uncle of Achmet II. having met Coumourgi while yet an infant, in a little wood near Adrianople, was struck with his extreme beauty, and caused him to be conducted to the Seraglio. He was beloved by Mustapha, the eldest son and successor to Mahomet; and Achmet III. made him his favourite. He had then no other place but that of Selictar-Aga, sword-bearer of the crown. His extreme youth did not allow him to pretend to the post of grand vizier, but yet he had the ambition to aspire to it. The Swedish faction could never gain over the influence of this favourite. He was never the friend of Charles, nor of any other Christian prince, nor of any of their ministers, but on this occasion he served the king without intending it; he united himself with the sultana valide and the great officers of the Porte, to depose Chourlouli, whom they all hated. This old minister, who had long and faithfully served his master, fell a victim to the caprice of a boy and the intrigues of a foreigner. He was stripped of his dignity and riches; his wife, the daughter of the late sultan Mustapha, was also taken from him, and himself sent as an exile to Caffa, formerly called Theodosia, in Crim Tartary. The bull, that is to say, the seal of the empire, was given to Numa Couprougli, grandson of the great Couprougli who took Candia. This new vizier was what informed Christians can hardly believe it possible for a Turk to be, a man of inflexible virtue, a scrupulous observer of the law, and one who frequently opposed justice to the will of the sultan. He could not endure to hear of a war against Muscovy, which he treated as unjust and unnecessary; but the same attachment to this law that opposed his making war upon the czar contrary to the faith of treaties, made him respect the duties of hospitality towards the king of Sweden. He said to his master, "The law forbids you to attack the czar, who has not offended you; but it commands you to succour the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions." To this prince he sent eight hundred purses (every purse containing five hundred crowns), and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions, either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which were then in the port of Constantinople, and which M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte, offered to Charles to conduct him to Marseilles. Count Poniatowsky negotiated more than ever with this minister, and acquired such a superiority in these negotiations with an incorruptible vizier as the gold of the Muscovites was unable to contend with. The Russian faction thought their best resource was to poison such a dangerous negotiator. They accordingly gained over one of his domestics, who was to give him the poison in his coffee: but the crime was discovered before it was carried into execution; the poison was found in the hands of the domestic, contained in a small phial, which was carried to the grand seignor. The domestic was tried in a full divan and condemned to the galleys; for Turkish justice never punishes crimes with death which have not been perpetrated.

Charles XII., who could never be persuaded but that, sooner or later, he should be able to engage the Turkish empire in a war against Muscovy, rejected every proposal for his peaceable return home, and never ceased to represent to the Turks the formidable power of that very czar whom he had so long despised: his emissaries were perpetually insinuating that Peter Alexiowitz wanted to make himself master of the navigation of the Black Sea; and that, after having subdued the Cossacks, he would carry his arms into Crim Tartary. Sometimes these representations animated the Porte, at others the Russian ministers rendered them useless.

While Charles XII. suffered his fate to depend upon the caprice of viziers, and was alternately receiving favours and affronts from a foreign power, presenting petitions to the sultan, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, all his enemies, awakened from their former lethargy, invaded his dominions.

The battle of Pultowa was the first signal for a revolution in Poland. King Augustus returned to that country, protesting against his abdication and the peace of Altranstad, and publicly accusing Charles, whom he no longer feared, of robbery and cruelty. He immediately imprisoned Fingstein and Imhoff, his plenipotentiaries, who had signed his abdication, just as if they had exceeded their orders and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had been the pretext of his dethronement, conducted him back to Warsaw, accompanied by most of the Polish palatines, who had formerly sworn fidelity to him, had afterwards taken the same oath to Stanislaus, and were now come to renew their allegiance to Augustus. Siniawski himself rejoined his party; and having lost the idea of becoming king, was content to remain grand general of the crown. Fleming, his first

minister, who had been obliged to quit Saxony for a time, for fear of being delivered up with Patkul, now contributed by his address to bring back to his master's interest a great part of the Polish nobility.

The pope absolved the people from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Stanislaus. This step of the holy father was exceedingly well-timed, and, supported by the forces of Augustus, was of considerable weight; it strengthened the credit of the court of Rome with the Poles, who had no inclination at that time to contest with the sovereign pontiffs their chimerical right of interfering in the temporal concerns of princes. Every one voluntarily returned to the government of Augustus, and received, without repugnance, a useless absolution, which the nuncio did not fail to represent as absolutely necessary.

The power of Charles and the grandeur of Sweden were now verging towards their last period.

More than ten crowned heads had long beheld, with fear and envy, the Swedish power extending itself far beyond its natural bounds, on the other side of the Baltic sea, from the Duna to the Elbe. The fall of Charles and his absence revived the interested views and jealousies of all these princes, which had for a long time been laid at rest by treaties and by their inability to break them.

The czar, more powerful than all of them put together, profited by this late victory: he took Wibourg and all Carelia, overran Finland with troops, laid siege to Riga, and sent a body of forces into Poland to aid Augustus in recovering his throne. This emperor was then, what Charles had been, the arbiter of Poland and the North; but he consulted only his interest, while, on the other hand, Charles had never listened to anything but his ideas of revenge and glory. The Swedish monarch had assisted his allies and destroyed his enemies, without reaping the least fruit from his victories: the czar, conducting himself more like a prince and less like a hero, would not assist the king of Poland, but on condition that Livonia should be ceded to him; and that that province, for which Augustus had kindled the war, should for ever remain under the Russian jurisdiction.

The king of Denmark, forgetting the treaty of Trawendal, as Augustus had that of Altranstad, began from that time to think of making himself master of the duchies of Holstein and Bremen, to which he renewed his pretensions. The king of Prussia had ancient claims upon Swedish Pomerania, which he now resolved to revive. The duke of Mecklenburg saw with envy that the Swedes were still in possession of Wismar, the finest town in the duchy: that prince was to marry a niece of the Russian emperor; and the czar only wished for a pretext for establishing himself in Germany, after the example of the Swedes. George, elector of Hanover, sought to enrich himself, on his side, with the spoils of Charles. The bishop of Munster too would have been willing enough to avail himself of some of the claims, had he been able to support them.

Twelve or thirteen thousand Swedes defended Pomerania and the other countries which Charles possessed in Germany; it was there that the war was most likely to begin. This storm alarmed the emperor and his allies. It is a law of the empire, that whoever invades one of its provinces shall be deemed an enemy to the whole Germanic body.

But there was another embarrassment superior to the rest: all these princes, except the czar, were then united against Louis XIV., whose power for a long time had been as formidable to the empire as that of Charles.

Germany, at the beginning of this century, had been hard pressed from south to north between the armies of France and Sweden. The French had passed the Danube, and the Swedes the Oder; and had their forces, victorious as they then were, been able to have formed a junction, the empire would have been undone. But the same fatality that ruined Sweden had likewise humbled France: Sweden, however, had still resources left; and Louis carried on the war with vigour, though without success. Had Pomerania and the duchy of Bremen become the theatre of war, it was to be feared that the empire would suffer by it, and that being weakened on that side, it would be less able to stand against Louis XIV. To prevent this danger, the emperor, the princes of the empire, Anne queen of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces, concluded, at the end of the year 1709, one of the most singular treaties that ever was signed.

It was stipulated on the part of these powers, that the war against the Swedes should not be made in Pomerania, nor in any other of the German provinces, but that the enemies of Charles XII. should be at liberty to attack him anywhere else. The czar and the king of Poland acceded to this treaty, in which they caused to be inserted an article as extraordinary as the treaty itself: this was, that twelve thousand Swedes who were in Pomerania should not be permitted to leave it to defend their other provinces.

To insure the execution of the treaty, they proposed to raise an army to preserve this imaginary neutrality. This army was to encamp on the banks of the Oder. A novelty, surely, unheard of, to raise an army to prevent a war! Even the princes who were to pay the army were most of them interested in beginning a war which they thus pretended to prevent. The treaty also imported, that the army should be composed of the troops of the emperor, of the king of Prussia, of the elector of Hanover, of the landgrave of Hesse, and of the bishop of Munster.

The result of this project was what might naturally have been expected; it was not carried into execution. The princes who were to have furnished their contingents for completing the army, contributed nothing: there were not two regiments formed. Everybody talked of a neutrality, but nobody observed it; and all the princes of the North, who had any interest in quarrelling with the king of Sweden, were left at full liberty to dispute with each other the spoils of that prince.

In the mean while, the czar, after having quartered his troops in Lithuania, and given orders for the siege of Riga, returned to Moscow, to display to his people a sight as new as anything he had hitherto done in the kingdom: this was a triumph of nearly the same nature with that of the ancient Romans. He made his entry into Moscow on the

1st of January 1710, under seven triumphal arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with everything which the climate could furnish, or which a flourishing commerce, rendered such by his care, could produce. The procession was opened by a regiment of guards, followed by the cannon taken from the Swedes at Lesno and Pultowa, each being drawn by eight horses, covered with scarlet housings hanging down to the ground; then came the standards, kettle-drums, and colours, won at those two battles, carried by the officers and soldiers who had taken them; and all these spoils were followed by the choicest troops of the czar. After they had filed off, there appeared in a chariot, made on purpose *, the litter of Charles XII., found on the field of battle at Pultowa, just as it was shattered with two cannon-shot: behind this litter all the prisoners marched two and two; amongst them appeared count Piper, first minister of Sweden, the celebrated marshal Renschild, the count de Lewenhaupt, the generals Schlipenback, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, and all the officers, who were afterwards dispersed through Great Russia. Immediately after these appeared the czar himself, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle of Pultowa. A little after him came the generals who had a share in the success of the day. Then followed another regiment of guards; and the Swedish ammunition-wagons closed the procession.

This pageantry was accompanied with the ringing of all the bells in Moscow, with the sound of drums, trumpets, and an infinite number of musical instruments which were heard alternately, with the salute of two hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of five hundred thousand men; who, at every pause the czar made in this triumphal entry, cried out, "Long live the emperor our father!"

This imposing splendour augmented the people's veneration for his person, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes than the real advantages they had derived from him. Meanwhile he continued the blockade of Riga. His generals made themselves masters of the remainder of Livonia and part of Finland. At the same time, the king of Denmark came with his fleet to make a descent upon Sweden; where he landed seventeen thousand men, whom he left under the command of the count de Reventlau.

Sweden was at that time governed by a regency composed of several senators, whom the king appointed when he departed from Stockholm. The body of the senate, looking upon the government as their right, became jealous of the regency. The state suffered by these divisions; but when, after the battle of Pultowa, the first news they heard at Stockholm was, that the king was at Bender, at the mercy of the Turks and Tartars, and that the Danes had disembarked at Schonen and had taken the town of Helsingburgh, their jealousies then vanished, and they turned their whole attention to the preservation of Sweden. Sweden was now drained, in a great measure, of regular troops; for though Charles had always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had fought in the course of nine years, the necessity he was under of continually recruiting his forces, the supply of his garrisons, and the standing armies he was constantly obliged to keep in Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden, had cost Sweden, during the course of the war, above two hundred and fifty thousand men; so that there did not remain eight thousand of the regular troops, which, with the new-raised militia, were the only resources Sweden had.

The nation is naturally warlike; and every people insensibly adopts the disposition of its king. They talked of nothing from one end of the country to the other but the prodigious achievements of Charles and his generals, and of the old regiments that fought under them at Narva, Duna, Cliseau, Pultusk, and Hollosin. The lowest of the Swedes acquired from them a spirit of emulation and glory. Their affection for their king, their pity for his misfortunes, and their implacable hatred to the Danes, contributed to increase this ardour. In several other countries the peasants are slaves, or treated as such; but here they compose a part of the state, are considered as citizens, and, of consequence, are capable of more refined sentiments; so that the newly-raised militia became, in a short time, the best troops of the North.

General Steinbock put himself, by order of the regency, at the head of eight thousand of the ancient troops, and above twelve thousand of these new militia, to go in pursuit of the Danes, who ravaged all the country about Helsinburgh, and had already laid contributions on some of the more inland provinces.

There was neither time nor opportunity for clothing the new militia, so that most of these boors came in their coarse linen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. Steinbock, at the head of this extraordinary army, came up with the Danes about three leagues from Helsingburgh, on the 10th of March, 1710. He wished to have given his troops a few days' rest, to raise entrenchments, and to allow his new soldiers a sufficient time to accustom themselves to behold the enemy; but all the peasants called out for battle the very day they arrived.

Several of the officers, then present, have since assured me, that they saw every soldier foaming with rage and choler; so great is the national hatred of the Swedes to the Danes. Steinbock profited by this ardour of their minds, which, in the day of action, is of as much consequence as military discipline, and attacked the Danes. A circumstance was now exhibited, of which, perhaps, the whole history of mankind cannot furnish above two examples: the new-raised militia, in their first assault, equalled the intrepidity of veteran soldiers. Two regiments of these ill-armed peasants cut in pieces the regiment of the king of Denmark's guards, of which there remained only ten men alive.

The Danes totally defeated, retired under the cannon of Helsingburgh. The passage from Sweden to Zealand is so short, that the king of Denmark received the news at Copenhagen, of the defeat of his army in Sweden, the very same day on which it happened, and sent his fleet to bring off the shattered remains of his army. The Danes quitted Sweden, with precipitation, five days after the

* M. Norberg, confessor of Charles XII., here corrects the author, and affirms that the litter was carried by the soldiers. For the truth of these *essential* circumstances we *refer to those* who saw them.

battle; but, being unable to carry off their horses, and unwilling to leave them to the enemy, they killed them all in the environs of Helsingborg, and set fire to their provisions, burning their corn and baggage, and leaving in that place four thousand wounded men, of whom the greatest part died with the infection occasioned by so many dead horses, and for want of food, of which even their countrymen deprived them, to prevent the Swedes from enjoying it.

At the same time the peasants of Dalecarlia, having, in the depth of their forests, heard the report of their king being a prisoner among the Turks, sent a deputation to the Regency of Stockholm, and offered to go at their own expense, to the number of twenty thousand, and deliver their master from the hands of his enemies. This proposal, which was better calculated to display their courage and affection to their king, than to produce any real advantage, was received with pleasure, though it was not accepted; and the senators took care to acquaint the king with it, at the same time that they sent him an account of the battle of Helsingborg.

Charles received this agreeable intelligence in his camp near Bender, in the month of July 1710; and, soon after, another event happened which contributed still more to strengthen his hopes.

The Grand Vizier Couprougli, who opposed all his designs, was deposed about two months after he had entered into his office. The little court of Charles XII., and his adherents in Poland, gave out that Charles made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish Empire, from his retreat at Bender: but he had no share in the disgrace of that favourite. The rigid probity of the vizier is said to have been the sole cause of his fall. His predecessor had not paid the janissaries out of the imperial treasury, but with the money he had raised by extortion: Couprougli paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interest of the subject to that of the emperor: "Your predecessor, Chourlouli," said he, "knew how to find other means to pay my troops." The grand vizier replied, "If he had the art of enriching your highness by rapine, it is an art of which I glory in being ignorant."

The profound secrecy observed in the seraglio seldom permits such particulars to transpire to the public; but this fact was published at the same time with Couprougli's disgrace. This vizier's frankness, however, did not cost him his head, because true virtue can frequently cause itself to be respected, even by those whom it offends. He was permitted to retire to the island of Negropont. These particulars I learned from the letters of M. Bru, my relation, first interpreter to the Ottoman Porte, and I have related them in order to display the true spirit of that government.

The grand signior afterwards recalled from Aleppo, Baltagi Mehemet, Pacha of Syria, who had been grand vizier before Chourlouli. The Baltagis of the seraglio, so called from balta, which signifies an axe, are slaves employed to cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman blood, and the sultanas. This vizier had been a baltagi in his youth, and had ever since retained the name of that office, according to the custom of the Turks, who take, without any sense of shame, the name of their first profession, that of their father, or even of the place of their birth.

When Baltagi Mehemet was a slave in the seraglio, he was so happy as to perform several little offices for Prince Achmet, who was then a prisoner of state in the reign of his brother Mustapha. It is permitted the princes of the Ottoman blood to keep for their pleasure a few women who are past the age of child-bearing, (an age that arrives very early in Turkey), but still handsome enough to please. As soon as Achmet became sultan, he gave one of these female slaves, whom he had ardently loved, in marriage to Baltagi Mehemet. This woman, by her intrigues, made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him grand vizier again.

When Baltagi Mehemet came to receive the bull of the empire, he found the party of the King of Sweden prevailing in the seraglio. The Sultana Valide, Ali-Coumourgi, the favourite of the grand seignior, the Kislar-Aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janissaries, were disposed for a war with the czar; the sultan was determined in the same resolution; and the first order he gave the grand vizier was, to go and attack the Muscovites with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi Mehemet had never made a campaign, yet he was not the idiot that the Swedish malcontents have represented him. He said to the grand signior, upon receiving a sabre from him, adorned with precious stones—"Your highness knows that I was brought up to handle an axe to cleave wood, and not a sword to command your armies; I will, notwithstanding, do my best to serve you, though, should I not succeed, remember I have entreated you, beforehand, not to impute the blame to me." The sultan assured him of his friendship, and the vizier prepared to carry his orders into execution.

The imprisonment of the Russian ambassador in the castle of the Seven Towers was the first measure adopted by the Porte. It is the custom of the Turks to begin by arresting the ministers of those princes against whom they declare war. Strict observers of hospitality in everything else, in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. They commit this act of injustice under the pretext of equity, believing, or at least desirous to have it thought, that they never undertake any but just wars, because they are consecrated by the approbation of their mufti.—Upon this principle they take up arms, as they persuade themselves, to chastise the breakers of treaties, of which they are often the first violators; and, they imagine, they have a right to punish the ambassadors of those kings with whom they are at enmity, as being accomplices in their masters' treachery.

To this manner of reasoning they join a ridiculous contempt, which they affect to entertain for Christian princes and their ambassadors, the latter of whom they consider in no other light than as the consuls of merchants.

The Cham of Crim Tartary, whom we call the Khan, received orders to hold himself in readiness, with forty thousand Tartars. This prince governs Nagar, Budziack, part of Circassia, and all Crim Tartary; a province known in antiquity by the name of Taurica Chersonesus, into which the Greeks carried their arms and commerce, and founded powerful cities, and into which the Ge-

noese since penetrated, when they were masters of the trade of Europe. In this country are to be seen the ruins of some Greek cities, and some monuments of the Genoese, which still subsist in the centre of desolation and barbarism.

The cham is called emperor by his own subjects; but this grand title does not make him less a slave of the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the chams are sprung, and the right they pretend to the empire of the Turks, in case an heir should be wanting to the throne, render their families respectable, and their persons formidable, even to the sultan himself. This is the reason that the grand signior dares not venture to destroy the race of the chams of Tartary, though, indeed, he seldom allows any of these princes to reign to a great age. Their conduct is closely inspected by the neighbouring pachas, their dominions are surrounded with janissaries, their inclinations opposed by the grand viziers, and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of the cham, the Porte deposes him under that pretext: if he is too much beloved by his people, this is still a greater crime, for which he is most certainly punished. Thus almost all of them are driven from sovereign power into exile, and end their days at Rhodes, which is, generally, their prison and their grave.

The Tartars, their subjects, are the greatest thieves on earth, and, what appears impossible, are, at the same time, the most hospitable people. They will travel fifty leagues to attack a caravan or pillage a village; yet when any stranger, of any rank whatever, happens to pass through their country, he is not only received, lodged, and maintained everywhere, but through whatever places he passes the inhabitants dispute with each other the honour of having him for their guest; and the master of the house, his wife, and daughters, are emulous to serve him. This inviolable regard to hospitality they have inherited from their ancestors, the Scythians, and they still preserve it on account of the small number of strangers that travel among them, and the low prices of all sorts of provisions, which render the practice of such a virtue not exceedingly burthensome.

When the Tartars go to war in conjunction with the Ottoman army they are maintained by the grand signior; but the booty they get is the only pay they receive; and hence it is that they are much fitter for plundering than for fighting.

The cham, gained over by the presents and intrigues of the king of Sweden, at first had obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the troops at Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order to convince that monarch that the war was undertaken solely for his sake.

Baltagi, the new vizier, not conceiving himself under the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so highly. He changed this disposition, and assembled this great army at Adrianople: on these vast and fertile plains the Turks usually draw up their armies, when going to make war upon the Christians: there the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa repose and refresh themselves for a few weeks. But the grand vizier, in order to be beforehand with the czar, allowed the army but three days' rest, and then marched to the Danube, and from thence to Bessarabia.

The Turkish troops at this day are not so formidable as they were in ancient times, when they conquered so many kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe; when, by the strength of their body, their valour, and numbers, they triumphed over enemies less robust and worse disciplined than themselves. But now that the Christians are more expert in the art of war, in a pitched battle they almost always beat the Turks, and even with unequal numbers. If some conquests have lately been made by the Ottoman Empire, they have been only over the Republic of Venice, more esteemed for wisdom than for war, defended by strangers, and little succoured by the christian princes, who are always divided among themselves.

The janissaries and spahis make their attack in a disorderly manner, incapable of attending to the commands of their generals, or rallying themselves. Their cavalry, which ought to be excellent, considering the goodness and activity of their horses, is not able to withstand the shock of the German horse; and their infantry do not yet know how to make use of fixed bayonets. Besides all this, the Turks have not had an able general since the time of Couprougli, who conquered the Isle of Candia; a slave brought up in the idleness and solitude of a seraglio, made a vizier through favour, and a general against his will, conducting an army raised in a hurry, without discipline or experience, against Russian troops, hardened by twelve years' war, and flushed with the idea of having conquered the Swedes.

The czar, to all appearance, must have vanquished Baltagi Mehemet; but he was guilty of the same oversight with regard to the Turks, which the King of Sweden had committed with respect to himself; he despised his enemy too much. On the first news of the Turkish preparations he left Moscow, and, having given orders for turning the siege of Riga into a blockade, assembled fourscore thousand men on the Polish frontier*. With this army he took the road through Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the country of the Dacians, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, tributaries to the grand signior.

Moldavia was, at that time, governed by Prince Cantemir, of Greek extraction, and who united in his person the talents of the ancient Greeks, the knowledge of letters and of arms. He was supposed to have descended from the famous Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. This origin appearing more honourable than a Greek one, they attempt to prove the reality of the descent by the name of this conqueror. *Timur*, say they, resembles *Temir;* the title of *cham*, which Timur possessed before he conquered Asia, is included in the word *Cantemir;* therefore Prince Cantemir is descended from Tamerlane. Such are the foundations of most genealogies!

But from whatever house Cantemir descended, he owed all his fortune to the Ottoman Porte. Yet scarcely had he received the investiture of his principality, when he betrayed the Turkish emperor, his benefactor, to the czar, from whom he expected greater advantages. He flattered himself that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily

* The chaplain Norberg affirms that the czar compelled every fourth man in his dominions, able to bear arms, to follow him to the field. Had this been the fact, his army would have amounted at least to two millions of men.

triumph over a vizier of so little reputation, who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his kiaia, that is to say, his lieutenant, the intendant of the customs in Turkey. He made no doubt but all the Greeks would readily enlist under his standard, because the Greek patriarch had encouraged him in this revolt. The czar, therefore, having made a secret treaty with this prince, received him into his army, advanced into the country, and in the month of June 1711, arrived on the northern banks of the river Hierasus, now Pruth, near Jassy, the capital of Moldavia.

As soon as the grand vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was advancing on that side, he immediately quitted his camp, and, following the course of the Danube, resolved to cross that river on a bridge of boats, near Saccia, at the same place where Darius formerly built the bridge that went by his name. The Turkish army used such diligence, that they soon came in sight of the Muscovites, the river Pruth only running between them.

The czar, sure of the Prince of Moldavia, never thought that the Moldavians would fail him. But the prince and his subjects have, very often, different interests. The Moldavians preferred the Turkish government, which is never fatal but to the great only, and which affects a great lenity and mildness to its tributary states: they dreaded the Christians, and especially the Muscovites, who had always treated them with inhumanity; they therefore carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army: the contractors also, who had engaged to furnish the Russians with provisions, executed in favour of the grand vizier the very agreement which they had made with the czar. The Walachians, neighbours to the Moldavians, discovered the same attachment to the Turks; so much had the remembrance of the Russian cruelties alienated all their minds.

The czar thus deceived in his hopes, in which perhaps he had been too sanguine, saw his army, on a sudden, destitute of forage and provisions. The soldiers deserted in troops, and his army was soon reduced to less than thirty thousand men, ready to perish with hunger. The czar experienced the same misfortunes upon the banks of the Pruth, in having trusted himself to Cantemir, as Charles XII. had done at Pultowa, in relying upon Mazeppa. Meanwhile, the Turks passed the river, hemmed in the Russians, and formed an entrenched camp before them. It is surprising that the czar did not dispute their passage, or, at least, repair this error by attacking the Turks immediately after their landing, instead of giving them time to destroy his army with hunger and fatigue. It would seem, indeed, that in this campaign Peter did everything to hasten his own ruin. He found himself without provisions, having the river Pruth behind him, an hundred and fifty thousand Turks before him, and forty thousand Tartars continually harassing his army on the right and left. In this extremity he openly said, "Here am I, at least in as bad a situation as my brother Charles was at Pultowa."

Count Poniatowsky, an indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier's army, together with some Poles and Swedes, who all agreed in supposing the ruin of the czar to be unavoidable.

As soon as Poniatowsky saw that the armies must infallibly come to an engagement, he sent to the king of Sweden, who immediately set out from Bender, accompanied by forty officers, enjoying in idea the pleasure he should have in fighting the emperor of Muscovy. After many losses and several destructive marches, the czar was driven back to the Pruth, having no other entrenchments than a *chevaux de frise* and a few waggons. A few troops of the janissaries and spahis attacked his army, so disadvantageously situated; but their attack was disorderly, and the Russians defended themselves with a firmness which the presence of their prince, added to their despair, gave them.

The Turks were twice beaten back. Next day M. Poniatowsky advised the grand vizier to starve the Russian army, which being in want of everything, would, together with the emperor, be obliged in a day's time to surrender at discretion.

The czar hath since that time more than once declared that in his whole life he never felt any thing so tormenting as the agitation in which he passed that night: he revolved in his thoughts that all he had been doing for so many years to promote the glory and happiness of his country, that so many grand undertakings, which had always been interrupted by wars, were now perhaps going to perish with him before they were fully accomplished; and that he must either be exterminated by famine, or attack about an hundred and eighty thousand men with feeble and dispirited troops, reduced to half their number, the cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and the infantry exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

In the beginning of the night he had sent for general Czermetoff, and ordered him, without deliberation, or taking his opinion, to have every thing in readiness at the break of day for attacking the Turks with fixed bayonets.

He likewise gave the most positive orders that all the baggage should be burned, and that every officer should keep but one waggon, in order that if they were conquered the enemy might be disappointed of the booty.

Having regulated every thing with the general for the battle, he retired to his tent oppressed with grief and agitated with convulsions, a disorder with which he was often attacked, and which always recurred with redoubled violence when he was under any perturbation of mind. He gave orders that no one should dare to enter his tent in the night on any pretext whatever; not choosing to receive any remonstrance against a resolution which, though desperate, was necessary; and still less that any one should be a witness of the distressed situation in which he found himself.

In the mean time the greatest part of the baggage was burned, as he had ordered. The whole army, though with great reluctance, followed the example; and several buried their most valuable effects in the earth. The general officers had already given orders for the march, and were endeavouring to inspire the army with that confidence which they themselves wanted: but the whole soldiery exhausted with hunger and fatigue, marched without spirit or hope. The women, with which the army was needlessly crowded, set up the most lamentable cries, which contributed still more to enervate the men; and next morning every one expected death or slavery as the only alternative. This description is by no means ex-

aggerated, it is exactly in unison with the accounts that were given by officers who were upon that service.

There was at that time in the Russian camp a woman as extraordinary perhaps as the czar himself. She was then only known by the name of Catherine. Her mother was a poor countrywoman called Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen in Esthonia, a province where the people were serfs or glebe-slaves, and which was then under the government of the Swedes. She never discovered her father, and had been baptized by the name of Martha. The vicar of the parish out of charity brought her up to the age of fourteen, at which age she went to service at Marienbourg, at the house of a Lutheran minister of that country, called Gluk.

When she was about eighteen years of age, in 1702, she married a Swedish dragoon. The day after her marriage a party of Swedish troops having been beaten by the Muscovites, the dragoon, who was in the action, was missing, nor could his wife discover whether he had been made prisoner, nor indeed at any time afterwards learn what was become of him.

She herself was made prisoner also a few days after, by General Baur; in whose service she stayed some time, and afterwards in that of Mareschal Czermetoff, by whom she was given to Menzikoff, a man who experienced the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, having been raised from a pastry-cook's boy to the rank of a general and a prince, but who was, at last, stripped of every honour, and banished into Siberia, where he died in misery and despair.

The Czar Peter first saw this woman at a supper, given by Prince Menzikoff, and instantly became enamoured of her. He privately married her in the year 1707; not seduced to it by female artifices, but because he thought he had met with a woman capable of seconding his schemes, and even of maintaining them after his death. He had long before divorced his first wife Ottokesa*, the daughter of a Boyard, who was accused of opposing the alterations which he made in his dominions; a crime in the eyes of the Czar the most unpardonable, as he would suffer nobody in his family whose thoughts did not agree with his own. He presumed he had now found in this foreign slave the qualities of a sovereign, though she had none of the virtues of her sex: he however, for her sake, disdained the prejudices that would have governed a man of common ideas, and, therefore, had her crowned empress. The same talents which made her the wife of Peter Alexiowitz, after the death of her husband procured her the empire.

This woman Europe has beheld with astonishment: she was never able to read or write; her firmness, however, was a compensation for the weakness of her sex; besides, she filled the throne of a legislator with glory.

At the same time she* married the Czar she renounced the Lutheran religion, in which she had been born, for that of Muscovy; in which religion she was rebaptized, according to the rites of the Russian church, and instead of the name of Martha, she took that of Catherine, by which she was ever after known. This woman happening to be in the camp at Pruth, she held a council with the general officers and the vice-chancellor Schafirof, while the czar was in his tent.

In this conference it was resolved to ask a peace of the Turks, and endeavour to persuade the czar to agree to it. The vice-chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier in his master's name, which letter the czarina carried into the emperor's tent, notwithstanding his prohibition; and having by tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to sign it, she immediately collected all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects, and even borrowed of the general officers; which sum being amassed, formed a considerable present: she then sent it, with the letter signed by the czar, to Osman Aga, lieutenant to the grand vizier. Mehemet Baltagi at first answered with the lofty air of a vizier and a conqueror, "Let the czar send me his prime minister, and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor Schaffirof at the same time arrived at the Turkish camp with some presents, which he publicly offered to the grand vizier, sufficient to show him they stood in need of his clemency, but too inconsiderable to corrupt his integrity.

The first demand the vizier made was, that the czar should surrender at discretion with the whole army. The vice-chancellor replied that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of an hour, and that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such infamous conditions. Osman joined his remonstrances to the demand of Schafirof.

Mehemet Baltagi was no warrior; he knew the janissaries had been repulsed the evening before, so that Osman easily prevailed on him not to expose to the hazard of a battle such certain advantages. He therefore granted at first a suspension of hostilities for six hours, during which they should agree upon the conditions of the treaty.

During the armistice a trifling incident occurred which may serve to shew that the Turks often pay

* Better known under the name of Eudoxia Federowna. The true cause of her divorce was the very intemperate manner in which she suffered her resentment of Peter's infidelity to display itself. She had been chosen as the fairest and most worthy of all the daughters of Russia, who were assembled by the czar at Moscow, on the 19th of June, 1689, that from among them he might select the most deserving as the partner of his throne. Before three years had elapsed she detected her husband in an intrigue with the daughter of a citizen of Moscow, and all the passions of insulted beauty being roused, she rushed into the presence of Peter and his paramour, and overwhelmed them with the bitterest reproaches, couched in the most unmeasured terms, even menacing her rival with personal violence. Peter, whose anger once roused blazed fiercely, with his own hands dragged her from the chamber, and immediately despatched her to the monastery of Saltusky, where she was forced to take the veil, and passed the melancholy remainder of her days.—Ed.

* In opposition to M. Voltaire's ideas of her education, the Sieur de la Mottraye pretends that she had a good one, and could both read and write very well. The contrary of this is known to all the world The peasants of Livonia are never permitted to learn either to read or write, owing to an ancient privilege which is termed the benefit of clergy, formerly established among the barbarians who were converted to christianity, and still subsisting in this country. The memoirs from which this anecdote is taken farther add, that the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress, always signed for her mother from the time she could write.—*Translator.*

more regard to their word than is in general imagined. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of M. Brillo, lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar's service, having gone in quest of forage, were taken prisoners by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries. This Turkish officer, enraged at their daring to violate the truce, arrested the Tartars and carried them himself before the grand vizier, together with the two prisoners: the vizier sent the two gentlemen back to the czar's camp, and ordered the Tartars who had been chiefly concerned in the transaction to be beheaded.

In the mean time the cham of Tartary opposed the conclusion of the treaty, which would deprive him of all hopes of plunder. Poniatowsky seconded the cham with the most persuasive arguments: but Osman carried his point against the importunity of the Tartar and the insinuations of Poniatowsky.

The vizier believed that by concluding an advantageous peace he should sufficiently serve his master. He insisted that the Muscovites should deliver up Azoph, burn the galleys which lay in that harbour, demolish the important citadels built upon the Palus Mæotis, and surrender the cannon and ammunition of all those fortresses into the hands of the grand signior; that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland; that he should not incommode the little number of cossacks that were under the protection of the Poles, nor those who depended on the Turks; and that for the future he should pay the Tartars a subsidy of forty thousand sequins a year; an odious tribute, from which the czar had previously delivered his country.

In fine, the treaty was ready for signing without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowsky could obtain of the vizier was the insertion of an article by which the czar engaged not to incommode Charles in his return; and what is really singular, it was stipulated in this article that the czar and the king of Sweden should be at liberty to make peace if they wished it, and if they could agree upon the conditions.

Upon these conditions the czar was permitted to retire with his army, cannon, artillery, colours, and baggage. The Turks furnished him with provisions, so that he had plenty of everything in his camp two hours after the signing of the treaty, which was begun, concluded, and signed, the 21st day of July, 1711.

Just as the czar, now extricated from this dreadful dilemma, was marching off with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived, impatient for the fight, and to behold his enemy in his power. He had rode above fifty leagues from Bender to Jassy. He arrived the very moment the Russians were beginning to retire without molestation; but he could not penetrate to the Turkish camp without passing the Pruth by a bridge, three leagues distant. Charles, who never did anything like other men, swam across the river at the hazard of being drowned, and traversed the Russian camp at the risk of being taken: he, however, reached the Turkish army, and alighted at the tent of Poniatowsky, who has related this fact to me both in conversation and in his correspondence. The count approached him with a melancholy air, and told him he had lost an opportunity which, perhaps, he would never be able to recover.

The king, fired with resentment, ran immediately to the tent of the grand vizier, and with a glowing countenance reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," said the grand vizier calmly, "to make peace or war." "But," adds the king, "had you not the whole Russian army in your power!" "Our law orders," answers the vizier, gravely, "to give peace to our enemies when they implore our mercy." "And does it command you," returned the king in a passion, "to make a bad treaty when you may impose what conditions you please? Did it not depend upon you to lead the czar prisoner to Constantinople!"

The Turk, hardly pressed, replied drily, "And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all kings should leave their dominions." Charles replied to this with a smile of contempt, threw himself down upon a sofa, and eyeing the vizier with anger and disdain, stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in the Turk's robe purposely tore it; after which he rose up, remounted his horse, and with despair in his heart returned to Bender.

Poniatowsky continued some time longer with the grand vizier, to try if he could prevail upon him by more gentle means to obtain better conditions for Charles from the czar; but the hour of prayer being come, the Turk, without answering a single word, went to wash and to perform his devotions.

CHAPTER VI.

Intrigues of the Ottoman Porte.—The Cham of Tartary and the Pacha of Bender endeavour to force Charles to leave that place.—He defends himself with Forty Domestics against a whole Army.—Is taken and treated as a prisoner.

The fortune of the king of Sweden, so changed from what it had been, persecuted him even in the most trivial circumstances. He found on his return his little camp at Bender and all his apartments overflowed by the waters of the Dniester; he therefore retired to the distance of a few miles near to the village of Varnitza; and as if he had a secret presentiment of what was to befall him, he there built a large stone house, capable on occasion to sustain an assault for some hours. He even furnished it magnificently, contrary to his usual custom, in order to command respect from the Turks.

He likewise constructed two other dwellings, one for his chancery and the other for his favourite Grothusen, who kept a table at the king's expense. While the king was thus employed in building near Bender, as if he intended to settle in Turkey, Baltagi Mehemet, dreading more than ever the intrigues and complaints of this prince at the Porte, had despatched the resident of the emperor of Germany to Vienna, to demand a free passage for the king of Sweden through the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. This envoy, in three weeks, returned with a promise from the Imperial regency, that the honours which were due to him should be paid to Charles XII., and that he should be safely conducted to Pomerania.

Application was made to the regency of Vienna, because Charles the emperor of Germany, who

had succeeded Joseph, was then in Spain disputing the crown of that kingdom with Philip V. While the German envoy was executing this commission at Vienna, the grand vizier sent three pachas to the king of Sweden, to signify to him that he must quit the Turkish territory.

The king, who had been informed of the orders of which they were the bearers, caused immediate notice to be given to them, that if they presumed to make him any proposals contrary to his honour or to the respect which was due to him, he would have them all three hanged that very moment. The pacha of Thessalonica, who delivered the message, disguised the harshness of the commission under the most respectful terms. Charles finished the audience without deigning to return the least answer. His chancellor Mullern, who remained with the three pachas, briefly explained to them his master's refusal, which they already sufficiently understood by his silence.

The grand vizier did not give up the point; he ordered Ismael pacha, the new seraskier of Bender, to threaten the king with the sultan's indignation, if he did not make his determination without delay. The seraskier was a man of a mild temper and engaging address, which had gained him the goodwill of Charles and the friendship of all the Swedes. The king entered into conference with him, but it was only to tell him that he would not depart till Achmet had granted him two demands—the punishment of his grand vizier, and an hundred thousand men to return with him into Poland.

As Baltagi Mehemet was persuaded that Charles remained in Turkey only to ruin him, he took care to plant guards along all the roads from Bender to Constantinople, to intercept the king's letters. He did more, he retrenched his "thaim," that is to say, the provision with which the Porte furnishes those princes to whom she grants an asylum. That of the king of Sweden was immense, consisting of five hundred crowns a-day in money, and a profusion of every thing that could contribute to maintain a court in splendour and affluence.

As soon as the king understood that the vizier had presumed to retrench his allowance, he turned to the steward of his household, and said, "Hitherto you have only had two tables, but, from tomorrow, I order you to provide four."

The officers of Charles XII. were accustomed to esteem nothing impossible which their master ordered: at present, however, they had neither money nor provisions, and were obliged to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty per cent of the officers, domestics, and janissaries, who were grown rich by the profusion of the king. M. Fabricius the envoy of Holstein, Jeffreys the minister of England, with their secretaries and friends, gave all that they had. The king with his usual stateliness, and without any concern about the morrow, subsisted on these presents, which could not have sufficed him long. It was therefore necessary to elude the vigilance of the guards, and to send privately to Constantinople to borrow money of the European merchants. All refused to lend to a king who seemed to have put himself out of a condition ever to repay them. One English merchant alone, named Cook, ventured to lend him about forty thousand crowns, being content to lose them in case of the king of Sweden's death. This sum was brought to the king's little camp just as they began to be in want of every thing, and without hopes of any relief. In this interval M. Poniatowsky wrote, even from the camp of the grand vizier, a relation of the campaign at Pruth, in which he accused Baltagi Mehemet of cowardice and treachery. An old janissary, provoked at the weakness of the vizier, and gained moreover by the presents of Poniatowsky, undertook to deliver this account, and having obtained leave of absence, presented the letter with his own hand to the sultan; and Poniatowsky in the course of a few days left the camp, and repaired to the Ottoman Porte to form intrigues against the grand vizier, according to his usual custom.

Circumstances were favourable. The czar, finding himself disengaged, did not hurry himself to perform his engagements; the keys of Azoph did not arrive; the grand vizier, who was responsible for them, and who with reason dreaded the indignation of his master, did not dare to appear in his presence.

At this period the seraglio was a scene of more faction and intrigue than ever. These cabals, which exist in all courts, and which in European courts commonly end with the dismissal of the minister, or at most in his banishment, never fail at Constantinople to occasion the loss of more than one head: they proved fatal to the old vizier Chourlouli and to Osman, that lieutenant of Baltagi Mehemet, who was the principal author of the peace of Pruth, and had afterwards obtained a considerable post at the Porte. Among Osman's treasures the ring of the czarina and twenty thousand pieces of gold of the Russian and Saxon coin were found; a proof that money alone had saved the czar of Muscovy from the precipice, and ruined the affairs of Charles XII. The vizier Baltagi Mehemet was banished to the isle of Lemnos, where he died three years after. The sultan did not seize his effects, either at his banishment or at his death. He was far from being rich, and his poverty is a justification of his character.

To this grand vizier succeeded Jussuff or Joseph, whose fortune was as extraordinary as that of his predecessor. He was born on the frontiers of Muscovy, was made prisoner at six years of age, together with his family, and had been sold to a janissary. He had been for some time a valet in the seraglio, and at last became the second person in that very empire wherein he had been a slave; but he was only the shadow of a minister. The young selictar, Ali-Coumourgi, elevated him to that slippery post only while he waited for an occasion to fill it himself; and Jussuff, his creature, had nothing to do but to set the seals of the empire to the will of this favourite. The politics of the Ottoman court seemed to undergo a total alteration from the very beginning of this vizier's administration: the czar's plenipotentiaries who remained at Constantinople, both as ambassadors and as hostages, were treated better than ever; the grand vizier ratified with them the peace of the Pruth; but that which mortified the king of Sweden above all was, to hear that the secret alliance made with the czar at Constantinople was brought about by the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland.

Since the period of Charles's retreat to Bender, Constantinople had become what Rome had so often been, the centre of the negotiations of Christ-

endom. Count des Alleurs, the ambassador from France, supported the interests of Charles and Stanislaus; the minister of the emperor of Germany opposed them; and the same collisions prevailed here between the Swedish and Muscovite factions which we have observed have long agitated the court of Rome, instigated by those of France and Spain.

England and Holland, who seemed to be neuter, were not so in reality; the new commerce which the czar had opened at Petersburg attracted the attention of these two commercial nations.

The English and Dutch will be always for that prince who shall most favour their trade. There was much to be obtained from the czar, and therefore it is not surprising that the ministers of England and Holland should serve him secretly at the Ottoman Porte. One of the conditions of this new alliance was, that Charles should be immediately obliged to quit the Turkish empire; whether it was that the czar hoped to seize his person on the road, or that he thought Charles less formidable in his own kingdom than in Turkey, where he was always on the point of arming the Ottoman troops against the Russian empire.

The king of Sweden never ceased soliciting the Porte to send him back through Poland with a numerous army. The divan, in fact, resolved to send him back with a simple guard of seven or eight thousand men, not as a king whom they wished to assist, but as a guest whom they wanted to get rid of. For this purpose the sultan Achmet wrote to him in these terms:—

"Most powerful among the kings, adorers of Jesus, Redresser of wrongs and injuries, and Protector of justice to the ports and republics of the south and north; shining in majesty, friend of honour and glory, and of our Sublime Porte, CHARLES KING OF SWEDEN, whose enterprises may God crown with success.

"As soon as the most illustrious Achmet, formerly chiaoux-pacha, shall have the honour to present you with this letter, adorned with our imperial seal, be persuaded and convinced of the truth of our intentions therein contained; to wit, that though we did propose, once more, to march our ever-victorious army against the czar, yet that prince, to avoid the just resentment which we had conceived at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our Sublime Porte, having surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph, and endeavoured, through the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and given to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, after having received his from their hands.

"We have given to the most honourable and valiant Delvet-Gherai, cham of Budziack, Crim Tartary, Nagay, and Circassia, and to our most sage councillor and generous seraskier of Bender, Ismael, (may God perpetuate and augment their magnificence and wisdom!) our inviolable and salutary orders for your return, through Poland, according to your first desire, which hath been renewed to us in your name. You must, therefore, prepare to depart, under the auspices of Providence, and with an honourable guard, before the approaching winter, in order to return to your territories, taking care to pass as a friend through those of Poland.

"Whatever shall be necessary for your journey shall be furnished you by my Sublime Porte, as, well in money as men, horses, and waggons. We, above all things, exhort and recommend to you, to give the most positive and precise orders to all the Swedes, and other persons, in your retinue, to commit no outrage, nor be guilty of any action that may tend, either directly or indirectly, to violate this peace and alliance.

"You will, by these means, preserve our goodwill, of which we shall endeavour to give you as great and as frequent marks as occasion shall offer. Our troops destined to accompany you shall receive orders conformable to our imperial intentions.

Given at our Sublime Porte of Constantinople, the fourteenth of the moon Rehyul Eurech, 1214, which answers to the 19th of April, 1712."

This letter did not yet deprive the king of Sweden of his hopes: he wrote to the sultan, that during life, he should retain a grateful remembrance of the favours his highness had bestowed on him, but that he believed the sultan too just to send him back with the simple guard of a flying camp, into a country still over-run by the czar's troops. In effect, the emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the first article of the peace of the Pruth, by which he engaged himself to withdraw all his forces from Poland, had sent fresh troops into that kingdom; and, what appears surprising, the grand signior knew nothing of the matter.

The bad policy of the Porte and its vanity for having ambassadors from the Christian princes, residing at Constantinople, and not maintaining a single agent at the Christian courts, is the cause that the latter discover, and sometimes even manage the most secret resolutions of the sultan, and that the divan is always in profound ignorance of what is publicly going on in the Christian world.

The sultan, shut up in his seraglio, among his women and eunuchs, can see only with the eyes of the grand vizier: that minister, as inaccessible as his master, wholly engrossed with the intrigues of the seraglio, and having no foreign correspondence, is commonly deceived himself, or else deceives the sultan; who deposes, or orders him to be strangled for the first fault, in order to choose another minister as ignorant or as perfidious, who conducts himself like his predecessors, and soon shares the same fate.

Such, for the most part, is the inactivity and the profound security of this court, that, were the Christian princes to league themselves against it, their fleets might be at the Dardanelles, and their land forces at the gates of Adrianople, before the Turks would dream of defending themselves; but the different interests which will ever divide the Christian world will preserve the Turks from a fate to which, by their want of policy, and by their ignorance of the art of war, both by sea and land, they seem at present exposed.

Achmet knew so little of what passed in Poland, that he sent an aga to see whether it was true that the czar's troops were still in that country: the king of Sweden's two secretaries, who understood

the Turkish language, accompanied the aga, and were to serve as witnesses against him, in case he should make a false report.

This aga witnessed the truth of the king's assertion with his own eyes, and informed the sultan of every particular. Achmet, fired with indignation, was going to strangle the grand vizier; but the favourite, who protected him, and who thought he should have occasion for him, obtained his pardon, and supported him some time longer in the ministry.

The cause of the Russians was now openly espoused by the vizier, and secretly by Ali-Coumourgi, who had changed sides; but the sultan was enraged, the infraction of the treaty was so manifest: and the janissaries, who often make the ministers, the favourites, and even the sultans, tremble, demanded war with such clamour, that no one of the seraglio durst offer a more moderate proposal.

The grand signior immediately committed to the Seven Towers the Russian ambassadors, who were now as much accustomed to go to prison as to an audience. War was declared afresh against the czar, the horsetails were displayed, and orders were given to all the pachas to assemble an army of two hundred thousand men. The sultan himself, quitted Constantinople, and went to fix his court at Adrianople, that he might be nearer to the seat of war.

In the mean time a solemn embassy, from Augustus and the republic of Poland, was advancing on the road to Adrianople. At the head of the embassy was the palatine of Moravia, with a retinue of above three hundred persons.

Upon the arrival of this mission at Constantinople every person that composed it was seized, and imprisoned in one of the suburbs: never was the king of Sweden's party more sanguine than on this occasion; and yet this great preparation was rendered useless, and all their hopes were again disappointed.

If we may believe a public minister, a man of sagacity and penetration, who resided at that time at Constantinople, young Coumourgi had, already, other designs in his head, than that of disputing a desert country with the czar, by a doubtful war. His object was to strip the Venetians of the Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, and to make himself master of Hungary.

He waited only for the execution of his great designs till he should have obtained the post of the grand vizier, from which he was still excluded on account of his youth. In this view it was more for his advantage to be the ally than the enemy of the czar. It was neither his interest nor his inclination to retain the king of Sweden any longer, and still less to arm the Turkish empire in his favour. He not only desired to dismiss that prince, but publicly declared that, for the future, no Christian ambassador ought to be suffered at Constantinople; that all these ministers, in ordinary, were but so many privileged spies, who corrupted or betrayed the viziers, and had too long influenced the intrigues of the seraglio; and that the Franks, settled at Pera, and in the Straits of the Levant, were merchants, and needed a consul only, and not an ambassador. The grand vizier, who owed his post and his life to the favourite, and, what was more, stood in fear of him, complied with his intention with the more alacrity as he had sold himself to the Russians, and hoped, by this means, to be revenged on the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to ruin him. The mufti, a creature of Ali Coumourgi, was also the slave to his will: he had advised the war with Russia when the favourite wished it; but the moment this young man changed his opinion he pronounced it to be unjust: thus was the army hardly assembled, before they began to listen to proposals of accommodation. The vice-chancellor Schaffirof, and young Czermetoff, hostages and plenipotentiaries of the czar at the Porte, promised, after several negociations, that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland. The grand vizier, who well knew that the czar would never execute this treaty, made no scruple to sign it; and the sultan, satisfied with having, in appearance, imposed laws on the Russians, remained still at Adrianople. Thus, in less than the course of six months, peace was ratified with the czar, war declared, and peace renewed again.

The principal article of all these treaties was to oblige the king of Sweden to depart. The sultan, however, was unwilling to compromise his honour, and that of the Ottoman empire, by exposing the king to the danger of being taken by his enemies on the road. It was stipulated that he should depart, but on condition that the ambassadors of Poland and Muscovy should be responsible for the safety of his person: these ambassadors accordingly swore, in the name of their masters, that neither the czar, nor the king of Poland, should molest him on his journey; and Charles was to engage, on his part, that he would not attempt to excite any commotions in Poland. The divan having thus settled the fate of Charles, Ismael, seraskier of Bender, repaired to Varnitza, where the king was encamped, to acquaint him with the resolutions of the Porte, insinuating to him, with great address, that there was no longer time for delay, and that he must necessarily depart.

The only answer made by Charles was, that the grand signior had promised him an army, and not a guard, and that kings ought to keep their word.

In the mean time General Fleming, the minister and favourite of Augustus, kept up a secret correspondence with the cham of Tartary and the seraskier of Bender. La Mare, a French gentleman, a colonel in the service of Saxony, had made more than one journey from Bender to Dresden, and all these journeys were suspicious.

At this very time the king of Sweden caused a courier, whom Fleming had sent to the Tartarian prince, to be arrested on the frontiers of Wallachia. The letters were brought to him and deciphered; from which it was clear, to a demonstration, that a correspondence was carried on between the Tartars and the court of Dresden: but the letters were conceived in such ambiguous and general terms, that it was difficult to discover whether Augustus only intended to detach the Turks from the interest of Sweden, or whether he meant that the cham should deliver Charles to his Saxons as he conducted him back to Poland.

It seems difficult to admit that a prince, so generous as Augustus, would, by seizing the person of the king of Sweden, endanger the lives of

his ambassadors, and of three hundred Polish gentlemen, who were detained at Adrianople, as pledges for Charles's safety.

But, on the other hand, it is well known that Fleming, the absolute minister of Augustus, was a subtle man, and not very scrupulous. The outrages committed on the king elector, by the king of Sweden, might seem to render any revenge excusable; and it might be thought that if the court of Dresden could buy Charles from the cham of Tartary, they would easily purchase the liberty of the Polish hostages at the Ottoman Porte.

All these reasons were discussed by the king, Mullern, his privy chancellor, and Grothusen, his favourite. They read the letters again and again; and, their unhappy situation making them more suspicious, resolved to believe the worst.

A few days after, the king was confirmed in his suspicions by the abrupt departure of Count Sapieha, who had taken refuge with him, and now quitted him with precipitation to go to Poland, to throw himself into the arms of Augustus. In any other situation he would have regarded Sapieha only as a malcontent; but, in his present delicate condition, he did not hesitate to believe him a traitor. The repeated importunities with which the Turks now pressed him to depart converted his suspicions into certainty. The obstinacy of his temper coinciding with these appearances, confirmed him in the opinion that they intended to betray him and deliver him up to his enemies, though this plot hath never been fully proved.

He might possibly deceive himself, in supposing that Augustus had made a bargain with the Tartars for his person; but he was much more deceived in relying on the succours of the Ottoman court. Be that as it will, he resolved to gain time.

He informed the pacha of Bender that he could not depart without money to pay his debts; for though his "thaim" had, for a long time, been restored to him, his liberality had always obliged him to borrow. The pacha asked him how much he wanted. The king replied, at a hazard, "a thousand purses," amounting to fifteen hundred thousand livres of our money, in the best coin. The pacha wrote to the Porte; and the sultan, instead of a thousand purses which Charles had requested, sent twelve hundred, and wrote the pacha the following letter:

Letter from the GRAND SIGNIOR *to the* PACHA *of* BENDER.

"The purport of this imperial letter is, to acquaint you, that upon your representation and recommendation, and upon that of the most noble Delvet-Gherai-Cham, to our sublime Porte, our imperial munificence hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, under the care and conduct of the most illustrious Mehemet pacha, formerly Chiaoux-pacha, to remain in your custody till the time of the departure of the king of Sweden, whose steps God direct, and then to be given to him, together with two hundred purses more, as an overplus of our imperial liberality, which exceeds his demands.

"With regard to the route of Poland, which he is determined to take, you, and the cham who are to accompany him, shall adopt such wise and prudent measures as may, during the whole journey, prevent as well the troops under your command, as the retinue of the king of Sweden, from committing any outrage, or being guilty of any action that may be deemed contrary to the peace which still subsists between our Sublime Porte and the kingdom and republic of Poland, in order that the king may pass as a friend under our protection.

"By doing this (which you must expressly recommend to him to do) he will receive, on the part of the Poles, every mark of honour and respect due to his majesty; of which we have been assured by the ambassadors of king Augustus and the republic, who, on this condition, have even offered themselves, together with several other Polish nobles, if we required it, as hostages for the security of his passage.

"When the time shall arrive which you, together with the most noble Delvet-Gherai, shall fix for the march, you shall put yourself at the head of your brave soldiers, among whom shall be the Tartars, having the cham at their head; and you shall then conduct the king of Sweden, with his retinue.

"So may it please the One God, the Almighty, to direct your steps and theirs. The pacha of Aulos shall remain at Bender with a body of spahis and another of janissaries, to defend it in your absence; and, in following our imperial orders and intentions in all these points and articles, you will render yourself worthy of the continuance of our imperial favour, as well as the praise and recompense due to all those who observe them.

"Done at our imperial residence at Constantinople, the 2nd of the moon de Cheval 1214 of the Hegira."

In the interval, while this answer was expected from the grand signior, the king wrote to the Porte, complaining of the treachery of which he supposed the cham of Tartary to be guilty; but all the passages were so well guarded, and, besides, the minister being, in fact, against him, his letters never reached the sultan: the vizier stopped M. des Alleurs from coming to Adrianople, where the Porte then was, for fear that minister, who was an agent of the king of Sweden, should endeavour to disconcert the plan that he had formed for obliging him to depart. Charles, enraged at seeing himself thus hunted, as it were, from the grand signior's dominions, determined not to quit them at all: he might have asked leave to return through the territories of Germany, or to take shipping on the Black Sea, in order to sail to Marseilles through the Mediterranean: but he rather chose to ask nothing, and to await the event.

When the twelve hundred purses arrived, his treasurer, Grothusen, who had learned the Turkish language during his long stay in the country, waited upon the pacha without an interpreter, with the design of drawing the money from him, and then to form some new intrigue at the Porte; being continually buoyed up with the foolish supposition that the Swedish party would, at last, be able to arm the Ottoman empire against the czar. Grothusen informed the pacha that the king was not able to get his equipages ready without money. "But," said the pacha, "we shall settle all the expenses of your departure: your

master has no occasion to be at any expense while he continues under the protection of mine." Grothusen replied, "That there was so much difference between the equipages of the Turks and those of the Franks, that they should be obliged to have recourse to the artificers of Sweden and Poland, resident at Varnitza. He assured him the king would readily depart, but that he wanted a thousand purses more." The pacha, confounded at this answer, was some time before he could speak; he then retired to a window, where he was observed to shed some tears. At last, addressing himself to the king:—"I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty: I have given you the twelve hundred purses against the express orders of my sovereign." Having said this, he withdrew, oppressed with grief. When he was leaving the apartment the king stopped him, and said, that he would excuse him to the sultan. "Ah!" replied the Turk, as he departed, "my master knows not how to excuse faults; he knows only to punish them."

Ismael Pacha conveyed this piece of news to the cham, who had received the same orders with the pacha, not to suffer the twelve hundred purses to be given to the king before his departure, and yet had consented to the delivery of the money; he was as apprehensive as the pacha of the indignation of the grand signior. They both wrote to the Porte to justify themselves; protesting that they had given the twelve hundred purses upon the solemn promises of the king's minister that he would depart without delay; and beseeching his highness not to impute the king's refusal to their disobedience.

Charles still indulging the idea that the cham and pacha wished to deliver him up to his enemies, ordered M. Funk, at that time his envoy at the Ottoman court, to lay his complaints against them before the sultan, and to ask a thousand purses more. His own generosity, and the little account he made of money, hindered him from seeing the meanness of this proposal. He adopted it merely to have a refusal, and in order to have a fresh pretext for not departing; but to stand in need of such artifices is to be reduced to strange extremities. Savari, his interpreter, an artful and enterprising man, carried his letter to Adrianople, in spite of the strictness which the grand vizier had used to guard the passes.

Funk was obliged to make this dangerous demand. All the answer he received was to be thrown into prison. The sultan, enraged, convoked an extraordinary divan, and, what very seldom occurs, spoke himself on the occasion. His speech, according to the translation then made of it, was as follows:—

"I have scarce known the king of Sweden but by his defeat at Pultowa, and by the prayer he preferred to me to grant him an asylum in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any need of him; or any reason to love or fear him; notwithstanding, without consulting any other motives than the hospitality of a Mussulman, and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of its favours upon the great as well as the small; upon strangers as well as my own subjects; I have received and succoured him with all things, himself, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, and have not ceased, for these three years and a half, to load him with presents.

"I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him into his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to defray some expenses, though I pay them all. Instead of a thousand I granted him twelve hundred. After having got these out of the hands of the seraskier of Bender, he asks a thousand purses more, and refuses to depart, under a pretence that the guard is too small, whereas it is but too large to pass through the country of a friend.

"I therefore ask, whether it will be any violation of the laws of hospitality to send back this prince; and whether foreign powers ought to accuse me of violence and injustice, in case I should be obliged to compel him by force to depart!"

The whole divan answered, that the grand signior acted with justice. The mufti declared that hospitality from Mussulmen towards Infidels was not commanded, and much less towards the ungrateful; and he gave his fetsa, a kind of mandate which generally accompanies the important orders of the grand seignior. These fetsas are revered as oracles, though the very persons by whom they are given are as much slaves to the sultan as any others.

The order and the fetsa were carried to Bender by the Bouyouk Imraour, grand master of the horse, and a chiaou pacha, first usher. The pacha of Bender received the order at the house of the cham of Tartary, from whence he immediately repaired to Varnitza, to ask the king whether he would depart as a friend, or reduce him to the necessity of putting the orders of the sultan in execution.

Charles, thus menaced, was not master of his passion. "Obey your master, if you dare," said he, "and leave my presence." The pacha, fired with indignation, returned at full gallop, contrary to the usual custom of the Turks; and, chancing to meet Fabricius in his way, he cried out to him, without checking his horse, "The king will not hear reason; you will see strange things presently." The same day he discontinued the supply of the king's provisions, and removed his guard of janissaries. He caused intimation to be given to all the Poles and Cossacks at Varnitza, that if they wished to have any provisions, they must quit the camp of the king of Sweden and repair to Bender, and put themselves under the protection of the Porte. They all obeyed, and left the king without any other attendants than the officers of his household, and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to make head against twenty thousand Tartars and six thousand Turks.

The king's camp no longer afforded provisions for the men or their horses. The king ordered twenty of the fine Arabian horses, which had been sent him by the grand signior, to be shot without the camp, saying, "I will have none of their provisions nor their horses." This was an excellent regale to the Tartars, who, as is well known, think horse-flesh delicious food. In the mean time, the Turks and Tartars invested the king's little camp on every side.

The king, not in the least discomposed, made a regular intrenchment with his three hundred Swedes, in which work he himself assisted; his

chancellor, his treasurer, his secretaries, his valets de chambre, and all his domestics, likewise lending their assistance. Some barricadoed the windows, and others fastened beams behind the doors, in the form of buttresses.

As soon as the house was sufficiently barricadoed, and the king had gone round his pretended fortifications, he sat down to chess with his favourite, Grothusen, with as much tranquillity as if everything was in the greatest security. Happily M. Fabricius, envoy of Holstein, did not lodge at Varnitza, but at a small village between Varnitza and Bender, where Mr. Jeffreys, the English envoy to the king of Sweden, likewise resided. These two ministers, seeing the storm ready to burst, took upon themselves the office of mediators between the Turks and the king. The cham and especially the pacha of Bender, who had no mind to offer violence to the Swedish monarch, received, gladly, the offers of these two ministers. They had two conferences at Bender, in which the usher of the seraglio, and the grand master of the horse, who had brought the sultan's order and the mufti's fetsa, were present.

M. Fabricius * declared to them, that his Swedish majesty had many cogent reasons to believe that they meant to deliver him up to his enemies in Poland. The cham, the pacha, and all the rest, swore by their heads, and called God to witness, that they detested so horrible a perfidy, and that they would lose the last drop of their blood rather than suffer the least disrespect to be shewn to the king of Sweden; adding, that both the Russian and Polish ambassadors were in their power, who would answer with their lives for the least affront that should be offered to the king of Sweden. In fine, they complained bitterly that the king should conceive such injurious suspicions against people who had received him so politely, and treated him with so much humanity. Though oaths are frequently the language of perfidy, Fabricius suffered himself to be persuaded by the Turks: he thought he could discern in their protestations that semblance of truth which falsehood can, at best, but imitate imperfectly. He knew perfectly well there had been a secret correspondence between the cham of Tartary and king Augustus; but he was at last persuaded that the only end of the negociation was to oblige Charles XII. to quit the grand signior's dominions. Whether Fabricius deceived himself or not, he assured them he would represent to the king the injustice of his suspicions. "But," adds he, "do you intend to compel him to depart?" "Yes," says the pacha, "such is the order of our master." He then entreated them to consider seriously whether that order implied that they should shed the blood of a crowned head. "Yes," replied the cham, in a passion, "if that crowned head disobeys the grand signior in his dominions."

Everything, in the mean time, being ready for the assault, the death of Charles XII. seemed inevitable; but the order of the sultan not expressly saying whether they were to kill him in case of resistance, the pacha prevailed on the cham to let him despatch an express to Adrianople, where the grand signior then resided, to receive the last orders of his highness.

M. Jeffreys and M. Fabricius, having procured this short respite, hastened to acquaint the king with it: they arrived with all the eagerness of people who bring good news, but were received very coldly: he called them officious mediators, and still persisted in his opinion, that the order of the sultan and the fetsa of the mufti were both forged, particularly as they had sent to the Porte for fresh orders.

The English minister retired, firmly resolved to interfere no more in the affairs of so inflexible a prince. M. Fabricius, beloved by the king, and more accustomed to his humour than the English minister, remained with him, to conjure him not to hazard so precious a life on such an unnecessary occasion.

The king, for answer, showed him his fortifications, and requested he would employ his mediation only to procure him some provisions. The Turks were easily prevailed upon to allow provisions to be conveyed to the king's camp until the return of the courier from Adrianople. The cham himself had strictly enjoined his Tartars, who were eager for pillage, not to make any attempt against the Swedes till the arrival of fresh orders; so that Charles went sometimes out of his camp with forty horse, and rode through the midst of the Tartars, who with great respect left him a free passage; he would even ride up in front of their lines, which they opened rather than resist him.

The order of the grand signior at length came, to put to the sword all the Swedes who should make the least resistance, and not even to spare the life of the king: the pacha had the complaisance to show the order to M. Fabricius, with the view that he might make his last effort to turn the obstinacy of Charles. Fabricius went immediately to acquaint him with these sad tidings. "Have you seen the order you speak of?" said the king. "Yes," replied Fabricius. "Well, then, go tell them in my name, that this second order is another forgery, and that I will not depart." Fabricius threw himself at his feet, fell into a passion, and reproached him with his obstinacy; but all to no purpose. "Return to your Turks," said the king to him, smiling; "if they attack me, I shall know how to defend myself."

The king's chaplains likewise threw themselves on their knees before him, conjuring him not to expose to certain death the unhappy remains of Pultowa, and especially his own sacred person; assuring him that resistance in such a case was altogether unjustifiable; and that it was a direct violation of all the laws of hospitality to resolve to continue against their will with strangers who had so long and so generously supported him. The king, though he had not been angry with Fabricius, fell into a passion with his chaplains, and told them to pray for him, and not to give him advice.

The generals Hord and Dardoff, whose sentiments had always been against hazarding a battle that could not fail of proving unsuccessful, showed the king their breasts covered with wounds, which they had received in his service, and assured him that they were ready to lay down their lives for him, but begged it might be at least upon a more necessary occasion. "I know by your wounds and my

* The whole of this account is related by M. Fabricius in his letters.

own," said Charles to them, "that we have fought valiantly together. You have done your duty hitherto; do it to-day likewise." Nothing now remained but to obey. Every one was ashamed not to court death with their king. This prince being now prepared for the assault, secretly flattered himself that he should have the honour of sustaining with three hundred Swedes the efforts of a whole army. He assigned to every man his post: his chancellor Mullern, and the secretary Empreus and his clerks, were to defend the chancery-house; Baron Fief at the head of the officers of the kitchen were stationed at another post; the grooms of the stable and the cooks had another place to guard; for with him every one was a soldier: he then rode from the entrenchments to his house, promising rewards to every one, creating officers, and assuring them that he would make captains of the very meanest of his servants who should fight with courage.

It was not long before the army of the Turks and Tartars were seen advancing to attack this little entrenchment, with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars. The horsetails waved in the air; the clarions sounded; the cries of "Alla, Alla," were heard on every side. Baron Grothusen remarked that the Turks did not mix in their cries any injurious reflections against the king, but that they only called him "Demirbash" (iron head). He therefore instantly resolved to go out of the camp alone and unarmed; and accordingly advanced to the lines of the janissaries, most of whom had received money from him. "What, my friends," said he to them in their own language, "are you come to massacre three hundred Swedes, who are defenceless? You, brave janissaries, who have spared fifty thousand Russians upon their crying amaun (pardon), have you forgotten the many favours you have received from us! and would you assassinate this great king of Sweden whom you love, and whose liberality you have so often experienced! My friends, he desires but three days, and the orders of the sultan are not so strict as you are taught to believe."

These words produced an effect which Grothusen himself could not have expected. The janissaries swore by their beards that they would not attack the king, but would give him the three days he demanded. In vain the signal for assault was given; the janissaries, so far from obeying, threatened to fall upon their commander if the three days were not granted to the king of Sweden. They then went to the pacha of Bender's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were forged. The pacha had no remedy against this unexpected sedition but patience. He affected a degree of satisfaction at the generous resolution of the janissaries, and ordered them to return to Bender. The cham of Tartary being an impetuous man, would have given the assault immediately with his own troops, but the pacha, who was not willing that the Tartars should have all the honour of taking the king, while he himself perhaps might be punished for the disobedience of the janissaries, persuaded the cham to wait till the next day.

The pacha, on his return to Bender, assembled all the officers of the janissaries and the oldest soldiers, to whom he read and also showed them the positive order of the sultan, together with the mufti's festa. Sixty of the oldest, with venerable white beards, who had received a thousand presents from the hands of the king of Sweden, proposed to go to him in person to entreat him to put himself into their hands, and to permit them to serve him as guards.

The pacha agreed to it, there not being any expedient which he would not have adopted rather than have been reduced to the necessity of killing this prince. These sixty veterans accordingly repaired the next morning to Varnitza, having nothing in their hands but long white rods, the only arms of the janissaries when they are not at war; for the Turks regard as a barbarous custom the christian manner of wearing swords in time of peace, and going armed into the houses of their friends and the churches. They addressed themselves to baron Grothusen and chancellor Mullern, and informed them that they came to serve as faithful guards to the king; and that if he pleased they would conduct him to Adrianople, where he might himself speak to the grand signior. At the time they were making this proposal the king was reading letters which were brought from Constantinople, and which Fabricius, who could no longer attend him in person, had sent him secretly by a janissary: these letters came from count Poniatowsky, who could neither serve him at Bender nor Adrianople, being detained at Constantinople by order of the Porte, ever since the imprudent demand had been made of the thousand purses. He informed the king, "That the orders of the sultan to seize or slay his royal person in case of resistance, were but too true: that indeed the sultan was deceived by his ministers; but that the more he was imposed upon he would for that very reason be the more faithfully obeyed; that he must submit to the time, and yield to necessity; that he took the liberty to advise him to try every expedient with the ministers by way of negociations = not to be inflexible in a matter which required the gentlest management; and to expect from time and sound policy a remedy for that evil, which by violent measures would be only rendered incurable."

But neither Poniatowsky's letters, nor the proposals of the old janissaries, could give the king even an idea that he could yield without incurring dishonour. He chose rather to perish by the hands of the Turks than to be in any respect their prisoner; he therefore dismissed the janissaries without deigning to see them; and sent them word that if they did not immediately depart he would cut off their beards, which in the eastern countries is esteemed the most outrageous of all affronts.

The old men, burning with the most lively indignation, returned home, crying out as they went, "Ah! this Ironhead! since he will perish, why let him perish!" They went and gave the pacha an account of their commission, and informed their comrades at Bender of the strange reception they had met with; every one then swore to obey the pacha's orders without delay, and were as impatient to begin the assault as they had been backward the day before.

The word of command was issued in a moment: the Turks marched up to the entrenchments, the Tartars were already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The janissaries on the one side, and the Tartars on the other, in an instant

forced the little camp: hardly twenty Swedes drew their swords: the whole three hundred were surrounded and made prisoners without resistance. The king was then on horseback, between his house and his camp, with the generals Hord, Dardoff, and Sparr; and seeing that all his soldiers were taken prisoners before his eyes, he said, with great composure, to those three officers, "Come, let us go and defend the house: we will fight," added he with a smile, "*pro aris et focis!*" Accordingly he gallopped with them up to the house, in which he had placed about forty domestics, as sentinels, and had fortified it in the best manner he was able. These generals, accustomed as they were to the obstinate intrepidity of their master, were surprised to see him resolve in cold blood and even with an air of pleasantry, to defend himself against ten pieces of cannon and a whole army: they followed him with some guards and domestics, making in all about twenty persons!

When they arrived at the door they found it besieged by the janissaries: two hundred Turks and Tartars had already entered by a window, and had made themselves masters of all the apartments except a large hall into which the king's domestics had retired: this hall was happily near the door at which the king designed to enter, with his little troop of twenty persons: he threw himself off his horse with pistol and sword in hand, and his attendants followed his example. The janissaries attacked him on all sides: they were animated by the promise which the pacha had made of eight ducats of gold to every one who should only touch his clothes, in case they could take him. He wounded and killed whoever approached his person. A janissary whom he had wounded, clapped his carbine to his face, and, had not his arm been pushed aside by the motion of the crowd, which moved backwards and forwards like a wave, the king had certainly been killed: the ball grazed his nose, carried away with it the tip of his ear, and then broke the arm of general Hord, whose destiny it was always to be wounded by his master's side.

The king plunged his sword in the janissary's breast; at the same time his domestics, who were shut up in the great hall, opened the door; the king entered like an arrow, followed by his little troop; they instantly shut the door, and barricadoed it with whatever they could find. In this manner was Charles XII. shut up in a hall, with all his attendants, consisting of about sixty men, officers, guards, secretaries, valets-de-chambres, and domestics of every kind.

The janissaries and Tartars pillaged the rest of the house, and filled all the apartments. "Come," says the king, "let us go and drive these barbarians out of my house;" and putting himself at the head of his men, he, with his own hands, opened the door of the hall that led to his bedchamber, rushed into the room, and fired upon those who were plundering.

The Turks, loaded with spoil, and intimidated at the sudden appearance of the king, whom they had been accustomed to respect, threw down their arms, leaped out of the windows, or retired to the cellars: the king, taking advantage of this confusion, and his own men being animated with success, they pursued the Turks from one apartment to another, killing or wounding those who had not made their escape; and, in a quarter of an hour, the house was cleared of them all.

In the heat of the fight the king perceived two janissaries, who had secreted themselves under his bed: one of them he killed with his sword; the other asked for mercy, by crying "Amaun." "I give thee thy life," said the king to him, "on condition that you go and give to the pacha a faithful account of what you have seen." The Turk readily promised to do this, and was allowed to leap out of the window like the rest.

The Swedes being again masters of the house, shut and barricadoed the windows afresh. They were not in want of arms, as a lower room, full of muskets and powder had escaped the tumultuary search of the janissaries. These they employed with good effect; they fired through the windows almost close upon the Turks, of whom, in less than half a quarter of an hour, they killed two hundred. The cannon still played upon the house; yet, as the stones were very soft, they only made a few apertures, but demolished nothing.

The cham of Tartary and the pacha, anxious to take the king alive, and being ashamed to use so many men, and employ a whole army against sixty persons, thought it advisable to set fire to the house, and thus oblige the king to surrender. They caused some arrows, twisted about with lighted matches, to be shot upon the roof and against the doors and windows, and the house was in flames in a moment; the roof, all in a flame, was ready to fall upon the Swedes. The king, with great calmness, gave orders to extinguish the fire; and, finding a little barrel of liquor, he took it up himself, and, assisted by two Swedes, threw it upon the place where the fire was most violent. It happened that the barrel was filled with brandy; but as the hurry inseparable from such a scene of confusion hindered then from thinking of it in time, the fire now raged with double fury; the king's apartment was entirely consumed; the great hall, where the Swedes were, was filled with a terrible smoke, mixed with sheets of flame, which entered in at the doors of the neighbouring apartments; one half of the roof had sunk within the house, and the other had fallen on the outside, cracking amidst the flame.

In this extremity, one of the guards, named Walberg, ventured to cry out, that it was necessary to surrender. "There is a strange man!" said the king, "to imagine that it is not more glorious to be burnt than taken prisoner!" Another sentinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the Chancery-house, which was but fifty paces distant, had a stone roof, and was fire proof; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and then defend themselves. "There is a true Swede for you!" cried the king, embracing the sentinel, and made him a colonel upon the spot: "Come, my friends!" said he, "take as much powder and ball with you as you can, and let us take possession of the Chancery sword in hand."

The Turks, who all the while surrounded the house, saw, with admiration mixed with terror, the Swedes remaining there in the midst of the flames: but their astonishment was still greater, when they saw the door open, and the king and his followers rush out upon them like so many

madmen. Charles and his principal officers were armed with swords and pistols: every man fired two pistols at once as soon as the doors were opened; and, in the twinkling of an eye, throwing away their pistols and drawing their swords, they made the Turks recoil about fifty paces! but, in a moment after, this little troop was surrounded: the king, who was booted, according to his usual custom, entangled himself with his spurs, and fell: one-and-twenty janissaries, at once, sprang upon him: he immediately threw up his sword into the air, to save himself the mortification of surrendering it: the Turks carried him to the quarters of the pacha, some taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, in the same manner as sick persons are carried, to prevent their being hurt.

The moment the king found himself taken prisoner*, the violence of his temper, and the fury which such a long and desperate fight must have naturally inspired, immediately gave place to a mild and gentle behaviour: he neither dropped a word of impatience, nor was an angry look to be seen in his face: on the contrary, he looked at the janissaries with a smiling countenance, as they carried him off, crying "Alla!" with an indignation mixed at the same time with respect. His officers, taken at the same time, were stripped by the Turks and Tartars. It was on the 12th of February, 1713, that this strange event happened, which was followed with very singular consequences.

CHAPTER VII.

The Turks convey Charles to Demirtash.—King Stanislaus is brought there at the same time.—The bold action of M. de Villelongue.—Revolutions in the Seraglio.—Affair in Pomerania.—Altona burnt by the Swedes.—Charles sets out on his Return to his own Dominions.—His strange Manner of travelling.—His arrival at Stralsund.—His Misfortunes.—Successes of Peter the Great.—His triumphant Entry into Petersburg.

THE pacha of Bender, attended by one Marco, an interpreter, waited in his tent, with great solemnity, the arrival of Charles: he received that prince with the most profound respect, and entreated him to repose himself on a sofa; but the king, regardless of the Turk's civilities, continued standing.

"Blessed be the Almighty!" said the pacha, "that your majesty is alive: my despair is bitter at having been obliged by your majesty to execute the orders of his highness." The king, only vexed that his three hundred soldiers suffered themselves to be taken in their entrenchments, replied, "Ah! had my soldiers defended themselves as they ought, you would not have forced our camp in ten days." "Alas!" cried the Turk, "that so much courage should be so ill employed!" He ordered the king to be conducted back to Bender, on a horse richly caparisoned: his Swedes were all either killed or taken prisoners. Charles's equipage, furniture, papers, and most necessary utensils, were either plundered or burnt; and Swedish officers were to be seen on the public roads almost naked, and chained two and two, following on foot the Tartars or janissaries: the chancellor and the general officers had no other destiny; they were made the slaves of the soldiers to whose share they had fallen.

Ismael pacha having conducted Charles to his Seraglio at Bender, gave up to him his own apartment, and ordered him to be attended like a king, but not without taking the precaution to place janissaries, as sentinels, at the chamber-door. A bed was also prepared for him; but, booted as he was, he threw himself down upon a sofa, and fell fast asleep. An officer that stood near him, in waiting, covered his head with his cap; but the king, awaking from his first sleep, threw it off; and the Turk beheld, with astonishment, a sovereign sleeping in his boots and bare-headed. The next morning Ismael introduced Fabricius into the king's chamber. Fabricius found his Majesty with his clothes torn, his boots, his hands, his whole body, covered with blood and powder, and his eye-brows burnt, yet maintaining a serene countenance even in this forlorn condition. He threw himself upon his knees before him, without being able to utter a word; but soon recovering from his surprise, by the free and easy manner in which the king addressed him, he resumed his usual familiarity, and they began to talk of the battle of Bender with much pleasantry. "They say," said Fabricius, "that your Majesty killed twenty janissaries with your own hand." "Well, well," replied the king, "a story always gains one half by report." In the midst of this conversation the pacha presented to the king his favourite Grothusen and colonel Ribbins, whom he had had the generosity to redeem at his own expense: Fabricius undertook to ransom the rest of the prisoners.

Jeffreys, the envoy of England, joined with him to procure the money to defray the expense. A Frenchman, who came to Bender out of curiosity, and who wrote a short account of these transactions, gave all the money he had: these strangers, assisted by the interest, and even by the money of the pacha, redeemed not only the officers, but also their clothes, from the hands of the Turks and Tartars. Next day the king was conducted, as a prisoner, in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards Adrianople: his treasurer, Grothusen, was with him. Chancellor Mullern, and several officers, followed, in another carriage: several were on horseback; and, when they cast their eyes on the chariot in which the king was, they could not refrain from tears. The pacha was at the head of the escort; Fabricius represented to him, that it was a disgrace to the king to be without a sword, and begged he would give him one. "God forbid!" said the pacha, "he would cut our beards for us if he had

* M. Norberg, who was not present at this event, has in this particular part of his history only copied the account from M. de Voltaire; but mangled it, suppressed several interesting circumstances, and yet has not been able to justify the temerity of Charles. All that he has been able to urge against M. de Voltaire, with regard to the affair of Bender, is reducible to the adventure of the Sieur Frederious, valet-de-chambre to the king of Sweden, who, some pretend, was burnt in the king's house, and according to others, was cut in two by the Tartars. La Mottraye alleges likewise, that the king of Sweden did not use the words, "We will fight *pro aris et focis*:" but M. Fabricius, who was present, affirms that the king did pronounce these words; that La Mottraye was not near enough to hear them; and that if he had, he was incapable of comprehending their meaning, as he did not understand a word of Latin.

one." However, in a few hours after, he gave him one.

As they were thus conducting this king, disarmed and a prisoner, who, but a few years before, had given law to so many states, and had seen himself the arbiter of the north and the terror of Europe, another example of the frailty of human grandeur appeared in the same place: King Stanislaus had been seized in the Turkish dominions, and they were carrying him to Bender at the very time they were removing Charles from it!

Stanislaus, being no longer supported by the hand that raised him to the throne, and finding himself without money, and, consequently, without interest, in Poland, had retired, at first, into Pomerania; and, not being able to preserve his own kingdom, he had done every thing, as far as was in his power, to defend the dominions of his benefactor; he had even been to Sweden, in order to hasten the reinforcements that were so much wanting in Livonia and Pomerania; in short, he had done every thing that could be expected from the friend of Charles XII. At this time the first king of Prussia, a very prudent prince, being justly apprehensive of the too near neighbourhood of the Muscovites, thought of entering into a league with Augustus and the republic of Poland, with the view of sending back the Russians to their own country, and of engaging Charles XII. himself in this project. Three great events were to be produced by this plan: the peace of the north, the return of Charles to his own dominions, and the establishment of a strong barrier against the Russians, already become formidable to Europe. The preliminary article of this treaty, upon which the public tranquillity depended, was the abdication of Stanislaus, who not only accepted the proposal, but even charged himself with negociating a peace which deprived him of his crown! Necessity, the public welfare, the glory of the sacrifice, and the interest of Charles, to whom he owed every thing, and whom he loved, had determined him. He wrote to Bender, explained to the king of Sweden the situation of his affairs, their misfortunes, and their remedy; and conjured him not to oppose an abdication, become necessary from the course of events, and honourable from its motives: he also entreated him not to sacrifice the interests of Sweden to those of an unfortunate friend, who sacrificed himself, without repining, to the public good. Charles received these letters at Varnitza, and said to the courier, in a passion, in presence of several witnesses, "If my friend will not be a king, I shall be able to make one of another person."

Stanislaus was obstinately bent on the sacrifice which Charles opposed. The times seemed as if they were destined by providence to produce strange sentiments and still more extraordinary actions. Stanislaus resolved to go, in person, and prevail on Charles, though he ran a greater risk in abdicating the throne than ever he had done in obtaining it. One evening, about six o'clock, he stole from the Swedish army, which he commanded in Pomerania, and set out, accompanied by baron Sparr, who has since been an ambassador in England and France, and another colonel. He assumed the name of a Frenchman, called Haran, then a major in the Swedish army, and who lately died commander of Dantzic. He passed close by the whole army of the enemy, was sometimes stopped, and as often released, by his passport in the name of Haran; and, at last, after many perils and dangers, arrived on the frontiers of Turkey.

When he had reached Moldavia he sent back baron Sparr to his army, and entered Jassy, the capital of Moldavia: he flattered himself that he was safe in a country where the king of Sweden had been treated so respectfully, and was far from suspecting what was then passing. He was asked who he was: he answered, that he was a major of a regiment in the service of Charles XII. At the very mention of the name he was seized, and carried before the Hospodar of Moldavia; who, having already learned, from the gazettes, that Stanislaus had privately withdrawn from his army, conceived some suspicions of the truth. The king's countenance had been described to him, which was very easily distinguished by its fulness, as well as its agreeableness, and an air of sweetness, which he possessed to an uncommon degree.

The Hospodar, in his interrogations, put a great many captious questions, and, at last, asked him what commission he held in the Swedish army (Stanislaus and the Hospodar carried on their conversation in Latin). "*Major sum*," said Stanislaus: "*Imo Maximus es!*" replied the Moldavian, and immediately presented him with a chair of state. He treated him as a king, but yet like a king who was a prisoner, and he placed a strict guard about a Greek convent, in which he was obliged to remain till they received the sultan's orders. The orders were, to conduct him to Bender, from whence Charles XII. had been just removed.

The news of this event was brought to the pacha while he was accompanying the king of Sweden's carriage. The pacha immediately acquainted Fabricius with it, who, approaching Charles's chariot, told him he was not the only king that was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks, as Stanislaus was but a few miles off, under a guard of soldiers. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius!" said Charles, without being disconcerted at the accident; "tell him never to make peace with Augustus; and assure him, that, in a little time, our affairs will change." So inflexible was Charles in his own opinions, that, abandoned as he was in Poland, attacked in his own dominions, a captive in a Turkish litter, and led a prisoner, without knowing where they were carrying him, he still reckoned on fortune, and still flattered himself with having an hundred thousand men from the Ottoman porte. Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janissary, having obtained permission from the pacha. At a few miles' distance he met the body of soldiers that conducted Stanislaus: he addressed himself to a cavalier that rode in the midst of them, clad in a French dress, and but indifferently mounted, and asked him in the German tongue, where the king of Poland was. The person to whom he spoke was Stanislaus himself, whom he did not recollect under this disguise. "What!" said the king, "do you no longer remember me!" Fabricius then represented to him the wretched state in which the king of Sweden was, and his unalterable, but useless, obstinacy in his designs.

As Stanislaus approached Bender, the pacha, who was returning, after having accompanied Charles several miles, sent the king of Poland an Arabian horse, with a magnificent harness. He was received at Bender amidst a discharge of the artillery; and, excepting his liberty, of which he was at first deprived, he had no cause to complain of the treatment he met with*. In the mean time Charles was conducted to Adrianople: that city already resounded with the account of his late battle; the Turks condemned and admired him at the same time; but the divan, exasperated, began to threaten to confine him in one of the islands of the Archipelago. Stanislaus, king of Poland, who did me the honour to inform me of the most of these particulars, assured me also that it was proposed in the divan to confine him likewise in one of the islands of Greece; but, a few months after, the grand signior, being mollified, permitted him to depart.

M. des Alleurs, who ought to have been able to have prevented them from offering such an affront to every Christian king, was at Constantinople, as was also M. Poniatowsky, whose fertile and enterprising genius had ever been dreaded by the Turks: the greatest part of the Swedes at Adrianople were in prison, and the sultan's throne seemed to be inaccessible on all sides to the complaints of the king of Sweden.

The marquis de Fierville, who had resided with Charles at Bender, as a private agent of France, was at that time at Adrianople. He had the courage to form the design of rendering that prince a service, at a time when he was abandoned or oppressed by every one. In this he was happily seconded by a French gentleman, of an ancient house in Champagne, called Villelongue, a man of intrepidity, who not having, at that time, a fortune equal to his courage, and, besides, dazzled with the reputation of the king of Sweden, had come to Turkey, with a view of entering into the service of that prince.

M. de Fierville, assisted by this young man, wrote a memorial in the name of the king of Sweden, in which he made that monarch demand satisfaction of the sultan, for the insult offered, in his person, to all crowned heads, and for the treachery, real or supposed, of the cham and the pacha of Bender.

In this instrument he accused the vizier, and other ministers, of having been corrupted by the Russians, of imposing upon the grand signior, intercepting the king's letters to his highness, and of having, by their artifices, extorted from the sultan an order so contrary to the hospitality of Mussulmen, by which the law of nations was violated, and in a manner so unworthy of a great emperor, attacking with twenty thousand men a king who had none but his own domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sultan.

When this memorial was drawn up, it was necessary to have it translated into the Turkish language, and written in a particular hand, upon a paper made on purpose, which is indispensably made use of for everything which is presented to the sultan.

They applied to several French interpreters in the town; but the affairs of the king of Sweden were in so desperate a state, and the vizier declared so openly against him, that not a single interpreter dared even to translate it. At last a stranger was found whose hand was not known at the Porte, who, having received a handsome recompence, and the assurance of profound secrecy, translated the memorial into the Turkish language, and wrote it upon the proper sort of paper. Baron d'Advirson, a Swedish officer, counterfeited the king's signature. Fierville, who had the royal signet, set it to the writing; and it was sealed with the arms of Sweden. Villelongue charged himself with the delivery of this packet into the hands of the grand signior, as he went to the mosque, according to his usual custom. Similar deceptions had been frequently employed, to present memorials to the sultan against his ministers; but that very circumstance rendered the success of this enterprise the more difficult, and increased the danger.

The vizier, who foresaw that the Swedes would demand justice of the sultan, and too well convinced, by the unhappy fate of his predecessors, had given peremptory orders to allow no one to approach the grand seignior's person, but to seize every one who should be found about the mosque with petitions in their hands.

Villelongue was neither ignorant of this order nor the danger to which he was exposed, of losing his head. He laid aside his Frank's dress, and put on a Grecian habit; and, concealing the letter in his bosom, repaired, betimes, to the neighbourhood of the mosque to which the grand signior resorted. He counterfeited insanity; and, dancing between two files of janissaries, through which the sultan was to pass, he purposely let drop some pieces of money from his pockets, as if by chance, but merely to amuse the guards.

When the sultan approached, the guards endeavoured to remove Villelongue; but he fell on his knees and struggled with the janissaries; at last his cap fell off, and he was discovered by his long hair to be a Frank: he received several blows, and was very roughly handled. The grand signior, who was near, heard the scuffle, and demanded the cause of it. Villelongue cried out, with all his force, "*Amaun! Amaun!*" mercy! mercy! pulling the letter out of his bosom. The sultan ordered his guards to let him approach. Villelongue instantly ran to him, embraced his stirrup, and presented the memorial, saying, "*Sued crall dan;*" it is the king of Sweden who gives you this. The sultan put the letter in his bosom, and proceeded to the mosque. In the mean while they secured Villelongue, and imprisoned him in one of the exterior apartments of the Seraglio.

The sultan having read the letter, upon his leaving the mosque, resolved to interrogate the prisoner himself. What I relate here will, perhaps, appear somewhat incredible; but yet nothing is here advanced but what is vouched for by the letters of M. de Villelongue; and when so brave an officer asserts any thing upon his honour he merits some credit. He assured me, then, that the sultan laid aside his imperial garb, and the particular turban which he wears, and disguised

* The good chaplain, Norberg, alleges that the assertion, that king Stanislaus was at once detained a prisoner and treated as a king at Bender, is a contradiction. How! had not this poor man discernment enough to perceive that it is possible for a man to be a prisoner and yet to be loaded with honours at the same time?

himself like an officer of the janissaries, a thing which he frequently does. He brought along with him an old man of the island of Malta, who served as an interpreter. By favour of this disguise Villelongue enjoyed an honour which no Christian ambassador had ever obtained: he had a private conference with the Turkish emperor for a quarter of an hour. He did not fail to represent the wrongs which the king of Sweden had suffered to accuse the ministers, and to demand satisfaction, with so much the more freedom, as in talking to the sultan he was only supposed to be talking to his equal. He could easily discover, notwithstanding the darkness of the prison, that it was no other than the grand signior himself: but this only served to give him the more spirit in the conversation. The pretended officer of the janissaries said to Villelongue, "Christian! assure thyself that the sultan, my master, has the soul of an emperor: and that if your king of Sweden has reason on his side, he will do him justice." Villelongue was liberated soon after; and, in the course of a few weeks, a sudden change was seen in the Seraglio, which the Swedes attributed to this singular conference. The Mufti was deposed; the cham of Tartary was banished to Rhodes; and the seraskier pasha of Bender confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago.

The Ottoman Porte is so subject to the like revolutions, that it is difficult to decide whether the sultan really meant, by these sacrifices, to appease the king of Sweden or not. Indeed, from the treatment which that prince received, it does not appear that the Porte had any great inclination to oblige him.

Suspicion fell upon the favourite, Ali-Coumourgi, as being the sole cause of all these changes, in order to serve his own particular views. It was reported that he caused the exile of the cham of Tartary and the seraskier of Bender, under the pretence that they had given the king the twelve hundred purses in contradiction to the orders of the grand signior. He likewise raised to the throne of Tartary the brother of the deposed cham, a young man of his own age, who had little regard for his brother, and upon whom the favourite depended greatly in prosecuting the wars he had meditated. With respect to the grand vizier Jussuf, he was not deposed till some weeks after, when Soliman Pacha obtained the title of first vizier.

It is my duty to declare that M. de Villelongue, and several Swedes, assured me, that the letter presented to the sultan, in the king's name, was the cause of all these great changes at the Porte; but M. de Fierville, for his part, has assured me of the contrary; but, in reality, I have found the like contradictions in many memorials that have been submitted to my perusal. In such cases it is the duty of an historian to give matters of fact ingenuously, without endeavouring to dive into motives; and to confine himself to the relation of what he does know, without making use of conjecture with respect to things with which he is not acquainted.

In the mean time they had conducted Charles XII. to the little castle of Demirtash, near Adrianople. An innumerable multitude of Turks were assembled in this place to witness the arrival of that prince, whom they carried from his chariot to the castle on a sofa; but Charles, that he might not be seen by the crowd, put a cushion upon his head.

The Porte was several days before it would grant him his request to reside at Demotica, a little town six leagues from Adrianople, and near the famous river of Hebrus, now called Marizza. "Go," said Coumourgi, to the grand vizier, Soliman, "and tell the king of Sweden that he may stay at Demotica all his life; I will be answerable that, before the expiration of one year, he will demand, of his own accord, to be gone; but let your chief care be, not to furnish him with money." The king was, accordingly, conveyed to Demotica, where the Porte allowed him a "thaim," consisting of a considerable quantity of provisions for himself and his retinue: but they would only grant him five-and-twenty crowns a-day in specie, to buy pork and wine, two kinds of provisions which the Turks never furnish to others. The purse of five hundred crowns a-day, which he had at Bender, was withdrawn.

Scarcely had he arrived at Demotica, with his little court, when the grand vizier Soliman was deposed, and his place filled by Ibrahim Molla, a man of a high spirit, of great courage, but of the coarsest manners. A sketch of his history will not be superfluous, in order that the reader may be acquainted with the characters of all those viceroys of the Ottoman empire upon whom the fortune of Charles so long depended.

He was a common sailor till sultan Achmet III. ascended the throne. This emperor frequently disguised himself either in the habit of a private man, of a priest, or of a dervise; and used to slip, in the evening, into the coffee-houses of Constantinople, and the public places, to hear what was said of him, and to collect the sentiments of the people. One day he overheard this Molla complaining that the Turkish ships never took any prizes, and swearing that, if he were captain of a ship, he would never enter the port of Constantinople without bringing some vessel of the infidels along with him. The grand signior, the next day, ordered the command of a ship to be given to him, and that he should be sent upon a cruise. The new captain returned a few days after with a Maltese bark and a Genoese galley. In about two years' time he was appointed captain-general of the navy, and, at last, grand vizier. As soon as he obtained this post he thought he could dispense with the favourite; and to render himself the more necessary, he projected a scheme for commencing a war against the Russians: with this view he pitched a tent not far from the place where the king of Sweden resided.

He invited that prince to come and see him, with the new cham of Tartary and the French ambassador; the king, whose pride increased with his misfortunes, considered it as a most daring affront for a subject to send him an invitation: he therefore ordered his chancellor, Mullern, to go in his place; and he himself, who was always in the extremes, (lest the Turks should not pay him that respect which was due to his royal person, or oblige him to compromise his dignity,) took to his bed, and resolved not to quit it as long as he should stay at Demotica. He remained ten months in his bed, pretending to be ill! Chancellor Mullern, Grothusen, and colonel Dubens, were the only persons admitted to his table: they had none of the

conveniences with which the Franks are generally provided, all these they had lost at Bender; consequently, their meals were far from being served with pomp or with elegance; they were their own servants, and during the whole time Chancellor Mullern performed the office of cook.

While Charles was thus passing his time in bed he was apprised of the desolation of all his provinces that were situated without the limits of Sweden. General Steinbock, rendered illustrious by driving the Danes out of Scania, and beating their best troops with a handful of peasants, maintained for some time the reputation of the Swedish arms: he defended, as far as he was able, Pomerania, Bremen, and what the king still possessed in Germany, but could not hinder the combined armies of the Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade, a town of great strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before Steinbock was able to advance to their assistance. This general, who had about twelve thousand men, of which one half were cavalry, pursued the enemy, twice as numerous; and at last overtook them at a place called Gadebush, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, near a river which bears the same name. He arrived opposite to the Saxons and the Danes on the 20th of December, 1712. He was separated from them by a morass: the enemy had this morass in front, and a wood in their rear: they had also the advantage of number and situation, and their camp could not be gained without crossing the marsh, under the fire of their artillery. Steinbock passed, at the head of his troops, arrived in order of battle, and commenced one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements which ever happened between these rival nations: after a sharp conflict for three hours the Danes and Saxons were routed, and obliged to quit the field of battle.

In this battle a son of Augustus, by the countess of Konigsmark, known by the name of count Saxe, began his apprenticeship in the art of war. This is the same count Saxe, who had the honour afterwards to be elected duke of Courland, and who wanted nothing but power to put himself in possession of the most incontestable right which any man can have to sovereignty, I mean the unanimous vote of the people: this is also the man who has since acquired a more solid glory, by saving France at the battle of Fontenoy, by conquering Flanders, and meriting the reputation of the greatest general of our age. He commanded a regiment at Gadebush, and had a horse killed under him: I have heard him say, that the Swedes always kept their ranks, and that, even after the victory was decided, and the first lines of these brave troops, having their enemies lying dead at their feet, there was not a single Swedish soldier who dared even stoop to strip them before prayers were read in the field of battle; so observant were they of the strict discipline to which their king had always accustomed them.

Steinbock, after this victory, recollecting that the Danes had reduced Stade to ashes, went to retaliate on Altona, belonging to the king of Denmark. Altona stands below Hamburgh, on the banks of the Elbe, which can convey ships of considerable burden into its harbour. The king of Denmark had favoured this town with many privi leges, with the view of establishing a flourishin commerce: the industry of its inhabitants, encou raged by the prudent measures of the king, ha already added Altona to the number of rich an commercial cities; Hamburgh had conceived jealousy at this, and wished for nothing so muc as its destruction. As soon as Steinbock was i sight of Altona he sent a trumpet to acquaint th inhabitants that they must retire, with as many o their effects as they could carry off, for that h was going to raze their town to its foundation.

The magistrates left Altona, threw themselve at his feet, and offered him an hundred thousan crowns, as a ransom: Steinbock demanded tw hundred thousand. The inhabitants entreate they might, at least, be permitted to send to Ham burgh, where their correspondents resided; assur ing him that, next day, they would send him tha sum; but the Swedish general replied, that the must give it instantly, or he would immediatel set Altona in flames. His troops were already i the suburbs, with torches in their hands: a feebl wooden gate and a ditch, already filled up, wer the only defences of the inhabitants of Altona These unfortunate people were obliged to qui their houses with precipitation, in the middle o the night: it was the 9th of January, 1713: th rigour of the season, then excessive, was increase by a violent north wind, which served at once t spread the flames with more expedition throug the town, and to render the miseries of the poo people, who were exposed in the open fields, th more intolerable. Men and women, weeping an wailing, and bending under the weight of thei furniture, fled to the neighbouring hills, whic were covered with snow: many palsied old me were carried thither on the shoulders of th young: several of the women who were newl delivered, fled, with their babes in their arms, and perished together, from the cold, on the hills, throwing their last looks towards the flames which consumed their country: all the inhabitants had not time to quit the town before the Swedes set fire to it! The conflagration continued from midnight till ten in the morning: almost all the houses being constructed of wood, were entirely consumed; and the next day there was not the least appearance that there had been a town on that spot!

The aged, the sick, and women of tender constitutions, who had taken refuge in the snow while their houses were in flames, at last crawled to the gates of Hamburgh and besought the inhabitants to receive them within the walls, and to save their lives: but this was denied them, because some epidemical disorders had prevailed at Altona: and the Hamburghers had not so much regard for its inhabitants as to expose themselves to the danger of having their own town infected by receiving them. Thus did the greatest part of these miserable people expire under the walls of Hamburgh, calling on heaven to witness the barbarity of the Swedes, and the treatment of the Hamburghers, which was not less inhuman.

All Germany protested against this violence: the ministers and generals of Poland and Denmark wrote to count Steinbock, reproaching him with enormous cruelty, which being perpetrated without necessity, and remaining without excuse, provoked the vengeance of heaven and earth.

Steinbock answered, "That he carried things to such extremities only to teach the enemies of the king his master not to make war for the future like barbarians, but to pay some regard to the laws of nations: that they had filled Pomerania with their cruelties, laid waste that beautiful province, and sold near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants to the Turks; and that the torches which had laid Altona in ruins were nothing but reprisals for the red-hot shot by which Stade had been reduced to ashes."

Such was the fury with which the Swedes and their enemies carried on the war. If Charles had appeared in Pomerania at this time, it is reasonable to imagine he might have recovered his former good fortune. His armies, though removed at so great a distance from his person, were still animated by his spirit; but the absence of a chief is always prejudicial to his affairs, and prevents even victories from being turned to account. Steinbock lost by piecemeal the great advantages he had gained by such signal actions, which at another time would have proved decisive.

Steinbock's victories, however, could not prevent the Russians, Danes, and Saxons from joining. His quarters were beaten up; he lost some troops in several little skirmishes; and two thousand of his men were drowned in passing the Eider, as they were going to their winter-quarters in Holstein. All these losses in a country surrounded on every side by powerful enemies, were utterly irreparable.

The sovereign of Holstein was at this time the young duke Frederic, aged twelve years, nephew of the king of Sweden, and son of that duke who had been killed at the battle of Clissau. The bishop of Lubeck, his uncle, under the title of administrator, governed this unhappy country, which its sovereigns have never possessed in tranquillity.

The bishop, who feared for the states of his ward, wished to preserve an apparent neutrality; but it was impossible to remain neuter between the army of the king of Sweden, whose heir the duke of Holstein might become, and the armies of the allies ready to invade that state.

Count Steinbock, pressed by the enemy, and no longer able to preserve his small army, summoned the bishop administrator to consent to its being received within the fortress of Tonningen. The bishop found himself reduced either entirely to sacrifice the king's army, or to draw down the vengeance of Denmark upon Holstein.

The bishop had recourse to artifice, that dangerous resource of the weak. He ordered colonel Wolf, who commanded in Tonningen, to receive the Swedish troops in his fortress; but at the same time he laid that officer under an injunction that he should never mention that order; and Steinbock on his side took an oath to keep the negotiation secret.

It was necessary that Wolf should take upon himself to receive the army in his garrison as of his own authority, and that he should appear to disobey the orders of his sovereign. All this finesse turned out unfortunately for the duke, the country, and for Steinbock. The czar, the king of Denmark, and the king of Prussia, blockaded Tonningen. The provisions which were to have come to this small army failed, in consequence of a fatality which had been ruinous to the affairs of Sweden all through the course of the war.

At last Steinbock was forced to surrender himself prisoner to the king of Denmark, with his troops, on the 13th of March, 1713. Thus was this army irretrievably dissipated, which had gained the two celebrated victories of Helsinburgh and Gadebush, under a general of whom were entertained the highest expectations; and the king of Denmark had the satisfaction to retain as his prisoner the person who had thwarted all his designs, and reduced his town of Altona to ashes. Steinbock, when he quitted Tonningen, assured the king of Denmark that he had never entered that town but by stratagem, and that he had deceived the governor. This officer swore to the same thing, and preferred the dishonour of having been surprised to that of betraying his master's secret.

The duke of Holstein and the bishop administrator protested that they had observed the neutrality: they implored the mediation of the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover. But all this finesse not being supported by arms, it did not prevent the king of Denmark from besieging Wolf in Tonningen, a short time afterwards, with his own troops and those of the czar. This commander surrendered as Steinbock had done, and at length confessed the secret of which the Danes had but too many suspicions.

This furnished the king of Denmark with a pretext for taking possession of the states of the duke of Holstein, which have never yet been entirely restored to him. This same king of Denmark who ravaged without scruple the duchy of Holstein, had yet the generosity to treat Steinbock with consideration, and gave an example that kings are often more guided by their interests than their revenge. He left the incendiary of Altona free, upon his parole, at Copenhagen, and affected to heap favours upon him, till Steinbock, having attempted to escape, had the misfortune to be stopped, and to be convicted of having broken his parole; then he was strictly guarded and reduced to ask pardon of the king of Denmark, who granted it to him.

Pomerania being left defenceless, became a prey to the allies, excepting Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and some neighbouring places, and was sequestered in the hands of the king of Prussia. The states of Bremen were filled with Danish garrisons; at the same time the Russians overran Finland, and beat the Swedes, who being inferior in point of numbers and their courage forsaking them, began to lose their wonted superiority of valour over their enemies, who now were inured to war.

To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, the king was obstinately determined to remain at Demotica, and still flattered himself with the hope of having assistance from the Turks, in whom he ought no longer to have reposed any confidence. Ibrahim Molla, that spirited vizier who had been so obstinately bent on a war with the Russians in opposition to the favourite, was strangled between two doors. Such was the danger now attached to the office of grand vizier that no one dared to accept of it, and it contained vacant six months. At last the favourite Ali Coumourgi assumed the title of grand vizier; this crushed all the hopes of the king of Sweden at once. He knew Coumourgi so much the better, as he had been served by him

when the interest of that favourite and his own happened to coincide.

Charles had now been eleven months at Demotica, buried in sloth and oblivion; this extreme indolence succeeding so suddenly the most violent exercises, had at last actually brought on that sickness which he had only feigned before; his death was believed throughout Europe. The council of regency which he had established at Stockholm when he left his capital, no longer received any despatches from him. The senate came in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora the king's sister, and entreated her to take the regency into her own hands during the long absence of her brother; she accepted the proposal; but when she perceived that the senate wanted to oblige her to make peace with the czar and the king of Denmark who attacked Sweden on every side, and well knowing that her brother would never ratify such a peace, she resigned the regency, and sent into Turkey a long detail of the transaction.

Charles received his sister's packet at Demotica. The principles of despotism which he had imbibed at his birth, made him forget that Sweden had formerly been free, and that in ancient times the senate governed the kingdom conjointly with the king: be regarded this body as a parcel of domestics who wanted to usurp the command of the house in their master's absence: he wrote to them that if they wanted to assume the reigns of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which he would oblige them to receive their orders. To prevent, therefore, these pretended attempts upon his authority in Sweden, and in fine to defend his kingdom, now at the last extremity, deprived of all hopes of assistance from the Ottoman Porte, and relying on himself alone, he signified to the grand vizier his desire of departing and returning by the way of Germany. M. des Alleurs, the French ambassador, who was charged with the affairs of Sweden, made the proposal in his name. "Well!" said the vizier to him, "did I not tell you that a year would not pass before the king of Sweden would desire to depart? Tell him, it is at his choice to go or stay: but let him come to a fixed determination and appoint the day of his departure, that he may not a second time embarrass us as he did at Bender."

Count des Alleurs softened the harshness of this answer to the king; the day was accordingly fixed, but before Charles would leave Turkey he resolved to display the pomp of a great king, though involved in all the difficulties of a fugitive! He gave Grothusen the title of his ambassador extraordinary, and sent him to take leave in form at Constantinople, followed by a retinue of eighty persons, all superbly dressed. The secret means which he was reduced to adopt in order to raise a sufficiency to defray this expense were as humiliating as the embassy was pompous. M. des Alleurs lent the king forty thousand crowns; Grothusen had agents at Constantinople, who borrowed in his name, at an interest of fifty per cent., a thousand crowns of a Jew, two hundred pistoles of an English merchant, and a thousand livres of a Turk. In this manner they were able to collect a sum sufficient for their purpose, and to act in the presence of the divan the brilliant comedy of the Swedish embassy. Grothusen received at Constantinople all the honours that the Porte usually pays to the ambassadors extraordinary of kings on the day of their audience. The design of all this parade was only to obtain money from the grand vizier, but that minister was inexorable. Grothusen proposed the loan of a million from the Porte: the vizier replied coldly, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper, but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should be furnished with abundance of everything necessary for his journey in a manner worthy of the person that sent him back; and that the Porte perhaps might even make him a present in gold bullion, but that was not to be depended upon.

At last, on the 1st of October, 1714, the king of Sweden set out on his journey from Turkey. A capigi pacha with six chiaoux came to attend him from the castle of Demirtash, where that prince had resided for some days past: he presented him in the name of the grand signior with a large tent of scarlet, embroidered with gold, a sabre with the guard mounted with jewels, and eight beautiful Arabian horses, with fine saddles and stirrups of massy silver. It is not beneath the dignity of history to observe that the Arabian equerry who had had the care of the horses gave the king an account of their genealogy, a custom which hath been long established among these people, who seem to pay more attention to the nobility of their horses than to that of their men; which is not perhaps so unreasonable, as among animals those breeds that are taken care of and are not crossed are never found to degenerate.

The cavalcade was composed of sixty waggons loaded with all sorts of provisions, and three hundred horse. The capigi pacha, understanding that several Turks had lent money to the king of Sweden's attendants at an immoderate interest, told his majesty that usury being contrary to the Mahometan law, he entreated him to liquidate all these debts, and to order his resident whom he should leave at Constantinople, to pay no more than the capital. "No," said the king, "if any of my domestics have given bills for an hundred crowns, I will pay them, though they should not even have received ten." It was proposed to his creditors to follow him, and Charles assured them that he would not only pay them what he owed, but all their expenses. Several followed him to Sweden, and Grothusen took care to see them paid.

The Turks in order to pay the more respect to their royal guest, made him travel by very short stages; but this respectful motion was ill-suited to the impatient spirit of the king. During the journey he got up at three in the morning, according to his usual custom. As soon as he was dressed he went himself and awakened the capigi and chiaoux, and ordered the march during the darkness of the night: the gravity of the Turks was deranged by this new method of travelling; but Charles took pleasure in seeing them embarrassed, and said it was some little satisfaction for the affair of Bender.

About the time that Charles reached the frontiers of Turkey, Stanislaus was leaving the country by a different road, and going into Germany, with a view of retiring into the duchy of Deuxponts, a province bordering on the palatinate of Alsace and the Rhine, and which has belonged to the kings of Sweden ever since Charles X. the successor of Christina, had united it to the crown.

Charles assigned to Stanislaus the revenue of this duchy, estimated, at that time, at about seventy thousand crowns. Such was the final issue of so many projects, wars, and expectations! Stanislaus could, and would, have made an advantageous treaty with Augustus; but the inflexible obstinacy of Charles made him lose his estates and real possessions in Poland to preserve the title of king.

Stanislaus remained in the duchy of Deuxponts till the death of Charles XII., when that province reverting to a prince of the Palatine family, he chose Wissemburgh, in Alsace, for his retreat. M. Sum, envoy from king Augustus, making a complaint of this to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the duke returned him an answer in these remarkable words: "Sir! tell the king, your master, that France has ever been the asylum of princes in distress."

The king of Sweden having arrived on the confines of Germany, was given to understand that the emperor had issued orders to receive him in every part of his dominions with a becoming magnificence: the towns and villages through which the quarter-masters had previously fixed his route, had made great preparations for receiving him; all the people waited with impatience to see this extraordinary man pass by, whose victories and misfortunes, whose most trifling actions, and even his keeping his bed, had made so great a noise in Europe and Asia. But Charles had no inclination to support the fatigue of so much pomp, or to exhibit himself a spectacle; he had even resolved never to re-enter Stockholm until he should have repaired his losses by a change of fortune.

Having arrived at Targowitz, on the frontiers of Transylvania, and taken leave of his Turkish convoy, he assembled his attendants in a barn, and told them all not to give themselves any uneasiness about his person, but to proceed, with all possible expedition to Stralsund, in Pomerania, on the coast of the Baltic sea, about three hundred leagues from the place where they then were. He took nobody with him except two officers, Rosen and During; and, taking a cheerful leave of the rest of his attendants, left them filled with fear, sorrow, and astonishment. As a disguise, he put on a black wig, as he always wore his own hair; a gold-laced hat, a grey coat, and a blue cloak; and, taking the name of a German officer, rode post, with his two fellow-travellers.

In the course of his route he avoided as much as possible the territories of either his declared or secret enemies, taking the road through Hungary, Moravia, Bavaria, Austria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenberg; by which means he almost made the tour of Germany, and lengthened his journey by one half. Having rode the whole of the first day without intermission, young During, who was not so much inured to these excessive fatigues, fainted as he was dismounting. The king who was determined not to stop a moment on the road, asked During, as soon as he came to himself, how much money he had. Upon During's replying, he had about a thousand crowns in gold, "Give me half of them," said the king, "I see you are not in a condition to follow me; I will therefore finish the journey by myself." During begged he would permit him to repose himself but for three hours, assuring him, that, by that time, he should be able to remount his horse and attend his majesty; and conjured him to think of the dangers to which he was going to expose himself. The king, still inexorable, made him give him five hundred crowns, and called for horses. During, alarmed at this resolution, had recourse to an innocent stratagem; he took the postmaster aside, and, pointing to the king of Sweden, "That gentleman," said he, "is my cousin: we are travelling together upon the same business; he sees that I am ill, and yet will not wait for me even for three hours: give him, I beseech you, the worst horse in your stable; and let me have a cart, or any post-carriage." He slipped two ducats into the post-master's hand, who exactly performed his orders: the king had a horse given him that was both lame and restive: such was the equipage with which this monarch set out, at ten o'clock at night, amidst darkness, rain, wind, and snow! His fellow-traveller, after having slept a few hours, followed him, in a cart, drawn by strong horses. He overtook the king at day-break at the distance of a few miles only; who, not being able to make his horse move on, was travelling on foot to the next stage.

Charles, thus compelled to get into During's cart, he slept there upon the straw; thus they continued their journey, by day on horseback, and at night they slept in the cart, without stopping in any place. After sixteen days' travelling, and not without danger of being taken more than once, they arrived, at last, on the 21st of November, in the year 1714, at the gates of the town of Stralsund, about one in the morning.

The king called to the sentinel, and told him that he was a courier, despatched from Turkey by the king of Sweden, and that he must speak that moment with general Ducker, the governor of the place. The sentinel answered, that it was too late; that the governor was gone to bed; and that he must wait till break of day.

The king replied, that he came upon business of importance, and told them, that if they did not instantly go and awaken the governor they should be punished the next morning. A serjeant, at last, went and called up the governor. Ducker imagined that it might, perhaps, be one of the king's generals; he therefore ordered the gates to be opened, and the courier was introduced into his chamber.

Ducker, half asleep, asked him, "What news of the king of Sweden?" The king, taking him by the arm, "What," said he, "Ducker, have my most faithful subjects forgotten me?" The general immediately recollected the king, though he could scarcely believe his eyes; and, throwing himself from the bed, embraced his master's knees with tears of joy. The news spread instantaneously through the town. Every one got up: the soldiers surrounded the governor's house; the streets were crowded with the inhabitants, asking each other whether it was true that the king was come. Every window was illuminated; wine ran through the streets, amidst the blaze of a thousand flambeaux, and the discharges of the artillery.

In the mean time the king was put to bed, in which he had not been for above sixteen days: his boots were obliged to be cut from his legs, they being so much swollen by his extreme fatigue.

As he was in want both of linen and clothes, they furnished him a wardrobe as well as the town could afford, with all expedition. When he had slept a few hours, he arose, and went directly to review his troops, and visit his fortifications. The same day he despatched orders to all parts for renewing the war against his enemies with greater vigour than ever. These particulars, so conformable to the extraordinary character of Charles XII., were communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterwards confirmed by count Croissy, ambassador to the king of Sweden.

The christian part of Europe was now in a situation very different from that when Charles quitted it in 1709. The war which had so long raged throughout the south, that is to say in Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had now terminated. This general peace had been brought about by some private intrigues in the English court. The earl of Oxford, an able minister, and lord Bolingbroke, one of the greatest geniuses and the most eloquent orator of the age, had prevailed upon the famous duke of Marlborough, and persuaded queen Anne to make a peace with Louis XIV. France having England no longer for her enemy, soon obliged the other powers to come to an accommodation.

Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., began to reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy. The emperor of Germany was become the master of Naples and Flanders, and had established himself in his vast dominions; and Lewis himself aspired no higher than to finish his long career in peace.

Anne, queen of England, died on the 10th of August, 1714, hated by half the nation for having given peace to so many kingdoms. Her brother, James Stuart, an unfortunate prince, excluded from the throne almost at his birth, not being at that time in England to claim the right of succession, (which new laws would have given him, if his party could have prevailed,) George I. elector of Hanover, was unanimously acknowledged king of Great Britain. The throne devolved to that elector, not by right of blood, though descended from a daughter of James, but by virtue of an act of parliament of that nation.

George, called in advanced age to the government of a people whose language he did not understand, and to whom he was an entire stranger, regarded himself rather as elector of Hanover than king of England. His whole ambition was to aggrandize his German dominions. He almost always visited his hereditary subjects, by whom he was adored, once a year. In other respects, he took more pleasure in living like a private individual than a sovereign. The pomp of royalty was to him an insupportable burden. He passed his time with a few old courtiers with whom he lived in great familiarity. He was not the king that made the greatest figure in Europe; but he was one of the wisest princes of the age, and perhaps the only one that experienced on a throne the pleasures of friendship and of private life. Such were the principal monarchs, and such the situation of the south of Europe.

The changes that happened in the North were of a different kind. Its kings were engaged in war, and united themselves against the king of Sweden.

Augustus had been long restored to the throne of Poland by the assistance of the czar, and with the consent of the emperor of Germany, of Anne of England, and of the states-general, who, though every one of them were guarantees of the treaty of Altranstad, when Charles XII. could have imposed laws, abandoned their engagements when they had nothing more to fear from him.

The authority of Augustus was not exercised in tranquillity. The republic of Poland no sooner recalled their king than their apprehensions of arbitrary power began to revive: the nation was in arms to oblige him to conform to the *pacta conventa*, a sacred contract between the king and the people, and seemed to have recalled its sovereign for no other purpose than to declare war against him. At the commencement of these troubles, the name of Stanislaus was not once mentioned: his party seemed to be annihilated; no other remembrance of the king of Sweden remained in Poland than that of a torrent, which in the violence of its course had for a time occasioned a change in the face of nature.

Pultowa, and the absence of Charles XII., in causing the fall of Stanislaus, had also drawn on the ruin of the duke of Holstein, Charles's nephew, who had not long before been despoiled of his dominions by the king of Denmark. The king of Sweden had a sincere regard for the father, and was therefore deeply affected and mortified with the misfortunes of the son; and the more so as having no other object than glory, the fall of those princes whom he had either made or restored, was by him felt as sensibly as the loss of so many provinces.

Every one seemed to be at liberty to enrich himself with the ruin of Charles's fortune. Frederic William, the new king of Prussia, who appeared to have as much inclination for war as his father before had for peace, began by seizing on Stettin and part of Pomerania as an equivalent for four hundred thousand crowns which he had advanced to the king of Denmark and to the czar.

George, elector of Hanover, now become king of England, had likewise sequestered into his hands the duchy of Bremen and Verden, which the king of Denmark had assigned to him as a deposit for sixty thousand pistoles. Thus did they divide the spoils of Charles XII.; and those who possessed any of his dominions as pledges, became from their interests as dangerous enemies as those who had taken them.

As to the czar, he was, beyond a doubt, the most formidable; his former defeats, his victories, his very faults, his perseverance to instruct himself, and then to communicate that knowledge to his subjects, together with his incessant labours, had made him a great man in every respect. Riga was already taken; Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, half of Finland, with all those provinces that had been conquered by Charles's ancestors, were now subjected to the Russian yoke. The czar, who twenty years before had not a single vessel in the Baltic, at this time beheld himself master of that sea, at the head of thirty ships of the line. One of these ships had been built by his own hand, he being the best carpenter, the best admiral, and the best pilot in the North. There was not a difficult passage of the Gulf of Bothnia to the ocean, which he had not sounded himself; and having thus united

the labours of a common sailor to the experience of a philosopher and the plans of an emperor, he arrived by degrees, and by dint of his victories, to the rank of admiral, in the same manner as he had become a general in the land service. While prince Gallitzin, one of the generals formed under his own auspices, and one of those who seconded his enterprises the best, completed the conquest of Finland, took the town of Vasa, and beat the Swedes, the emperor put to sea in order to invest the island of Alan in the Baltic, about twelve leagues from Stockholm. He set out on this expedition in the beginning of July 1714, while his rival Charles XII. was keeping his bed at Demotica. He embarked at Gronslot port, which he had built some years before, about four miles from Petersburgh. The new port, the fleet which it contained, the officers, the sailors, were all the work of his own hands; and wherever he turned his eyes he could behold nothing but what he himself had in some measure created.

The Russian fleet from Gronslot, which consisted of thirty ships of the line, eighty galleys, and an hundred half galleys, found itself on the 15th of July on the coast of Alan. There were twenty thousand soldiers on board: Admiral Apraxin was commander-in-chief; and the Russian emperor served in the capacity of rear-admiral. On the 16th the Swedish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Erinchild, came up, and though weaker by two-thirds, maintained a fight for the space of three hours. The czar attacked Erinchild's ship and took her after an obstinate engagement.

The day of the victory he landed sixteen thousand men on the isle of Alan; and having taken a number of Swedish soldiers that had not been able to get on board Erinchild's fleet, he carried them off in his own ships. He returned into his harbour of Gronslot with Erinchild's large ship, three others of less size, one frigate, and six galleys, which were taken in this engagement.

Having left Gronslot he arrived at Petersburgh, followed by the whole of his victorious fleet, together with the enemy's captured vessels: he was saluted by a triple discharge of an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; after which he made a triumphal entry, which flattered his vanity still more than at Moscow, because he received these honours in his favourite town, where but ten years before there was not a single hut, and where at that time he beheld thirty-four thousand five hundred houses: in short, because he saw himself not only at the head of a victorious navy, but of the first Russian fleet that was ever seen in the Baltic sea, and in a country in which, before his time, the very name of a fleet was unknown.

The ceremonies at Petersburgh on this occasion were nearly the same as those which had decorated the triumph at Moscow. The Swedish vice-admiral was the principal ornament of this new triumph, Peter Alexiowitz appeared as rear-admiral. A Russian boyard named Romandowsky, who usually represented the czar on these solemn occasions, was seated on a throne surrounded by twelve senators: the rear-admiral presented to him a relation of his victory, and was declared vice-admiral in consideration of his services; a whimsical ceremony, but at the same time proper, in a country where military subordination was one of the novelties which the czar had introduced.

The emperor of Russia, at length victorious over the Swedes by sea and land, and having assisted in driving them from Poland, began to exercise his authority there in his turn: he had made himself a mediator between Augustus and the republic; a degree of glory perhaps not inferior to that of creating a king. This honour, and indeed all the good fortune of Charles, had devolved upon the czar, who certainly made a better use of these advantages than his rival, as his successes were so managed as to contribute to the interests of his country. If he took a town the principal artisans in it carried their industry with them to Petersburgh. The manufactures, the arts and sciences of the provinces which he conquered in Sweden were transported into Muscovy; his dominions were enriched by his victories, a circumstance that makes him the most excusable of all conquerors.

Sweden, on the contrary, despoiled of almost all her provinces beyond sea, had neither commerce, money, nor credit. Her veteran troops which were formerly so formidable, had either fallen in battle or perished with hunger: more than an hundred thousand Swedes were slaves in the vast dominions of the czar, and nearly an equal number had been sold to the Turks and Tartars; the human species had visibly diminished: but hope revived as soon as the king was known to be at Stralsund.

The impressions of respect and admiration for him were still so strongly implanted in the minds of his subjects, that the youth of the country flocked in crowds to enlist under his banners, though their native soil was in want of hands for its cultivation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Charles bestows his Sister in Marriage upon the Prince of Hesse.—Is besieged at Stralsund, and escapes to Sweden.—Enterprise of Baron de Gortz, his prime Minister.—Plan of a Reconciliation with the Czar, and of a Descent upon England.—Charles besieges Fredericshal in Norway.—Is killed there.—His Character.—Gortz is beheaded.

The king in the midst of these preparations gave his only surviving sister, Ulrica-Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic prince of Hesse Cassel. The queen dowager, grandmother of Charles XII. and the princess, at that time in the eightieth year of her age, did the honours of this festival, on the 4th of April, 1715, in the palace of Stockholm, and died a little time after.

The marriage of his majesty's sister was not honoured with the presence of the king; he was still at Stralsund, finishing the fortifications of that important place, threatened with a siege by the kings of Denmark and Prussia. He declared, however, his brother-in-law generalissimo of all his forces in Sweden. This prince had served the states general in their wars with the French, and was esteemed a good general; a qualification which contributed not a little to procure him the sister of Charles XII. in marriage.

Misfortunes now succeeded each other as rapidly as victories had formerly done. In the month of June 1715, the German troops of the king of England, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar: the Danes and Saxons

united, formed about thirty-six thousand men, who marched towards Stralsund, to form the siege of that place: the kings of Denmark and Prussia sunk five Swedish ships near to Stralsund; the czar was then in the Baltic, with twenty large ships of war, and an hundred and fifty transports, on board of which were thirty thousand men: he menaced a descent upon Sweden; sometimes advancing near to the coast of Helsinburgh, and at others appearing before Stockholm; all Sweden was in arms upon the coasts, every moment expecting an invasion. In the meantime the czar's land forces drove the Swedes from post to post, until they had dispossessed them of all the places they still occupied in Finland, toward the Gulf of Bothnia; but the czar carried his conquests no farther.

At the mouth of the Oder, a river that divides Pomerania, and after washing the walls of Stettin falls into the Baltic sea, is the little isle of Usedom: this place is of great importance on account of its situation, which commands the Oder both on the right and left, so that the person who is master of this island may at the same time command the navigation of the river. The king of Prussia had dislodged the Swedes from this place, and had taken possession of it, as well as of Stettin, which he kept sequestered, and all, as he said, *pour l'amour de la paix*; i. e. "for the love of peace!" The Swedes had retaken Usedom in the month of May 1715: they had two forts there, one of which was the fort of Suine, upon a branch of the Oder that bore the same name; the other a place of more consequence was called Pennamender, situated upon the other branch of the river. The king of Sweden had but two hundred and fifty Pomeranian soldiers to defend these two forts and the whole island together, commanded by an old Swedish officer named Kuzeslerp, whose memory deserves to be preserved.

On the 4th of August the king of Prussia sent one thousand five hundred foot and eight hundred dragoons to make a descent upon the island, and they landed without opposition near the fort of Suine. The Swedish commander abandoned this fort to the enemy as being the least important; and as he could not safely divide his men he retired with his little troop to the castle of Pennamender, determined to defend it to the last extremity.

It was therefore necessary to besiege this castle in form; a train of artillery was embarked at Stettin for this purpose, and the Prussian troops were reinforced with one thousand foot and four hundred horse. On the 18th of August the trenches were opened in two places, and the fort was briskly battered with cannon and mortars. During the siege a Swedish soldier who was charged with a private letter from Charles XII., found means to land on the island, to get into the fort of Pennamender, and to deliver a letter to the commandant; it was couched in the following words: "Do not fire till the enemy come to the brink of the fosse; defend the place to the last drop of your blood: I commend you to your good fortune. CHARLES."

Slerp having read the note, resolved to obey, and to lay down his life as he was ordered for the service of his master. On the 22d at daybreak the enemy began the assault: the besieged having reserved their fire till they saw the besiegers on the brink of the fosse, killed a great number of them; but the ditch was filled, the breach enlarged, and the assailants too numerous; they entered the castle at two different places at one time: the commander thought of nothing but of selling his life as dearly as possible, and obeying his master's letter: he abandoned the breaches through which the enemy entered; entrenched his little company, who had all the courage to follow him, behind a bastion, and posted them in such a manner that they could not be surrounded. The enemy came up to him, astonished that he did not ask for quarter; he fought for a whole hour, and after having lost the half of his men was at last killed, together with his lieutenant and major: after this the surviving few, amounting to an hundred soldiers and one officer, begged their lives, and were made prisoners at war. Charles's letter was found in the commandant's pocket, and carried to the king of Prussia.

Just as Charles had lost Usedom and the neighbouring isles, which were taken soon after, Wismar was ready to surrender. The king no longer possessed a fleet, and Sweden was threatened with an invasion; he himself was in Stralsund, and that place was already besieged by thirty-six thousand men.

Stralsund, a town celebrated throughout Europe for the siege which the king of Sweden sustained in it, is the strongest place in Pomerania: it is situated between the Baltic and the Lake of Franken, upon the Straits of Gella; having no entrance to it by land except by a narrow causeway, defended by a citadel and fortifications which were imagined inaccessible: it had a garrison of about nine thousand men, and what was beyond all, the king of Sweden himself! The kings of Denmark and Prussia undertook the siege of this place, with an army of six and thirty thousand men, consisting of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons.

The honour of besieging Charles XII. was so powerful a motive that they soon overcame every obstacle, and opened the trenches in the night between the 19th and 20th of October, 1715. The king of Sweden at the commencement of the siege said that he could not comprehend how a place well fortified and provided with a sufficient garrison could be taken: not but that in the course of his past victories he had taken several places himself, but hardly ever by a regular siege; the terror of his arms had carried every thing before them; besides, he never judged of other people by himself, but always entertained too mean an opinion of his enemies. The besiegers carried on their works with vigour and resolution, and were assisted by a very singular accident.

It is well known that the Baltic never ebbs nor flows. The entrenchments which covered the town and which were defended on the west by an impassable morass, and by the sea on the east, seemed to be secure from every assault. Nobody had ever noticed that when the west wind blew with any violence the waves of the Baltic were driven back in such a manner as to leave but three feet depth of water under the fortifications, which had always been supposed to be washed by so great a depth of water as to be impracticable. A soldier having fallen from the top of the fortifications into the sea, was astonished to find a bottom: he ima-

gined that this discovery might make his fortune, and accordingly deserted and went to the quarters of count Wackerbarth, general of the Saxon troops, to inform him that the sea was fordable, and that he might penetrate without much difficulty to the Swedish fortifications: the king of Prussia lost no time in availing himself of this intelligence. In the middle of the next night, the west wind still continuing to blow, lieutenant-colonel Koppen entered the water followed by eighteen hundred men; two thousand men advanced at the same time upon the causeway that led to the fort: all the Prussian artillery fired, and the Danes and Prussians raised an alarm on the other side. The Swedes conceived they were sure of destroying the two thousand men whom they saw advancing with so much apparent rashness upon the causeway: but all on a sudden Koppen with his eighteen hundred men entered the entrenchment on the side towards the sea. The Swedes, surrounded and taken by surprise, could make no resistance, and the post was carried after a terrible carnage. Some of the Swedes fled towards the town, and entered pell-mell along with the besiegers: two officers and four Saxon soldiers were already upon the drawbridge, which the Swedes had just time to raise, so that the men were taken and the town saved for that time. Twenty-four pieces of cannon which the enemy found in the fort were immediately turned against Stralsund: the siege was pushed with the vigour and confidence this success could not fail to inspire; the town was battered and bombarded almost without intermission.

In the Baltic, opposite to Stralsund, is the isle of Rugen, which serves as a bulwark to that place where the garrison and citizens might have retired, had there been boats to have transported them thither. This island was of great consequence to Charles he saw very clearly that if the enemy were once masters of it, he should find himself besieged both by sea and land; and perhaps be reduced to such extremities, that he must either bury himself in the ruins of Stralsund, or become a prisoner to those very enemies whom he had so long despised, and upon whom he had imposed the most severe laws. But notwithstanding all these reasons the unhappy situation of his affairs did not permit him to place a sufficient garrison in Rugen, in which there were no more than two thousand men at that time.

His enemies had been employed during three months, in making all the necessary preparations for a descent upon this island, upon which it is exceedingly difficult to effect a landing. At last, having finished a number of boats, the prince of Anhalt, favoured by fine weather, landed twelve thousand men upon Rugen on the 15th of November. The king, who seemed to be present everywhere, was at that time in the island; he had just before joined his two thousand men, who were entrenched near a small port three leagues from the place where the enemy had landed: he immediately put himself at the head of this little troop, and observing the most profound silence, advanced in the middle of the night towards the enemy. The prince of Anhalt's forces were already entrenched with a precaution which appeared unnecessary. The officers commanding under him had no idea of being attacked the very first night; they imagined Charles to be at Stralsund; but the prince of Anhalt, who well knew what the king of Sweden was capable of, had caused a deep fosse to be sunk fenced with a chevaux-de-frise, and taken all his measures with as much circumspection as if he had been preparing to contend with a superior army.

At two in the morning Charles came up with his enemies without making the least noise. His soldiers saying to each other, "Pull up the chevaux-de-frise!" the words were overheard by the sentinels, the alarm was instantly given through the camp, and the enemy in a moment under arms. The king having taken up the chevaux-de-frise, perceived a deep fosse before him. "Ah!" said he, "is it possible! I did not expect this." However, this surprise did not discourage him. He knew not the number of troops landed; the enemy also on their side were ignorant of the small number they had to engage with. The darkness of the night seemed favourable to Charles; he took his resolution in a moment, and jumped into the ditch accompanied by the bravest of his men, and instantly followed by the rest; the chevaux-de-frise which were plucked up, the levelled earth, the trunks and branches of such trees as they could find, and the carcases of the soldiers that were killed by random shot, served for fascines. The king, the generals, and the bravest of the officers and soldiers mounted upon one another's shoulders as in an assault. The battle was now fought in the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the Swedes soon threw the Danes into confusion; but the numbers were too unequal; the Swedes were repulsed after a quarter of an hour's conflict, and obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain, but did not know that it was Charles XII. who fled before him. That unfortunate king rallied his troops in the open field, and the battle was renewed with equal obstinacy on both sides. Grothusen, the king's favourite, and general Dardoff fell dead at his feet. In the heat of the battle Charles passed over the body of the latter who was still breathing. During, the only person that accompanied him in his journey from Turkey to Stralsund, was killed before his face.

In the midst of the tumult a Danish lieutenant, whose name I have never been able to learn, recognised the king, and seizing his sword with one hand, and with the other pulling him violently by the hair, said to him, "Yield, sire, or I kill you." The king drew a pistol from his belt, which he fired with his left hand at that officer, who died of the wound the next morning. The name of king Charles, which the Dane had pronounced, immediately drew a crowd of the enemy together. The king was surrounded, and received a musket shot below the nipple of his left breast: this wound, which he called a contusion, was two fingers deep. He was now on foot, and in danger of either being killed or taken prisoner. Count Poniatowsky was fighting at this time near his majesty's person. He had saved his life near Pultowa, and had now the good fortune to save it once more in the battle of Rugen. Count Poniatowsky set his majesty on horseback.

The Swedes retired to a part of the island called Alteferra, where there was a fort of which they still retained possession. From thence the king repassed over to Stralsund, obliged to abandon his brave troops who had seconded him in this enter-

prise with so much bravery, and two days after they were all made prisoners of war.

Among the captured was that unhappy French regiment, composed of the shattered remains of Hochstet, which had entered into the service of Augustus, and afterwards into that of the king of Sweden. The greatest part of the soldiers were now incorporated into a new regiment, commanded by the prince of Anhalt's son, who was their fourth master.

Count de Villelongue was the commander of this wandering regiment in the isle of Rugen; the same Villelongue who had so generously exposed his life at Adrianople in Charles's service. He was taken prisoner with his troop, and was afterwards but poorly recompensed for all his services, labours, and sufferings.

The king, after all these prodigies of valour, which served only to weaken his forces, shut up in Stralsund and near being forced in it, was the same he had been at Bender. Nothing was able to move him; he employed the day in making ditches and entrenchments behind the walls, and in the night he sallied out upon the enemy; in the mean time Stralsund was battered in breach: the bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes: the citizens, however, so far from complaining, were filled with the highest veneration for their royal master, whose fatigues, temperance, and courage, astonished them. Under him they all became soldiers, they accompanied him in all his sallies, and served him in the place of a second garrison. One day, as the king was dictating some letters to his secretary to be sent to Sweden, a bomb fell on the house, penetrated the roof, and burst near the apartment where he was; one half of the floor was shattered to pieces: the closet where the king was employed being partly formed out of a thick wall, resisted the explosion; and, by an astonishing piece of fortune, none of the splinters that flew about in the air entered at the closet door, which happened to be open. The report of the bomb and the noise it occasioned in the house, which seemed ready to tumble, made the secretary drop his pen. "What is the matter?" said the king, with a placid air, "why do you not write?" The secretary could only say, "Ah, sire! the bomb!" "Well!" replied the king, "what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating to you? Go on."

At this juncture an ambassador of France was shut up with the king of Sweden in Stralsund; it was Monsieur Colbert, count de Croissy, a lieutenant-general in the French army, brother to the marquis de Torcy, the celebrated minister of state, and a relative to the famous Colbert, whose name ought to be immortalized in France: to send a man into the trenches, or upon an embassy to Charles XII., was pretty nearly the same thing. The king would talk with Croissy for whole hours together in places the most exposed, while the soldiers were falling on every side of them by the fire of shot and shells, without appearing in the least sensible of the risk he ran; nor did the ambassador choose to give his majesty so much as a hint that there were more proper places to talk of business. Before the siege commenced this minister did every thing he was able to effect an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Prussia: but the demands of the latter were too high, and Charles would make no concessions. Count de Croissy derived no other satisfaction from his embassy than the pleasure of enjoying that singular man's familiarity. He often lay by his majesty upon the same cloak, and had, by partaking of all his dangers and fatigues, acquired a right of talking to him with freedom. Charles encouraged this boldness in those he loved; and would sometimes say to the count de Croissy, "*Veni maledicamus de rege;*" i. e. "Come, now let us make free with the character of the king." This account I had from the ambassador himself.

Croissy remained in Stralsund till the 13th of November, when having obtained from the enemy permission to go away with his baggage, he took his leave of the king, whom he left amidst the ruins of the place, with a garrison reduced to half its original number, but nevertheless determined to risk an assault.

In short, two days after, an assault was actually made upon the hornwork; the enemy twice took it, and twice were they repulsed: the king fought the whole time amidst his grenadiers; but, at last, numbers prevailed, and the besiegers remained masters of the place. Charles remained in the town two days after this, expecting a general assault every moment. On the 21st he stayed till midnight upon a little ravelin, that was entirely demolished by the bombs and cannon: the next day the principal officers conjured him not to stay in a place which it was no longer possible to defend; but his retreat was now become as dangerous as the place itself: the Baltic was covered with Russian and Danish ships; and there were no vessels in the harbour of Stralsund but one small bark with sails and oars. So many dangers, which would render his retreat illustrious, determined Charles to attempt it. He embarked in the night of the 20th of December, 1715, accompanied by ten persons only. They were obliged to break the ice, the water being almost entirely frozen over; a laborious task, which employed them several hours, before the bark could make way. The enemy's admirals had positive orders not to suffer Charles to escape from Stralsund, but to take him, dead or alive. Happily they were to the leeward, and were not able to get at him: but he ran a still greater risk in passing by La Barbette, in the isle of Rugen, where the Danes had erected a battery of twelve cannon, from which they fired upon him. The seamen spread all their sails, and plied their oars to get clear of the enemy; but, notwithstanding, a cannon-ball killed two men by the king's side, and another shattered the mast of the bark. In the midst of these dangers the king escaped unhurt, and, at last, came up with two of his own ships, that were cruising in the Baltic. The next day Stralsund surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Charles landed at Isted, in Scania, from which place he repaired to Carlscroon; in a condition very different from what he was in, when, about fifteen years before, he set sail from that harbour, in a ship of a hundred and twenty guns, to give laws to the North.

Being so near his capital, it was expected that after such absence he would visit that place; but his design was never to enter it again till he had obtained some signal victory; besides, he could not bear the thoughts of again seeing a people

by whom he was beloved, and whom, nevertheless, he was obliged to oppress, in order to enable him to defend himself against his enemies. He only wished to see his sister; with whom he appointed an interview on the banks of the lake Weter, in Ostrogothia, whither he rode post, attended only by a single domestic, and returned after having spent a day with her.

From Carlescroon, where he sojourned during the winter, he issued out orders for raising men throughout his whole kingdom, he imagined that his subjects were born only to follow him to the field of battle, and had accustomed them to think so too. Young lads were enlisted at the age of fifteen; and, in several villages, there was none left but old men, women, and children; and, in many places, women only were seen managing the plough.

It was still more difficult to procure a fleet. To supply the want of this, commissions were granted to the owners of privateers; who, upon obtaining certain privileges, unreasonable in themselves and destructive to the country, equipped a few ships: these efforts were the last resources of Sweden. To defray the expenses of these preparations, he was obliged to take the substance of the people. Every kind of extortion was invented, under the name of taxes and duties. Every house was subjected to a strict search, and one half of the provisions found in them, was carried to the king's magazines: all the iron in the kingdom was bought up for his use, which government paid for in paper, and sold out again for ready money. A tax was laid on every one who wore any mixture of silk in their clothes, or wore either perukes or gilt swords. A very heavy tax was also imposed on chimneys. The people, oppressed with such a load of taxes, would have revolted under any other king; but the poorest peasant in Sweden knew that his master led a life still more hard and frugal than himself; so that every one submitted without murmuring, to those hardships which the king was the first to suffer.

The public danger only served to make them forget their private misfortunes. They expected every moment, to see their country invaded by the Russians, the Danes, the Prussians, the Saxons, and even by the English; and this apprehension had taken root so deeply, and was so powerful, that those who had money or valuable effects buried them in the earth.

Indeed, an English fleet had already appeared in the Baltic, though its particular destination was a secret; and the Czar had given his word to the king of Denmark, that the Russians should join the Danes, in the spring of 1716, in order to make a descent upon Sweden.

However all Europe, attentive to the fortunes of Charles the XIIth, was astonished, when, instead of defending his own country, which was threatened by so many princes, he passed in the month of March 1716, over into Norway, with twenty thousand men,

Since Hannibal, no general had been known who, from inability to defend himself at home, had dared to carry the war into the heart of the dominions of his enemies. The prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, accompanied him in this expedition.

There is no approach from Sweden to Norway, but through the most dangerous defiles; and when these are passed, there are so many lakes of water formed by the sea amongst the rocks, that there is necessity for making bridges every day. A small number of Danes might have arrested the progress of the whole Swedish army; but this sudden invasion they had not foreseen. Europe was still more astonished to see that the czar remained tranquil in the midst of all these mighty events, and that he did not make a descent upon Sweden, as had formerly been stipulated between him and his allies. The cause of this inaction originated in one of the greatest, and at the same time most difficult schemes that ever was formed by human imagination

The baron Henry de Gortz, a native of Franconia, and a baron *in capite* of the Empire, having rendered several important offices to the king of Sweden, during that monarch's stay at Bender, was now become his favourite and first minister. Never was there a man so bold and pliant; so full of expedients amidst misfortunes; so unbounded in his designs, or so active in the prosecution of them; he was intimidated by no project; he scrupled no means; he lavished gifts, promises, oaths, truth, and falsehood.

From Sweden he went to France, England, and Holland, to try those secret springs which he afterwards intended to put in motion. He was capable of disturbing all Europe; and in fact, such was the plan he had conceived. What his master was at the head of an army, he was in the cabinet; and he of course had acquired an ascendancy over Charles, which no minister had possessed before him.

That king, who, when only twenty years of age, had prescribed orders to count Piper, now received instructions from baron de Gortz; so much the more submissive to the direction of that minister, as his misfortunes obliged him to listen to the advice of others, and as Gortz never gave him any but such as was conformable to his courage. He remarked that of all the princes united against Sweden, George elector of Hanover and king of England was the one against whom Charles was most highly incensed, because he was the only prince whom he had never offended; and because George had entered into the quarrel under the pretext of accommodating it, but, in reality, to keep Bremen and Verden; to which he seemed to have no other right than that of having bought them for a trifle from the king of Denmark, to whom, after all, they did not belong.

This minister, Gortz, also suspected that the czar was secretly dissatisfied with his allies, who had all conspired to hinder him from acquiring an establishment in Germany, where that monarch, already become too formidable, wished only to obtain a footing. Wismar, the only town which still belonged to the Swedes on the frontiers of Germany, on the 14th of February 1716, surrendered to the Danes and Prussians, who would not even suffer the Russian troops, that were then in Mecklenburgh, to be present at the siege. Similar jealousies, reiterated for two years successively, had alienated the czar's mind from the common cause, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden. There are many instances of several states in alliance being conquered by a single power, but

rcely any of a great empire being totally sub-ed by several allies; for if their united forces ppened, for a time, to humble it, their divisions on gave it an opportunity to retrieve its former andeur.

It had been in the power of the czar, ever since ie year 1714, to make a descent upon Sweden: ut whether it was that he could not perfectly gree with the kings of Poland, England, Den-nark, and Prussia, allies justly jealous of his growing power, or whether he did not think his troops as yet sufficiently inured to war, to attack, in their own territories, a people whose very peasants had conquered the flower of the Danish forces, the execution of this enterprise was still deferred.

But what retarded the progress of his designs was the want of money. The czar was one of the most powerful monarchs in the universe, but was far from being one of the richest; his revenues, at that time, did not exceed twenty-four millions of livres. He had, indeed, discovered some mines of gold, silver, copper, and iron; but the profits arising from them were still uncertain, and the working of them was very expensive. He had, likewise, established an extensive commerce: its beginnings, however, brought him nothing but hopes. The provinces which he had lately conquered, increased his revenues without augmenting his power and glory. It required a long time to heal the wounds of Livonia; a country extremely fertile, but desolated by fire, sword, disease, and a war of fifteen years' continuance; destitute of inhabitants, and as yet chargeable to the conqueror. The large fleets he maintained, and the new enterprises which he was daily undertaking, contributed also to exhaust his finances. He had even been reduced to the miserable resource of raising the value of money; a remedy that can never cure the evils of a state, and is particularly prejudicial to a country which receives more commodities from strangers than it can supply them with in return.

This was a part of the foundation upon which Gortz had built his scheme of a revolution. He ventured to propose to the king of Sweden to purchase peace from the Russian emperor at any price whatsoever; representing to him that the czar was irritated against the kings of Poland and England; and giving him to understand, that, were the forces of Peter Alexiowitz and Charles XII. united, they would strike all Europe with terror.

There was no other way to accomplish this peace with the czar, than that of ceding a great part of the provinces which lay to the east and north of the Baltic; but then, he represented to the king, that by ceding these provinces, of which the czar was already in possession, and which it was not in his power to retake, he might, at the same time, have the glory of replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; the son of James II. on that of England; and of re-establishing the duke of Holstein in his dominions.

Charles, elated with these lofty ideas, took no time to consider of this scheme, but immediately gave his minister a carte blanche. Gortz set out from Sweden, provided with a power which authorized him to do every thing without restriction, and constituted him plenipotentiary to any prince with whom he might judge it necessary to negotiate. The first thing he did was to sound the court of Moscow, by means of a Scotsman, named Erskine, first physician to the czar; a man entirely devoted to the interest of the pretender, as was indeed almost every Scotsman whose subsistence did not immediately depend upon the favours of the court of London.

The physician, in his representations to prince Menzikoff, enlarged upon the importance and glory of such a project, with all the vivacity of a man who was himself interested in the cause. Prince Menzikoff relished the overtures, and the czar approved them. Instead, therefore, of making a descent on Sweden, as he had agreed on with his allies, he wintered his troops in Mecklenburgh, and went thither himself, under pretence of settling some disputes which had commenced between the duke of Mecklenburgh and the nobility of that country; but, in reality, to pursue his favourite design of obtaining a principality in Germany, and confident of persuading the duke of Mecklenburgh to sell him his sovereignty.

The allies were much irritated at this proceeding; they did not wish to have so formidable a neighbour, who, having once acquired possessions in Germany, might one day cause himself to be elected emperor, and oppress its sovereigns. In proportion with their chagrin the grand project was advancing with success. He negotiated, notwithstanding, with every one of the confederate princes, for the better carrying on his secret intrigues; and the czar continued amusing them all with various hopes. In the mean time Charles was in Norway, with his brother-in-law the prince of Hesse, at the head of twenty thousand men: this province was defended only by eleven thousand men divided in several corps, whom the king and the prince of Hesse put to the sword.

Charles advanced as far as Christiana, the capital of this kingdom; and, in this corner of the globe, fortune again began to smile on him; but he never took sufficient precautions to provide for the subsistence of his troops. A Danish fleet and army were approaching to the defence of Norway; and Charles, being in want of provisions, was obliged to return to Sweden, there to wait the issue of his minister's mighty projects.

The object which baron Gortz had engaged in, required inviolable secrecy, and immense preparations, at the same time two things almost incompatible. Gortz, even caused, at the same time, assistance to be sought for in these as of Asia; which, however odious it seemed, was not on that account less useful towards the descent in Scotland; and which, at any rate, would have brought money, men, and vessels into Sweden.

An association had a long time subsisted among pirates of every nation, and particularly those of England; they had long infested the seas of Europe and America: but having been pursued in every part without the least quarter, had lately retired to the coasts of Madagascar, a large island in the east of Africa. These men, were all of them desperadoes, and most of them celebrated for actions which wanted nothing but justice to render them truly heroic. They had, for some time, been in want of a prince who would receive them under his protection; but the laws of nations shut all the ports in the world against them

As soon as they were informed that Charles was returned to Sweden, they began to cherish hopes, that that prince, passionately fond of war, forced to carry it on, and in want of both ships and men, would grant them favourable terms; they accordingly sent a deputy to Europe, on board of a Dutch vessel, to make a proposal to baron de Gortz, to admit them into the port of Gottenburgh, whither they offered to repair immediately with sixty ships laden with riches.

The baron soon prevailed upon the king to agree to this proposition; and the year following two Swedish gentlemen, one named Cromstrom, and the other Mendal, were sent to finish the negotiation with the corsairs of Madagascar. But a more honourable and a more powerful support was soon after found in cardinal Alberoni, a man of an extraordinary genius, who governed Spain long enough for his own glory, but too short a time for the grandeur of that kingdom.

He warmly espoused the project of placing the son of James II. on the throne of England. However, as he was just entered into the ministry, and had the affairs of Spain to settle, before he could think of throwing other kingdoms into confusion, it was not likely that he would be able, for many years, to set his hand to this great work; yet, notwithstanding, in less than two years he changed the face of affairs in Spain; he restored the credit of that kingdom in Europe; engaged, as is generally imagined, the Turks to attack the emperor of Germany; and attempted, at the same time, to take away the regency of France from the duke of Orleans, and the crown of Great Britain from king George. So dangerous is even one man, when he is absolute, in a powerful state, and possessed of courage and greatness of mind.

Gortz having thus extended the first sparks of that flame which he meant to kindle, through Muscovy and Spain, went secretly to France, and thence to Holland, where he negotiated with many of the pretender's adherents.

He informed himself more particularly of the force, number, and disposition of the malcontents in England, and also of the money they could furnish, and the troops they could raise. The malcontents asked only the assistance of ten thousand men, and represented the revolution as infallible with the assistance of these troops.

Count de Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador in England, having received his instructions from baron Gortz, had several conferences at London with the principal malcontents; he encouraged them, and promised them every thing they could wish for: the pretender's party went so far as to furnish several considerable sums of money, which Gortz received in Holland. He negotiated also, relative to the purchase of some ships, and purchased six in Brittany with all kinds of arms.

He then despatched several officers, privately, into France, and among others the chevalier de Folard, who having made thirty campaigns in the French armies without any considerable addition to his fortune, had lately offered his services to the king of Sweden, not so much for any interested views, as from a desire to serve under a king who had so astonishing a reputation. The chevalier de Folard hoped also to prevail on that prince to adopt his new ideas on the art of war, he having studied that art all his life as a philosopher; and he has since given the world his discoveries in his commentary on Polybius. His ideas were approved of by Charles, who had made war himself in a manner entirely new, and was never guided by custom in any thing: he destined the chevalier de Folard, for one of the instruments he was to make use of in his projected descent upon Scotland. That gentleman executed the secret orders of baron de Gortz in France. A great number of French, and a still greater number of Irish officers engaged in this conspiracy of a new kind, which was brooding at the same time in England, France, and Muscovy, and the branches of which were secretly extended from one end of Europe to the other.

Still these preparations were trifles compared with the future intentions of Gortz; but it was a great thing to have begun. The most important point, and without which nothing could succeed, was to complete the peace between the czar and Charles. There remained many difficulties to be removed. Baron Osterman, minister of state in Muscovy, refused at first to come into Gortz's measures; he being as circumspect as the minister of Charles was enterprising. The one slow and regular in his politics, was for suffering every thing to ripen; while the other, of an impatient turn of mind, was for reaping the harvest as soon as the seed was sown. Osterman was afraid that the emperor, his master, dazzled with the splendour of this enterprise, would grant the Swedes too many advantages in the peace; he therefore delayed the conclusion of it, by his obstacles and procrastinations.

Happily for baron de Gortz, the czar himself arrived in Holland at the beginning of the year 1717. His design was to go from thence into France: he had not yet seen that celebrated nation, which, for more than a hundred years, has been censured, envied, and imitated by all its neighbours: there, he wished to gratify his insatiable curiosity of seeing and learning every thing, and at the same time to exercise his politics.

Gortz had two interviews with the emperor at Hague; in which he made greater progress than he could have done in six months with the plenipotentiaries. Every thing wore a favourable aspect; his mighty projects seemed covered by an impenetrable secrecy; and, he flattered himself, that Europe would only know them by their being carried into execution. In the mean time he talked of nothing but of peace at the Hague, and openly declared, that he would always consider the king of England as the pacificator of the North; and he even pressed, in appearance, the holding of a congress at Brunswick, wherein the interests of Sweden and its enemies might be amicably decided.

The first who discovered these intrigues was the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who had spies in every part of Europe. Men of this description, whose profession it is to sell the secrets of their friends, who subsist by informations, and frequently even by calumnies, were so much increased in France under his government, that one half of the nation were become spies on the other. The duke of Orleans, connected with

the king of England by personal engagements, discovered to him the plot that was in agitation against him.

The Dutch also at the same time took umbrage at the behaviour of Gortz, and communicated their suspicions to the English minister. Gortz and Gillembourg were prosecuting their schemes with great vigour, when they were both arrested, the one at Deventer in Guelderland, and the other in London.

Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador, had violated the laws of nations, by conspiring against the prince to whom he was delegated, and, of, course, no scruple was made in retaliating upon him and arresting his person. But all the world was astonished to see the States General, through an unheard-of complaisance towards the king of England, imprison baron de Gortz. They even appointed the count de Welderen to examine him. This formality was only an aggravation of their insult, which being rendered useless, terminated in their own confusion. Gortz asked the count de Welderen if he knew him? "Yes, Sir," replied the Dutchman. "Well, then," replied de Gortz, "if you do know me, you know also that I answer to nothing but what I please." The examination was scarcely pushed any farther. All the ambassadors, but particularly the marquis de Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, protested against the outrage offered to the persons of Gortz and Gillembourg. The Dutch were left without excuse. They had not only violated a most sacred law by seizing the prime minister of the king of Sweden, who had formed no plots against them, but they acted directly against the principles of that liberty which had drawn so many foreigners into their country, and which had been the foundation of all their greatness.

The king of England, on the contrary, had committed no breach of justice in imprisoning his enemy. He published, in his own vindication, the letters of baron de Gortz and count Gillembourg, which were found among the papers of the latter. The king of Sweden was in Scania at the time when he received these printed letters, together with the news of his two ministers being imprisoned. He asked, with a smile, "if they had printed his letters also!" He immediately gave orders for arresting the English resident at Stockholm, with all his family and domestics. He forbade the Dutch resident the court, and took care to have him strictly watched. In the interval, he neither avowed nor disavowed the proceedings of Gortz; being too proud to deny a scheme which he had once approved, and too wise to acknowledge a plot which had been stifled almost in its birth; he therefore maintained a disdainful silence towards England and Holland.

The czar took a different course. As he was not named, but only obscurely alluded to, in the papers of Gortz and Gillembourg, he wrote a long letter to the king of England, full of compliments on the discovery of the conspiracy, and assurance of a sincere friendship. King George received his protestations without believing them, and pretended to be deceived by them. A conspiracy, formed by private men, is annihilated the moment it is discovered; but a conspiracy formed by kings, only gains strength by its being known. The czar arrived at Paris in the month of May, 1717. He did not wholly employ himself in viewing the beauties of art and nature, in visiting the academies, the public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and the royal palaces; he proposed a treaty to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the acceptation of which would have completed the Russian grandeur. His design was to unite himself with the King of Sweden, who would yield to him several large provinces; to exclude the Danes from the command of the Baltic; to weaken the English by a civil war, and to draw all the trade of the North to Russia. He had even some thoughts of setting up Stanislaus afresh against Augustus, so that, the fire being kindled on every side, he might have it in his power either to quench or blow it up, as might best suit his interests. With this view, he proposed to the Regent of France, to act as a mediator between Sweden and Muscovy, and to make a league, offensive and defensive, with those two crowns and that of Spain. This treaty, which appeared so natural and so advantageous to the several nations concerned, and which placed the balance of power in Europe in their hands, was not accepted by the duke of Orleans. He, at that very time, entered into engagements of a nature directly opposite; he made a league with the emperor of Germany, and with George king of England. Reasons of state had now so altered the views of all the princes of Europe, that the czar was ready to declare against his old ally Augustus, and to espouse the cause of Charles his mortal enemy; while France, to oblige the Germans and the English, was upon the point of making war upon the grandson of Louis XIV., after having so long supported him against these very enemies, at the expence of so much blood and treasure. All that the czar obtained, by indirect measures, was to prevail upon the regent to interpose his good offices to procure the enlargement of Gortz and Gillembourg. He returned to his own dominions about the end of June, after having shown the French the uncommon sight of an emperor travelling for instruction; but the generality of that people only remarked his rude unpolished manners, the result of his bad education; while the legislator, the hero, and the creator of a new nation, entirely escaped their observation.

What the czar sought for in the duke of Orleans, he soon found in cardinal Alberoni, who was now become omnipotent in Spain. Alberoni wished for nothing so much as the restoration of the pretender; not only as minister of Spain, a country which had been so illtreated by the English, but as a personal enemy to the duke of Orleans, who was combined with England against Spain; and, lastly, as a priest of that church, for the sake of which the pretender's father had so imprudently lost his crown.

The duke of Ormond, as much beloved in England as the duke Marlborough was admired, had left his country at the accession of king George, and had, at that time, retired to Madrid. He went from thence, invested with full powers by the king of Spain, and the pretender, together with one Jerningham, another native of England, a man of insinuating address and an enterprizing spirit, to meet the czar in his way to Mittau, in Courland. He demanded the princess Anna Petrowna, the czar's daughter, in marriage for the

son of James II.,* hoping that this alliance would more strongly attach the czar to the interests of that unhappy prince. But this proposal, instead of forwarding, had nearly retarded, for a time, the progress of the negociations. Baron de Gortz, among his other projects, had long intended this princess for the duke of Holstein, to whom indeed she was soon after married. As soon as he was informed of the duke of Ormond's proposal he became jealous of its success, and used every art to set it aside. He, as well as count Gillembourg, was set at liberty in the month of August; the king of Sweden not even deigning to make the least excuse to the king of England, nor to shew the slightest disapprobation of his minister's conduct. The English resident, and his family, were at the same time released at Stockholm, where they had been treated with much more severity than Gillembourg had been in London.

Gortz having obtained his freedom was still an enemy at large, having the spirit of revenge joined to the powerful motives by which he had been formerly actuated. He went post to the czar, and, by his artful insinuations, obtained a greater ascendancy over that prince than ever. He positively assured him, that, in less than three months, he would, in conjunction with a single plenipotentiary from Russia, remove every obstacle that retarded the conclusion of a peace with Sweden; and, taking a map in his hand, which had been drawn by the czar himself, he drew a line from Wibourg all the way to the Frozen Sea, running along the lake Ladoga, and undertook to persuade his master to give up all the country lying to the eastward of that line, as well as Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia: then he threw out propositions for a marriage between his czarish majesty's daughter and the duke of Holstein; flattering the czar that the duke might be prevailed upon to yield up his dominions for an equivalent, by which means he would become a member of the empire; giving him, at the same time, a distant view of the imperial crown, whether it were to be worn by himself or by one of his descendants. He thus flattered the ambitious views of the Russian monarch, and prevented the pretender from marrying the Russian princess, while he opened to him the road into England, and accomplished all his own projects at once.

The czar appointed the Isle of Aland for the conferences between Osterman, his minister of state, and baron de Gortz. The duke of Ormond was desired to return to Spain, that the czar might not give too great cause of offence to the English, to whom he had no intention of giving umbrage, till he should be ready to make the projected invasion: Jerningham, the duke's confidant, who was properly instructed, was allowed to stay at Petersburgh; where he lived in such privacy that he never went abroad but in the night-time, nor ever conversed with any of the czar's ministers, except in the disguise of a peasant or Tartar.

No sooner had the duke of Ormond departed, than the czar availed himself of that circumstance, as a compliment paid to the king of England, in dismissing the greatest man in the pretender's faction; and baron de Gortz, high in hope, returned to Sweden.

He found his master at the head of thirty-five thousand regular troops, and all the coasts lined with the militia. The king wanted nothing but money; credit, as well at home as abroad, being entirely exhausted. France, which had furnished him with some supplies during the last years of Louis XIV., refused to contribute any more under the regency of the duke Orleans, who was governed by quite contrary maxims. Spain promissed him some remittances, but was not as yet able to furnish much. De Gortz at this time put a scheme into execution in its full extent, which he formerly tried before he went to France and Holland: this was, to give to copper the value of silver; so that a piece of copper, the intrinsic value of which was only a halfpenny, should, when stamped with the king's impression, pass for forty pence; in the same manner as the governors of besieged towns frequently pay the soldiers and citizens in leather money, in hopes of being one day able to reimburse them in real coin. This fictitious kind of money, invented by necessity, and to which nothing can give a lasting credit but the good faith of a government, resembles bills of exchange, the imaginary value of which may easily exceed the real funds of a state.

These resources are of great utility in a free country: they have sometimes saved a republic, but they are almost sure to ruin a monarchy; for the people, soon tiring of confidence, the minister is reduced to break his faith: this imaginary coin is multiplied to excess, and individuals bury the specie they possess; and the whole machine is destroyed in that confusion, which is often accompanied by the greatest disasters. This was what happened to the kingdom of Sweden.

Baron de Gortz at first issued his new coin with discretion: but, by the rapidity of that movement, which he could no longer govern, he was soon hurried beyond the limits which he had originally prescribed. All kinds of merchandize and provisions having risen to an immoderate price, he was obliged to augment the quantity of the copper coin. But the more it was increased the less was its value. Sweden, inundated with this false money, set up a general cry against Gortz. The people, who had always beheld their sovereign with veneration, could not find in their hearts to hate him, and therefore made the weight of their resentment fall on a minister, who, as he was a foreigner and chief director of the finances, was doubly certain of the public hatred.

A tax, which he wanted to lay on the clergy, rendered him completely execrable to the whole nation: the priests, who too often join their own cause to that of Heaven, publicly pronounced him an atheist, because he demanded their money. Some of the new coin being stamped with the images of the heathen gods, they took this occasion to call those pieces *Les dieux du baron de Gortz*; the gods of baron de Gortz.

* Cardinal Alberoni confirms the truth of all these particulars, in a letter of thanks to the author. M. Norberg, whose ignorance of the affairs of Europe can only be equalled by the poverty of his genius, asserts that the duke of Ormond did not quit England upon the accession of George I., but immediately after the death of queen Anne; as if George I. had not been the immediate successor of that queen.

To this public hatred were joined the prejudices of the ministers; who were the more implacable, as they were at that time without power to affect him. The king's sister, and the prince her husband, dreaded him as a man attached by his birth to the duke of Holstein, and who might one day be able to place the crown of Sweden on his own head. He had gained no one's affection in the kingdom but Charles's; yet this general aversion of the people served only to confirm the friendship of the king, whose opinions were always strengthened by contradictions. The confidence now placed in the baron bordered on submission; he gave him an absolute power in the interior government of the kingdom; and, without the least reserve, committed everything to his management which related to the negotiations with the czar; recommending to him, above all things, to hasten the conferences that were to be held in the Isle of Aland.

Gortz had no sooner finished the arrangement of the finances at Stockholm, which required his presence, than he set out to conclude the grand scheme he had projected with the Russian minister.

The following are the preliminary conditions of that alliance, intended to have changed the whole face of affairs in Europe; they were found among Gortz's papers, after his death.

The czar was to keep the whole of Livonia, and part of Ingria and Carelia, and restore the rest to Sweden: he was to join Charles XII., in order to re-establish Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and to engage to enter that country with eighty thousand Russians and to dethrone Augustus, the very king in whose defence he had waged a war of ten years' continuance. He was also to furnish the king of Sweden with a sufficient number of ships to transport ten thousand Swedes to England, and thirty thousand to Germany. The united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his states of Hanover, and particularly in Bremen and Verden: the same troops were to have restored the duke of Holstein, and to compel the king of Prussia to accept a treaty, by which he would have been deprived of a part of those territories which he had formerly taken.

From this time Charles assumed as much hauteur as if his victorious troops, reinforced by those of the czar, had already executed every thing they intended. He made a haughty demand of the emperor of Germany to conclude the treaty of Altranstad. The court of Vienna scarcely deigned to give an answer to the proposal of a prince from whom, she thought, she had nothing to fear.

The king of Poland, far from possessing that kind of confidence, saw the clouds gathering on every side. The Polish nobility had formed a confederacy against him; and, since his restoration, he had continually been engaged either in wars or treaties with his subjects. The czar, a dangerous mediator, had an hundred galleys near Dantzic, and forty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland. All the north was filled with jealousy and apprehension. Fleming, the most suspicious of mankind, and himself the most to be distrusted by the neighbouring powers, was the first who suspected the designs of the czar and the king of Sweden in favour of Stanislaus. He was therefore resolved to have him seized in the duchy of Deux-Ponts, as James Sobiesky had formerly been in Silesia. A Frenchman, one of those restless and enterprizing spirits who wander into foreign parts to try their fortunes, had lately brought a small number of his countrymen, bold and daring like himself, into the service of the king of Poland. He communicated a project to Fleming, by which he engaged, with thirty French officers, to seize Stanislaus in his own palace, and carry him a prisoner to Dresden. The project was approved. Such enterprizes were then very common. Some of those fellows, called bravoes in Italy, had performed similar acts in the Milanese, during the last war between France and Germany. After that time several French refugees in Holland had ventured to penetrate as far as Versailles, with a view of carrying off the Dauphin; and had actually seized the person of the first equerry, almost under the windows of the castle where Louis XIV. resided.

Saissan prepared his men and relays of post-horses in order to seize and carry off Stanislaus. The enterprize was discovered the night before its intended execution. Several of them made their escape, and the rest were taken prisoners. They had no right to expect to be treated as prisoners of war, but rather as banditti. Stanislaus however, instead of punishing them, contented himself with reproaching them with their baseness, and even that he did in terms replete with humanity; he even gave them money to conduct them back to Poland*; and this generous conduct plainly shewed that his rival, Augustus, had but too much reason to fear him.

In the mean time Charles departed a second time for the conquest of Norway, in the month of October, 1718. He had concerted his measures so well, that he hoped in six months' time to make himself master of that kingdom. He rather chose to go and conquer rocks amidst ice and snow, in the depth of winter, which kills the the animals even in Sweden, where the air is less cold, than to conquer his beautiful provinces in Germany from the hands of his enemies. These he expected he should soon be able to recover, in consequence of his alliance with the czar; and his vanity, besides, was more flattered with the idea of snatching a kingdom from his victorious enemy.

At the mouth of the river Tistendall, near the channel of Denmark, and between the towns of Balus and Anslo, stands Frederickshal, a place of great strength and importance, and considered as the key of the kingdom. Charles formed the siege of this place in the month of December. The soldiers, benumbed with cold, could scarcely turn up the earth, which was so much hardened by the frost that it was almost as difficult to break it as if they had been opening trenches in a rock; yet the Swedes were not discouraged while they saw their king at their head, who partook of all their fatigues. Charles had never undergone so many hardships before. His constitution, hardened by eighteen years of severe labours, was fortified to such a degree, that he slept in the

* Here M. Norberg accuses the author of disrespect to crowned heads; as if this faithful account contained in it anything injurious, or as if we were obliged to relate aught but truth of departed kings.

field in Norway in the midst of winter
r on a truss of straw or a plank, covered
with a cloak, without the least prejudice to
ealth.

reral of the soldiers dropped down dead at
posts, and the rest were almost frozen to
; yet, as they saw their king suffering like
selves, they did not dare to make the least
laint. Having heard, some time before this
lition, of a woman in Scania, Joan Dotter,
had lived for several months without taking
other nourishment than water, he, who had
ed all his life to support the most extreme
rs that human nature could bear, resolved to
ow long he could fast without being exhaust-
He passed five whole days without either
g or drinking, and, on the morning of the
, rode two leagues, and then alighted at the
of the prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law,
e he ate heartily, without feeling the least
venience from an abstinence of five days, or
the plentiful meal which immediately suc-
d.*

ith this body of iron, governed by a soul so
prising and inflexible in every situation he
educed to, he could not fail to be formidable
his neighbours.

the 11th of December, being St. Andrew's
he went, at nine in the evening, to visit the
hes; and not finding the parallel so far ad-
ed as he expected, appeared very much dis-
ed. M. Megret, a French engineer who
ected the siege, assured him that the place
be taken in eight days. "We shall see,"
the king, and proceeded with the engineer
rvey the works. He stopped at a place where
nch of the trenches formed an angle with
arallel; and, kneeling on the inner talus,
esting his elbow on the parapet, continued
at posture for some time, to observe the
who were carrying on the trenches by star-

e most trivial circumstances become import-
hen they relate to the death of such a man
arles XII. I must therefore say, that the
of the conversation reported by so many
rs to have passed between the king and
et the engineer is absolutely false. This is
I know to be the real truth of the affair:—
most half of the king's body was exposed to
ery of cannon, pointed directly against the
where he was; there was no one near his per-
t this time but two Frenchmen; one was M.
er, his aide-de-camp, a man of courage and
ect, who had entered into his service in Tur-
nd was particularly attached to the prince of
; and the other was Megret the engineer.
annon fired upon them, but the king, being
east covered by the parapet, was the most
ed. At some distance behind them was count
m, who commanded in the trenches. Count
, a captain of the guards, and an aide-de-camp
d Kulbert, were receiving orders from him.
er and Megret saw the king the moment he
hich he did, upon the parapet, with a deep
They immediately ran to him: he was
ly dead. A ball of half a pound weight had

orberg pretends that Charles tried this strange absti-
as a remedy against a pain in the breast. Confessor
rg is surely a bad physician.

struck him on the right temple, and made a hole sufficient to receive three fingers at once: his head was reclined on the parapet, his left eye beaten in, and the right one entirely out of its socket. The instant of his wound had been that of his death: but he had the courage, while expiring in so sudden a manner, to place, by a natural movement, his hand upon the hilt of his sword, and he remained in that attitude. At the sight of this spectacle, Megret, a man of a peculiar and callous disposition, exclaimed, "There! the play is over, let us be gone." Siquier ran immediately to inform count Swerin. They all agreed to conceal his death from the soldiers, till they could acquaint the prince of Hesse with it. They wrapped up the body in a grey cloak. Siquier put his hat and wig on the king's head; and, in this condition, they carried Charles, under the name of captain Carlsberg, through the midst of his troops, who saw their dead king pass them, without any idea of the real fact.

The prince instantly gave orders that no one should leave the camp, and that all the passes to Sweden should be strictly guarded, that he might have time to take the necessary measures for placing the crown on his wife's head, and excluding the duke of Holstein, who might prefer his claim.

Thus fell Charles XII. king of Sweden, at the age of thirty-six years and a half, after having experienced the greatest share of prosperity, and the most cruel pangs of adversity, without being enervated by the one, or shaken, even for a moment, by the other. Almost all his actions, even those of his private life, bordered on the marvellous. He is perhaps the only one of all mankind, and hitherto the only one among kings, who has lived without a single frailty. He carried all the virtues of heroes to an excess, where they are as dangerous as their opposite vices. His resolution, hardened into obstinacy, occasioned his misfortunes in the Ukraine, and detained him five years in Turkey; his liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden; his courage, approximating even to rashness, was the cause of his death; his justice has sometimes extended to cruelty; and, during the last years of his reign, the means he employed to support his authority differed little from tyranny. His great qualities, any one of which would have been sufficient to have immortalised another prince, proved the misfortune of his country. He never was the aggressor; yet, in taking vengeance, he was more implacable than prudent. He was the first man who ever aspired to the title of conqueror, without the least desire of enlarging his own dominions; and whose only object in subduing kingdoms was, to enjoy the pleasure of giving them away. His passion for glory, for war, and revenge, prevented him from being a good politician; a quality without which the world had never before known any one as a conqueror. Before a battle, and after a victory, he was modest and humble; and, after a defeat, firm and undaunted; inflexible towards others, as well as towards himself, estimating at nothing the fatigues and lives of his subjects any more than his own; rather an extraordinary than a great man, and more worthy to be admired than imitated. His life ought to teach to kings, how much a pacific and happy government is preferable to so much glory.

Charles XII. was of a tall stature, with a noble air; he had a fine forehead, large blue eyes, full of sweetness, and a handsome nose; but the lower part of his face was disagreeable, and too often disfigured by a frequent laugh, at which time he scarce opened his lips; and he had scarcely any beard or hair. He spoke very little, and frequently answered people with that laugh only, which was habitual to him. With the inflexible obstinacy of his temper, he always retained that timidity which goes by the name of false modesty. He would have been embarrassed in a conversation, because, having devoted his time entirely to war and action, he had no knowledge of society. Till he took up his residence among the Turks, which furnished him with a good deal of leisure, he had read nothing but Cæsar's Commentaries, and the history of Alexander; yet he had written some reflections on the art of war, and particularly on his own campaigns from 1700 to 1709. This he owned to the chevalier de Folard, but said that the manuscript had been lost in the unfortunate battle of Pultowa. Some people describe Charles as a good mathematician: he possessed, no doubt, a great degree of penetration, but the arguments they make use of to prove his knowledge in mathematics are by no means decisive: he wanted to alter the method of counting by tens, and proposed to substitute in its place the number 64, because that number contains both a cube and a square, and, being divided by two, is reducible to a unit. This only proves that he delighted in everything difficult and extraordinary.

With regard to his religion, though the sentiments of a prince ought to have no influence on other men, and though the opinion of a monarch so illiterate as Charles can be of little consequence in these matters, yet it is necessary to gratify the curiosity of mankind, who are anxious to know whatever relates to this prince, in this, as well as in any other particular. I am informed by the gentleman who furnished me with the greatest part of the materials which compose this history, that Charles was a serious Lutheran till the year 1707. He then happened to see at Leipsic the famous philosopher, M. Leibnitz, who thought and spoke freely, and had already instilled his sentiments into more princes than one. I cannot believe, as it is reported, that Charles conceived an indifference for Lutheranism from the conversation of this philosopher, who never had the honour to talk with him above a quarter of an hour; but M. Fabricius, who lived with him in great familiarity for seven years successively, told me, that Charles having seen, during his residence among the Turks, such an infinite variety of religions, it increased his indifference to all. La Mottraye, in his voyages, confirms this idea. The same, too, is the opinion of the Count de Croissy, who several times told me that of all his old principles, Charles retained none but that of absolute predestination; a doctrine that favoured his courage and justified his temerity. The czar held the same opinion as Charles with regard to fate and religion, but talked of these subjects more frequently, as, indeed, he did of everything else with his favourites, with much familiarity: for he had the advantage over Charles, both in the study of philosophy, and the gift of eloquence.

Here I cannot help noticing a calumny that is too often raised at the death of princes by the malicious, and too readily believed by the credulous, that their death is always owing to poison or assassination. A report had been disseminated through Germany, that M. Siquier himself killed the king of Sweden. That brave officer was long grieved at this injurious aspersion; and one day, talking to me on the subject, used the following expression: "I might have killed the king of Sweden, but such was my respect for that hero, that had I even conceived such an idea, I could not have had the courage to carry it into execution."

I knew very well that Siquier, himself, gave occasion for this heavy accusation, which, even to this day, is believed by a part of Sweden: he told me that while he had a violent fever at Stockholm, he cried out that he had killed the king of Sweden, and that, in the height of his frenzy, he even opened the window, and publicly begged pardon for the regicide. When he was acquainted, in the course of his recovery, with what he said in his illness, he was ready to die with grief. This anecdote I did not choose to reveal during his life-time. I saw him a little time before his death, and I think I can safely affirm that, so far from killing Charles XII he would have suffered a thousand deaths could he have saved his life. Had he been guilty of such a crime, it must have been to have served some prince, who, no doubt, would have liberally rewarded him; but he died in France, extremely poor, and even stood in need of assistance from myself. If these reasons are not sufficient, let it be considered, that the ball by which Charles fell could not enter into a pistol, and that Siquier could not have executed this detestable crime by any other means than a pistol concealed under his clothes.

The siege of Frederickshall was raised; soon after the king's death everything was changed in the government of Sweden. The Swedes, more oppressed than flattered by the glory of their prince, lost no time in concluding a peace with their enemies, and suppressing that absolute power which Baron de Görtz had made them feel to the greatest extremity. The states, voluntarily, elected the sister of Charles XII. their queen, and obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, in order that she should only hold it by the suffrages of the nation. She promised with reiterated oaths that she would never attempt to restore arbitrary authority; and, at last, sacrificing the love of royalty to conjugal affection, yielded the crown to her husband, and engaged the states to elect that prince who was raised to the throne of Sweden upon the same conditions as herself.

The apprehension of Baron de Gortz followed the death of Charles almost instantaneously: he was condemned by the senate of Stockholm to lose his head, and to suffer the execution of this sentence at the foot of the public gallows. This was probably an example of revenge rather than justice, and in which the memory of a king whom Sweden still admires was cruelly insulted.

THE END.

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD LORD HERBERT,

OF

CHERBURY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH A PREFATORY MEMOIR.

BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA

Original Dedication.

TO

THE MOST NOBLE HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT,

EARL OF POWIS, VISCOUNT LUDLOW, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, BARON POWIS AND LUDLOW, AND TREASURER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

My Lord,

Permit me to offer to your Lordship, in this more durable manner, the very valuable present I received from your hands.

To your Lordship your great ancestor owes his revival; and suffer me, my Lord, to tell the world what does you so much honour, you have given him and me leave to speak truth; an indulgence which, I am sorry to say, few descendants of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

Hitherto, Lord Herbert has been little known but as an author. I much mistake if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence Lord Herbert attained in both. Your Lordship's lineage at least will have a pattern before their eyes to excite their emulation; and while they admire the piety with which you have done justice to your common ancestor, they cannot be forgetful of the obligation they will have to your Lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most obliged servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

PREFATORY MEMOIR.*

THE first edition of this spirited and valuable piece of biography was printed for private use only, at Strawberry-hill, in the year 1764. In 1770, a second edition, for the use of the public in general, was printed for Dodsley, in quarto, and a dedication and advertisement prefixed by Lord Orford. In the latter, the circumstances are detailed under which the manuscript, which is in Lord Herbert's own hand-writing, was recovered and sent to the press, after the world had nearly been deprived of its contents by unwarrantable neglect. Both the work and the gallant author are admirably characterised by Lord Orford; who, however, unfortunately neglected to gratify the natural curiosity of the reader, to learn the subsequent fate of the hero of such an interesting memoir. The want was in some measure supplied by the same noble lord, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors; and considerable additions were made to his account in Mr Park's valuable republication of that work. The present preliminary pages are destined to unite their observations with those scattered in some other authors, and to give a catalogue and some notices of his writings.

Lord Herbert has not in general specified the dates of the principal occurrences of his life; which renders some attention to that subject necessary in this place. We are informed that he was born at Eyton in Shropshire, "between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning," but neither the day nor year are mentioned. The latter was undoubtedly 1581, for in 1600, when he first came to London, he was 18 or 19 years of age; and Wood acquaints us that he was entered a gentleman commoner of University College, Oxford, in 1595, at the age of 14. It appears that he had been sent to the University at the age of twelve. On the 28th of February 1598, he was married, in the house of Eton, to the daughter of Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's. He continued, notwithstanding, at Oxford, and there, says Wood, he laid the foundation of that admirable learning of which he was afterwards a complete master. He seems to have paid particular attention to the science of medicine, and boasts of several cures performed by the virtue of his private receipts. When he came to the metropolis in 1600, he was received with much distinction by Queen Elizabeth; and at the accession of James, in the year 1603, was one of the new-created knights of the Bath. Some years subsequent to this, he went over to France, and staid there a considerable time, perfecting himself in those accomplishments which were at that period considered requisite to form the character of a knight and a gentleman. On his return, he did not remain long inactive, but went to Flanders in 1610, where he served with great *éclat*. He again returned to England, and underwent much persecution from Sir John Ayres, who suspected him to have been engaged in a criminal intercourse with his lady. Having finally settled these disputes, he, for the second time, joined the army of the Prince of Orange, in whose favour no one seems to have stood higher. He then pursued his journey through Germany, Venice, and Florence, to Rome, where he unnecessarily exposed himself to the dangers of the Inquisition. From Rome he returned through Savoy, Lyons, and Strasburg, to the Low Countries, and from thence to England; constantly engaged in romantic adventures, in which he displayed a truly chivalrous spirit, at the very period when Cervantes made his successful attacks upon the system of knight-errantry.

Shortly after his return he was appointed ambassador to the French court, and set off for Paris on the day of Queen Anne's burial, which happened in March 1619. He remained in France till the year 1621, in July, when he was recalled, in consequence of his quarrel with the great constable Luisnes,* in which he acquitted himself with great honour, "without committing his dignity of ambassador."† He purposed to publish an account of his negotiations, and of the events which occurred during his embassy; this honour he never accomplished, and the loss to posterity cannot be sufficiently regretted. The duke of Luisnes dying shortly after, he was commanded to resume his situation at Paris, where, in 1624, he published his first work, *De Veritate, &c.* The account he gives of the mystical manner in which he obtained divine permission to print this book, is most singular, considering the religious tenets of his lordship. Dr. Leland makes the following observations on that part of the narrative: "I have no doubt of his lordship's sincerity in this account. The serious air with which he relates it, and the solemn protestation he makes, as in the presence of the eternal God, will not suffer us to question the truth of what he relates; *viz.* that he both made that address to God which he mentions, and that in consequence of this, he was persuaded that he heard the noise he takes notice of, and which he took to come from heaven, and regarded as a

* This Memoir is attributed to Sir Walter Scott, and is contained in an edition of Lord Herbert's Life, published at Edinburgh, in 1809.

* An account of this dispute, very similar to that of Lord Herbert himself, is given in Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 1018, *et seq.* Ed. 1670.

† Lord Orford's Catalogue. Ed. Park, vol. iii. p. 3.

mark of God's approbation of the request he had made; and accordingly, this great man was determined by it to publish his book. He seems to have considered it as a kind of *imprimatur* given to it from heaven, and as signifying the divine approbation of the book itself, and of what was contained in it."—LELAND'S *View of the Deistical Writers*, i. 27.

Lord Herbert did not proceed further in the memoirs of his own life; and the occurrences during the remainder of it, with which we are acquainted, are not numerous. In the year 1625 he was made a baron of Ireland, by the title of Lord Herbert of Castle-Island, and, in 1631, created a peer of England, by that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire.

When the differences between King Charles and his parliament broke out, Lord Herbert joined his interest to that of the latter. He seems previously to have made a speech in behalf of the king, which gave great offence to the House; but the year after, he changed his politics and supported the parliament, for which change he became a great sufferer from the vengeance of the royalists.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. pp. 3, 87. He attended the army of the parliament to Scotland in 1639, and obtained indemnification for his castle of Montgomery, which had been demolished by their order.

In the year 1648, his lordship died at his house in Queen Street, London, and was buried at St. Giles's in the Fields, with this inscription over his grave: "*Hic inhumatur corpus Edvardi Herbert equitis Balnei, baronis de Cherbury et Castle-Island, auctoris libri, cui titulus est, 'De Veritate.' Reddor ut herbæ; vicesimo die Augusti anno Domini* 1648." He had, says Lloyd,* designed a fair monument of his own invention to be set up for him in the church of Montgomery, according to the model following: "Upon the ground a hath-pace of fourteen foot square, on the middest of which is placed a Doric column, with its right of pedestal basis, and capitols of fifteen foot in height; on the capitol of the column is mounted an urn with a heart flamboul, supported by two angels. The foot of this column is attended with four angels, placed on pedestals at each corner of the said hath-pace; two having torches reverst, extinguishing the motto of mortality; the other two holding up palms, the emblems of victory."

In his lordship's Occasional Verses occurs the following characteristic "Epitaph for Himself."

"READER,

"The monument which thou beholdest here,
Presents Edward, Lord Herbert, to thy sight;
A man, who was so free from either hope or fear,
To have or lose this ordinary light,
That when to elements his body turned were,
He knew that as those elements would fight,
So his immortal soul should find above
With his Creator, peace, joy, truth, and love!"

Lord Herbert was succeeded by his son Richard Lord Herbert, and he by Edward, who dying April 21, 1691, was buried April 28, by the side of his grandfather.

The following is the Catalogue of the Works, which he gave to the world in his lifetime, or which were published posthumously by his friends:

"*De Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à verisimili, à possibili, à falso. Cui Operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus: primus, de Causis Errorum; alter, de Religione Laici. Unà cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici; et quibusdam poematibus.*" Paris 1624 and 1633, and London 1645, qu. In 1639, a French translation appeared at Paris. This, as well as his lordship's other metaphysical works, has found several opponents. "Mr. Locke," says Lord Orford, "who has taken notice of this work, allows his lordship to be a man of parts. Gassendi answered it at the request of Peiresc and Deodati; but the answer was not published till after Gassendi's death.* Baxter made remarks on the Treatise *de Veritate*, in his "More Reasons for the Christian Religion;" and one Kortholt, (a foolish German zealot,) wrote a treatise intituled, "*De tribus Impostoribus magnis, Edvardo Herbert, Thoma Hobbes, et Benedicto Spinoza, Liber.*"† To these answers may be added, "Natural Religion insufficient, and Revealed necessary to Man's Happiness," by the Rev. Mr. Halyburton, professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrews, printed, after the author's death, at Edinburgh, in 1714, 4to; "in which particularly the writings of the learned Lord Herbert, the great patron of deism; to wit, his books, *de Veritate, de Religione Gentilium*, and his *Religio Laici*, in so far as they assert nature's light able to conduct us to future blessedness, are considered and fully answered." Leland, in his "View of the Deistical Writers of England," enters upon a long refutation of the tenets of our author, who, as he observes, "may be justly regarded as the most eminent of the deistical writers, and in several respects superior to those that succeeded him." The following may serve as a summary account of his system, and is extracted from the same performance. "His lordship seems to have been of the first that formed deism into a system, and asserted the sufficiency, universality, and absolute perfection of natural religion, with a view to discard all extraordinary revelation as useless and needless. He seems to assume to himself the glory of having accomplished it with great labour, and a diligent inspection into all religions; and applauds himself for it, as happier than any Archimedes.‡ This universal religion he reduceth to five articles, which he frequently mentioneth in all his works. 1. That there is one supreme God. 2. That he is chiefly to be worshipped. 3. That piety and virtue are the principal part of his worship. 4. That we must repent of our sins; and if we do so, God will pardon them. 5. That there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men, in a future state; or, as he sometimes expresseth it, both here and hereafter. These he represents as common notices inscribed by God on the minds of all men, and undertakes to shew that they were universally acknowledged in all nations, ages, and religions. This is particularly the design of his book *de Religione Gentilium*; though it is but comparatively a small part of that work, which tendeth directly to prove that these articles universally obtained: the far greater part of it is taken

* State Worthies, p. 1018.

* In his third volume, the title of which is *Opuscula Philosophica*, pp. 411—419. *Lugd.* 1658. fol.

† Lord Orford, *ut supra*, iii. 15.

‡ *De Relig. Gent.* c. 15 *init.*

up with an account of the heathen religion and ceremonies, which he hath performed with an abundance of learning, and hath intermixed many softening apologies for the pagan superstition and idolatry.

"As he represents these five articles as absolutely necessary, the five pillars, as he calls them, on which all religion is built; so he endeavours to shew that they alone are sufficient, and that nothing can be added to them which can tend to render any man more virtuous or a better man. But then he subjoins this limitation, 'provided these articles be well explained in their full latitude.'* This universal religion, which all men agree in, his lordship represents to be the only religion of which there can be any certainty; and he endeavours to shew the great advantages that would arise from men's embracing this religion, and this only. One of the reasons he offers to recommend it is this, that this catholic or universal religion answers the ultimate design of the holy scriptures. '*Sacrarum literarum fini ultimo intentionique quadrat.*' He adds, that 'all the doctrines there taught aim at the establishment of these five catholic articles, as we have often hinted; there is no sacrament, rite, or ceremony there enjoined, but what aims, or seems to aim at the establishment of these five articles.' He expressly declares, in the above-mentioned treatise, that it was far from his intention to do harm to *the best religion*, as he there calls Christianity, or the true faith, but rather to establish both."—*Leland*, I. p. 3. This divine then proceeds in his refutation of these tenets, and concludes with allowing, that Lord Herbert, "as he was one of the first, so he was confessedly one of the greatest writers that have appeared among us in the deistical cause."—P. 25.

Thomas Master, an account of whom will be given immediately, is said to have assisted Lord Herbert in latinizing the above work.

"*De Religione Gentilium Errorumque apud eos causis.*" The first part was printed at London 1645, 8vo., and the whole in 1663, 4to., and reprinted in 1700, 8vo. Mr. W. Lewis translated it into English, under this title, "The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and Causes of their Errors considered. The mistakes and failures of the heathen priests and wise men in their notions of the Deity, and matters of divine worship, are examined with regard to their being destitute of divine revelation." 1705. 8vo. Lord Herbert sent the manuscript of this work to Gerard Vossius, in the year 1645, as appears from his letter, and Vossius's answer.—*Biog. Dict.* quoted by Mr. Park.

"*Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Insulam.*" Published by Tim. Baldwin, LL.D. 1665. Lond. 8vo.

"Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth."—Lond. 1649, 1672, and 1682. This latter edition was, according to Wood,† collated by certain scholars of the University of Oxford, with the original manuscript, deposited in the Bodleian library by the author in 1643. It was reprinted in Kennet's Complete History of England, Vol. II. The following character of the work is given by Lord Orford: "It was undertaken by command of King James the First, and is much esteemed; yet one cannot help regretting, that a man who found it necessary to take up arms against Charles the First, should have palliated the enormities of Henry the Eighth, in comparison of whom, King Charles was an excellent prince. It is strange, that writing a man's life should generally make the biographer become enamoured of his subject; whereas, one should think that the nicer disquisition one makes into the life of any man, the less reason one should find to love or admire him." In another place,* Lord Orford observes, that the life of Henry VIII. is allowed to be a master-piece of historic biography; and Bishop Nicolson, in his English Historical Library, asserts, "that the author has acquitted himself with the like reputation as Lord Chancellor Bacon gained by the Life of Henry the Seventh; having in the politic and martial part been admirably exact, from the best records that remain."

Lord Herbert had, however, a valuable assistant in the person of Thomas Master, "esteemed," says Anthony Wood, "a vast scholar, a general artist and linguist, a noted poet, and a most florid preacher." He died in 1643, at Oxford, of the same malignant fever which carried off Cartwright, and many others. Lord Edward honoured his memory with a Latin epitaph, printed in his Occasional Verses, p. 94. He had also prefixed a Latin poem to Master's "*Mensa lubrica Montgom. illustriss. Domino D. Edwardo Baroni de Cherbury.*" a poem descriptive of Shovelboard play, printed for the second time at Oxford, 1658. What assistance he gave to his lordship may be collected from the following extract: "He was a drudge to, and assisted much, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, when he was obtaining materials for the writing of the life of Henry VIII. Four thick volumes in folio of such materials I have lying by me, in every one of which I find his handwriting, either in interlining, adding, or correcting; and one of those four, which is entitled *Collectaneorum lib. secundus*, is mostly written by him, collected from Parliament Rolls, the Paper Office at Whitehall, Vicar General's office, books belonging to the Clerks of the Council, MSS. in Cotton's Library, Books of Convocation of the Clergy, &c. printed authors, &c. And there is no doubt, that as he had an especial hand in composing the said Life of Henry VIII. (which, as some say, he turned mostly into Latin, but never printed,) so had he a hand in latinizing that lord's book *De Veritate*, or others."—Wood's *Athenæ*, II. col. 39, 40.

Lord Herbert's Historical Collections are preserved in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, and several of his letters among the Harleian manuscripts.

In 1668, "A Dialogue on Education," 4to. was published, and attributed to his lordship.

"Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury and Castle-Island, who deceased in 1648." Lond. 1665. 8vo. Published by Henry Herbert, his younger son, and dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, the author's grandson.

In Joshua Sylvester's "*Lachrymæ Lachrymarum*, or, The Spirit of Tears, distilled for the untimely death of Prince Henry," Lond. 1613, 4to.; and in other publications, several poems of Lord Herbert may also be found.

* Appendix to *Relig. Laici* qu. 3d.
† Athenæ, II. col. 117.

* Advertisement to Lord Herbert's Life.

The two Latin poems, inserted in his Life, together with a longer, entitled, "*Hæred. ac Nepot. suis Præcepta et Consilia, E. B. H. de C. J. de K.*" are printed in 1647, 4to. in a unique tract, preserved in the Bridgewater Library.

As a poet, Lord Herbert does not rank high, and is often almost unintelligible. Mr. Park observes, that "his lordship's scarce volume of Occasional Poems, consists chiefly of metaphysical love verses; ingenious but unnatural; platonic in sentiment, but frequently gross in expression; and marked by an eccentricity which pervaded the life and character of Lord Herbert." Of the following specimens, the first stanzas are pronounced by the editor of the Specimens of Early English Poets, to be the most tolerable verses in the volume, and are selected from thirty-five, of which the poem consists. The two others are selected by Mr. Park, in his edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors.*

AN ODE UPON THE QUESTION MOVED, WHETHER LOVE SHOULD CONTINUE FOR EVER?

Having interr'd her infant birth,
The watery ground, that late did mourn,
Was strew'd with flowers, for the return
Of the wish'd bridegroom of the earth.

The well-accorded birds did sing
Their hymns unto the pleasant time,
And in a sweet consorted chime,
Did welcome in the cheerful spring.

To which, soft whistles of the wind,
And warbling murmurs of a brook,
And varied notes of leaves that shook,
And harmony of parts did bind.

* * * *

When with a love none can express,
That mutually happy pair,
Melander and Celinda fair,
The season with their loves did bless.

Walking thus tow'rds a pleasant grove,
Which did, it seem'd, in new delight
The pleasures of the time unite,
To give a triumph to their love.

They staid at last, and on the grass
Reposed so, as o'er his breast
She bow'd her gracious head to rest,
Such a weight as no burthen was.

* * * *

Long their fix'd eyes to heaven bent,
Unchanged, they did never move;
As if so great and pure a love,
No glass but it could represent.

When with a sweet, though troubled look,
She first brake silence, saying, "Dear friend
O that our love might take no end,
Or never had beginning took!

"I speak not this with a false heart;"
Wherewith his hand she gently strain'd;
"Or that would change a love maintain'd
With so much love on either part.

"Nay, I protest, though Death with his
Worst counsel should divide us here,
His terrors could not make me fear
To come where your lov'd presence is.

"Only, if love's fire with the breath
Of life be kindeled, I doubt,
With our last air 'twill be breath'd out,
And quenched with the cold of death."

* * * *

Then with a look, it seem'd denied
All earthly power but hers, yet so
As if to her breath he did owe
This borrow'd life, he thus replied:

* * * *

"And shall our love, so far beyond
That low and dying appetite,
And which so chaste desires unite,
Not hold in an eternal bond?

* * * *

"O no, belov'd! I am most sure
Those virtuous habits we acquire,
As being with the soul entire,
Must with it evermore endure.

* * * *

"Else should our souls in vain elect;
And vainer yet were heaven's laws,
When to an everlasting cause
They gave a perishing effect.

"Nor here on earth then, nor above,
Our good affection can impair;
For, where God doth admit the fair,
Think you that he excludeth love?

"These eyes again thine eyes shall see,
And hands again these hands infold;
And all chaste pleasures can be told,
Shall with us everlasting be.

"For if no use of sense remain
When bodies once this life forsake,
Or they could no delight partake,
Why should they ever rise again?

* * * *

"Let then no doubt, Celinda, touch,
Much less your fairest mind invade:
Were not our souls immortal made,
Our equal loves can make them such."

* * * *

TO A YOUNG PALE BEAUTY.

From thy pale look, while angry Love doth seem
With more imperiousness to give his law,
Than where he blushingly doth beg esteem;
We may observe try'd beauty in such awe,
That the brav'st colour under her command
Affrighted, oft before you doth retire;
While, like a statue of yourself you stand
In such symmetrique form, as doth require
No lustre but its own: as then, in vain,
One should flesh colouring to statues add,
So were it to your native white a stain
If it in other ornaments were clad,
Than what your rich proportions do give,
Which in a boundless fair being unconfined,
Exalted in your soul, so seem to live,
That they become an emblem of your mind;
That so, who to your orient white should join
Those fading qualities most eyes adore,
Were but like one who, gild'ng silver coin,
Gave but occasion to suspect it more.

TO HIS WATCH, WHEN HE COULD NOT SLEEP.

Uncessant minutes, whilst you move you tell
The time that tells our life, which, though it run
Never so fast or far, your new begun
Short steps shall overtake: for though life well

* III. p. 23.

May 'scape his own account, it shall not yours.
You are Death's auditors, that both divide
And sum whate'er that life inspir'd endures,
Past a beginning; and through you we bide
The doom of fate, whose unrecall'd decree
You date, bring, execute; making what's new,
Ill; and good, old; for as we die in you,
You die in time, time in eternity.

It is unnecessary to enter into the detail of Lord Herbert's character, of which the account of his life by himself is the best portraiture. The following extract furnishes a curious apology by the noble lord, for the two principal imperfections which appeared in his character, and of which he frequently shews himself perfectly conscious: "In his book *De Veritate*, he declares, that those are not lightly to be condemned, who are carried to sin by their particular bodily constitution; and he instances particularly in the rage of lust and anger; no more than a dropsical person is to be blamed for his immoderate thirst, or a lethargic person for his laziness and inactivity.* He adds, indeed, that he does not set up as an apologist for wicked men, but yet that we ought to pass a mild censure upon those who are carried to sin by a corporeal and almost necessary propensity to vice. *Neque tamen me hic conscelerati cujusvi patronum sisto; sed in id solummodo contendo, ut mitiori sententia de iis statuamus, qui corporea, brutali, et tantum non necessaria propensione in peccata prolabuntur.*"—LELAND, *ut supra*, i. p. 6.

Lord Orford's delineation of his character is very lively, and will be found in his Advertisement; the following is given by Granger in his Biographical History of England: "Lord Herbert stands in the first rank of the public ministers, historians, and philosophers of his age. It is hard to say whether his person, his understanding, or his courage, was the most extraordinary; as the fair, the learned, and the brave, held him in equal admiration. But the same man was wise and capricious; redressed wrongs and quarrelled for punctilios; hated bigotry in religion and was himself a bigot to philosophy. He exposed himself to such dangers as other men would have carefully declined; and called in question the fundamentals of a religion which none had the hardiness to dispute besides himself."—II. 145.

Ben Jonson, who was probably patronised by Lord Herbert, addressed the following complimentary epigram to him, which, taking into consideration the language of the times, does not appear overcharged with flattery, and, as a general summary of his lordship's character, may not improperly conclude the present Prefatory Memoir:—

TO SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

If men get name, for some one virtue; then,
What man art thou, that art so many men,
All-virtuous Herbert! On whose every part,
Truth might spend all her voice, fame all her art.
Whether thy learning they would take, or wit,
Or valour, or thy judgment seasoning it,
Thy standing upright to thyself, thy ends
Like straight, thy piety to God, and friends:
Their later praise would still the greatest be,
And yet they all together, less than thee.

* *Relig. Laici*, p. 28.

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD LORD HERBERT,

OF CHERBURY.

I DO believe, that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any; and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me: and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which, through God's great grace and favour, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honour. Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after, and that for the rest I have lived, for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently; I shall only, therefore, relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives. *

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq., son to Edward Herbert, Esq., and grand-child to Sir Richard Herbert, Knight, who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for, defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries, until a villain, coming behind him, did, over the shoulders of others, wound him on the head behind with a forest-bill until he fell down, though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the *pia mater* of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exer-

* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family in writing; for Dugdale, in his Baronage, vol. ii. p. 256, edit. of 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert, from a manuscript book, which he had seen in the hands of our author, Lord Herbert.

cises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and *custos rotulorum*, which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life; beginning first at court, where, after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the siege of St. Quintens in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions happening in the times of King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth, as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me; although yet I hold some lands which his mother, the Lady Anne Herbert, purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name, which I can shew; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an undervalue in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often, both day and night, to the places where they were; concerning which, though many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pummel of his saddle; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he shewed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done; whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible, than to say, he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carried his shot to his body; but the outlaw, being brought to justice, suffered for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality; as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Blackhall;" which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself, in former times, having lived in Montgomery castle. Notwithstanding yet these expenses at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the university; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars; and, after some time spent there, came home, and lived in the country at Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, is the king's attorney-general. His son, George, who was of New College, in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy. Notwithstanding all which occasions of expense, my grandfather purchased much lands, without doing anything yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publicly made divers times, having given my bailiff in charge to proclaim to the country, that if any lands were gotten by evil means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for or restored again; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore, or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a marshal law, to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation; as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the Paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my history of Henry the Eighth: of him I can say little more, than that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero, who (in the History of Hall and Grafton, as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his pole-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun. I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgcot-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands; one is, that the said Sir Richard Herbert being employed, together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke, to reduce certain rebels* in North Wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech castle, in Merionethshire; the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars in France; whereupon he said, he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him;

* It was an insurrection in the ninth year of Edward the Fourth, headed by Sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favour of Henry VI. This William, Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, being sent against them, were to be joined by the Earl of Devonshire; but a squabble happening between the two earls about quarters, the Earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who, engaging the enemy at Danesmoore, near Edgcote, in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother, and both were put to death, with Richard Widville Earl Rivers, father of the queen, by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

and that he would keep the castle so long, that he would make the old women in France talk of him: And indeed, as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition; he surrendering himself upon condition, that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life; which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward IV. desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer upon this hope. But the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore, might, after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; Sir Richard Herbert answered, he had not yet done the best he could for him; and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out; or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life. The king finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service. The other history is, that Sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesea, apprehending there seven brothers, which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times the Earl of Pembroke, thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two, or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming, that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl finding them all equally guilty, said, he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that, with a pair of woollen beads on her arms, (for so the relation goeth,) she, on her knees, cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. The earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgcot-field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, in the head of his men, leaning upon his pole-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner; whereupon the earl said, What! doth thy great body (for he was higher by the head than any one in the army) apprehend anything that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy pole-axe? Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently; only I cannot but apprehend on your part, least the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you. This Sir Richard Herbert lieth buried in Abergaveny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains; whereas his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, being buried in Tintirne Abbey, his monument, together with the church, lie now wholly defaced and ruined. This Earl of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly, from the heir-male of that house, which was the second son of the said Earl of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable, that the younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert, left their posterity after them, who, in the person of myself and my wife, united both houses again; which is the more memorable, that when the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward IV. at the battle abovesaid, the earl never entreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joining of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers, so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy council, and executor of King Henry the Eighth, who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and public prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that though it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried, and so provident for them, that, after she had bestowed all her daughters, with sufficient portions, upon very good neighbouring families, she delivered up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had, for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope: I shall, therefore, only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters. And for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she, after his death, erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years

with much reputation, both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many; insomuch, that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four-and-twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where, fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself, with that piece which remained, but, closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after. My brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother George* was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge; some of whose English works are extant; which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature: his life was most holy and exemplary; insomuch, that about Salisbury, where he lived, beneficed for many years, he was little ess than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection; after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and master of the revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels, and otherwise; being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumous, as being born some weeks after his father's death. He also, being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil,† lord-general of his majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, A.D. 1610, where he shewed such forwardness, as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies, under the command of Captain Joseph, who, in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them; whereupon, his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner, (as Sir John Smyth, governor of the East India Company, told me at several times,) that they forced the Spanish ship to run a-ground, where the English shot her through and through so often, that she run herself a-ground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time, he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Suratte, and from thence, went with the merchants to the Great Mogul; where, after he had staid about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this, he went in the navy which King James sent to Argier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize, whereby to relieve the whole fleet; it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which, it was thought, saved the whole fleet from perishing. He conducted, also, Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries, in one of the king's ships, which, being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long-boat, or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long-boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain; where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them: whereupon, my said brother, with some other ships, got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long, that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success, with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs given of himself he expected some great command; but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St. Martin's near Charing Cross; so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albemarles, who had by her one son and two daughters; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times; while, for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lieth buried in a church called ——— near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart; by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled. He had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine; of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs-male, although not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned. Frances,

* He had studied foreign languages, in hopes of rising to be secretary of state; but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became prebend of Lincoln, and rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London 1635, under the title of "The Temple;" and his "Priest to the Temple," in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a Translation of some Psalms into English verse.—*V. General Dict.*

† Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See an account of him in "The Royal and Noble Authors."

my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knight, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children; the eldest son of whom, although young, fought divers duels, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I could say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularize their lives. I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to myself.

I was born at Eyton, in Shropshire, [being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother,] between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears; whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb. The very furthest thing I remember, is, that when I understood what was said by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that were imperfect or impertinent. When I came to talk, one of the furthest inquiries I made was, how I came into this world? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found myself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means I could not imagine; but for this, as I was laughed at by nurse, and some other women that were then present, so I was wondered at by others, who said, they never heard a child but myself ask that question; upon which, when I came to riper years, I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that, as I found myself in possession of this life, without knowing anything of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, yet, doubtless, they did no less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death. For as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world, than how I came into it; and because, since that time, I have made verses to this purpose, I have thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them. The Argument is,

VITA.

Prima fuit quondam genitali semine Vita
Procurasse suas dotes, ubi Plastica Virtus
Gestiit, et vegeto molem perfundere succo,
Externamq. suo formam cohibere recessu,
Dum conspirantes possint accedere causæ,
Et totum tuto liceat proludere fœtum.
Altera materno tandem succrevit in arvo
Exiles spumans ubi spiritus induit Artus,
Exertusq. simul miro sensoria textu
Cudit, et hospitium menti non vile paravit,
Quæ Cælo delapsa suas mox inde capessat
Partes, et sortis tanquam præsaga futuræ
Corrigat ignavum pondus, nec inutile sistat.
Tertia nunc agitur, quâ Scena recluditur ingens,
Cernitur et festum Cæli, Terræq. Theatrum;
Congener et species, rerum variataq. forma
Et circumferri, motu proprieq. vagari
Contigit, et leges æternaq. fœdera mundi
Visere, et assiduo redeuntia sidera cursu.
Unde etiam vitæ causas, nexumq. tueri
Fas erat et summum longè præsciscere Numen;
Dum varios mirè motus contemperet orbis
Et Pater, et Dominus, Custos, et conditor idem
Audit ubiq. Deus; Quid ni modò Quarta sequatur?
Sordibus excussis cùm mens jam purior instat,
Auctaq. doctrinis variis, virtuteq. pollens
Intendit vires, magis et sublimia spirat,
Et tacitus cordi stimulus suffigitur imo,
Ut velit hoic quisquam sorti superesse caducæ,
Expetiturq. status fœlicior ambitiosis
Ritibus, et sacris, et cultu religioso,
Et nova successit melioris conscia Fati
Spes superis hærens, toto perfusaq. Cœlo,
Et sese sancto demittit Numen Amori,
Et data Cœlestis non fallax Tessera Vitæ,
Cumq. Deo licuit non uno jure paciscî,
Ut mihi seu servo reddatur debita merces,
Filius aut bona adire paterna petam, mihi sponsor
Sit fidei Numen; mox hanc sin exuo vitam,
Compos jam factus melioris, tum simul uti
Jure meo cupiam liber, meq. asserit inde
Ipse Deus (cujus non terris Gratia tantùm,
Sed Cœlis prostat) Quid ni modo Quinta sequatur
Et Sexta, et quicquid tandem spes ipsa requirat?

DE VITA CÆLESTI CONJECTURA.

Toro lustratus Genio mihi gratulor ipsi,
Fati securus, dum nec terroribus ullis
Dejicior, tacitos condo vel corde dolores,
Sed lætus mediis erumnis transigo vitam,
Invitisq. malis (quæ terras undiq. cingunt)
Ardenti virtute viam super æthera quærens,
Proxima Cælestis præcepi præmia vitæ,
Ultima prætento, divino afflatus amore,
Quò simul exuperans crepræ ludibria sortis,
Barbara vesani linquo consortia Sæculi,
Auras infernas defluens, spiransq. supernas,
Dum sanctis memet totum sic implico flammis,
Hisce ut suffultus penetrem laquearia Cæli,
Atq. novi latè speculer magnalia Mundi,
Et notas animas, proprio jam lumine pulchras
Invisam, Superûmq. choros mentesq. beatas,
Quèis aveam miscere ignes, ac vincula sacra,
Atq. vice alternâ transire in gaudia, Cœlum
Quæ dederit cunctis, ipsis aut indita nobis,
Vel quæ communi voto sancire licebit,
Ut Deus interea cumulans sua præmia, nostrum
Augeat inde decus, proprioq. illustret amore,
Nec Cæli Cælis desint, æternavè Vitæ
Sæcula, vel Sæclis nova gaudia, qualia totum
Ævum nec minuat, nec terminat Infinitum,
His major desit nec gratia Numinis alma,
Quæ miris variata modis hæc gaudia crescant,
Excipiatq. statum quemvis fœlicior alter;
Et quæ nec sperare datur sint præstita nobis,
Nec, nisi sola capit quæ mens divina, superaint;
Quæ licet ex sese sint perfectissima longe,
Ex nobis saltem magè condecorata videntur:
Cum segnes animas, cælum quas indit ab ortu,
Exacuat tantum labor ac industria nostra;
Ac demum poliat doctrina, et moribus illis,
Ut redeant pulchræ, dotem cæloq. reportent;
Quum simùl arbitriis usi, mala pellimus illa,
Quæ nec vel pepulit cælum, vel pelleret olim,
Ex nobis ita fit jam gloria Numinis ingens,
Auctior in cœlos quoq. gloria nostra redundat,
Et quæ virtuti sint debita præmia, tandem
Vel Numen solito reddunt fœlicius ipsum.
Amplior unde simul redhibetur Gratia nobis,
Ut vel pro voto nostro jam singula cedant.
Nam si libertas chara est, per amœna locorum
Conspicua innumeris Cœlis discurrere fas est,
Deliciasq. loci cujusvis carpere pasim.
Altior est animo si contemplatio fixa,
Cuncta adaperta patent nobis jam scrinia Cæli,
Arcanaeq. Dei rationes nôsse juvabit:
Hujus sin repetat quisquam consortia sæcli,
Mox agere in terris, ac procurare licebit
Res hoic humanas, et justis legibus uti!

Sin magè cælesti jam delectamur amore,
Solvimur in flammas, quæ se lambuntq. foventq.
Mutuò, et impliciti sanctis ardoribus, una
Surgimus amplexi, copulâ junctiq. tenaci,
Partibus, et toto miscemur ubiq. vicissim;
Ardoresq. novos accendit Numinis ardor.
Sin laudare Deum lubeat, nos laudat et ipse,
Concinit Angelicusq. chorus, modulamine suavi
Personat et cælum, prostant et publica nobis
Gaudia, et eduntur passim spectacula læta;
Fitq. theatralis quasi Cæli machina tota.
Hanc mundi molem sin vis replicaverit ingens
Numinis, atq. novas formas exculpserit inde
Dotibus ornatas aliis, magis atq. capaces;
Nostras mox etiam formas renovare licebit,
Et dotes sensusq. alios assumere, tandem
Consummata magis quo gaudia nostra resurgant,
Hæc si conjecto mortali corpore fretus
Corpus ut exuerim, Quid ni majora recludam?

And certainly since in my mother's womb this *plastica*, or formatrix, which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but, as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which should occur in this world: so I believe, since my coming into this world, my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life, as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb; and these faculties are hope, faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite: I confess they are of some use here; yet I appeal to every body, whether any worldly felicity did so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent, or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power, than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity, whether ever they could place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them, or whether ever their joy was so consummate in any thing they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford, to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties, therefore, though framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope and love, were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited. But to leave these discourses, and come to my childhood again.

I remember this defluction at my ears abovementioned continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet until I was seven years old, at which time my defluction ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster in the house of my said lady grandmother began then to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools; in which I profited so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two school-fellows being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie or any other fault; my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falsehood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then, no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that, from my first infancy to this hour, I told not willingly anything that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welch tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language; whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Place-ward in Denghyshire. This gentleman I must remember with honour, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities. Besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, though yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those, who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thelwall; and, certainly, he that can forbear speaking for somewhile, will remit much of his passion; but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welch, or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I staid in his house. Having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton at Didlebury in Shropshire, where in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, in so much, that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin. I had not been many months in the University, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, *caros*, or *coma vigilans*, which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to die without much pain, though in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently after my father's death, to desire her brother Sir Francis Newport to haste to London to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly,

which he obtained. Shortly after I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's was made, the occasion whereof was this: Sir William Herbert being heir-male to the old Earl of Pembroke above mentioned by a younger son of his, (for the eldest son had a daughter, who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before,) having one only daughter surviving, made a will, whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs-male of the said Sir William, and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesey and Carnarvanshire: his lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, in so much, that he writ an Exposition upon the Revelations, which is printed; though some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study: howsoever, he was very understanding in all other things,—he was noted yet to be of a very high mind: but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried until she was one-and-twenty; none of the Herberts appearing in all that time, who, either in age or fortune, was fit to match her. About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight-and-twentieth of February 1598, in the house of Eton, where the same man, vicar of ———, married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house, and lived for some certain time there; and now, having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued until I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and-twenty, having in that space divers children: I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward. During this time of living in the University, or at home, I did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the university; as being desirous, together with the narration of my life, to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful to my posterity. And first, I find, that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side; so that, if they be subject to the stone or gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset drinks, in which are boiled such things as are good to expel gravel and stone; the child also himself, when he comes to some age, may use the same posset drinks of herbs, as milium solis, saxifrigia, &c.; good for the stone many are reckoned by the physcians, of which also myself could bring a large catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art. The same course is to be taken for the gout; for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of children's legs and feet in the water wherein smiths quench their iron; as also water wherein alum hath been infused, or boiled; as also the decoction of juniper berries, bay berries, chamedris, chamœpetis, which baths also are good for those that are hereditarily subject to the palsy, for these things do much strengthen the sinews; as also olium castorii, and succoni, which are not to be used without advice. They that are also subject to the spleen from their ancestors, ought to use those herbs that are splenetics; and those that are troubled with the falling sickness, with cephaniques, of which certainly I should have had need but for the purging of my ears above mentioned. Briefly, what disease soever it be that is derived from ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes; as also afterwards to give unto the child itself such specific remedies as his age and constitution will bear. I could say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs, plants, and gums, and in few words the history of nature, in so much, that coming to apothecaries' shops, it was my ordinary manner when I looked upon the bills filed up, containing the physicians' prescriptions, to tell every man's disease; howbeit, I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, though I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to the expert physicians; only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since, otherwise, without much difficulty, they will never be cured.

When children go to school, they should have one to attend them, who may take care of their manners, as well as the school-master doth of their learning; for among boys all vice is easily learned; and here I could wish it constantly observed, that neither the master should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example: this being done, it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin; for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be

much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the university, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him; it being the frail nature of youth, as they grow to ripeness in age, to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves, they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice; since every body loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another. For this purpose, it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and virtuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue, accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puffed knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vainglorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them; that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues, being never well employed to defend his humours, passions, or vices. I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinarily used in the university, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed masters of art and doctors in some science; for which purpose, their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman. I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*, written by Severinus Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book, which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius, and Tilesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary Peripatetic doctrine: all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy, as I conceive, and six months for logic, for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which, it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states, and relations in amity or strength in which they stand to their neighbours; it will be necessary also, at the same time, to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the stars. It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest, for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use. As for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman, unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars; though yet he must remember, that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise, in way of assailing, can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but as yet I could never find how any place could be so fortified but that there were means in certain opposite lines, to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind. It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it; as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit; since seeing any sick body, he will be able to tell, in all human probability, whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease,—to tell what signs shall go before, and what the conclusion will be; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses, of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood. Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands; it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea, that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue. I have studied this art very much also, and have, in case of extremity, ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples: Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, and his water at last stinking

so grievously, which physicians note to be a sign of extension of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was entreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known any body for the space of six or seven days; whereupon demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be amiss to give him the quantity of an hazel-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring, that if any thing in the world could recover him, that would; of which I was so confident, that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat; which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after, at the hour appointed, when, to the wonder of his family, he knew me, and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered. My cousin, Athelston Owen, also of Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity, that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, insomuch that his physicians likewise left him; I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, he urined in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared; whereupon also he wrote a letter to me, that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood, when all the physicians had given her over, with so easy a medicine, that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I could give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for curing all inward but outward hurts, such as are ulcers, tumours, contusions, wounds, and the like: you must look upon all pharmacopœias or antidotaries * of several countries, of which sort I have in my library the *Pharmacopœia Londinensis, Parisiensis, Amstelodamensis*, that of Quercsetau,† Bauderoni, Renadeus, Valerius Scordus, *Pharmacopœia Coloniensis*, Augustana, Venetiana, Vononiensis, Florentina, Romana, Messanensis; in some of which are told not only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them. The rule I here give is, that what all the said dispensatories, antidotaries, or pharmacopœias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a disease, is certainly good; for as they are set forth by the authority of the physicians of these several countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual: but they who will follow my advice, shall find in that little short antidotary called Amstelodamensis, not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known for curing of diseases, wounds, &c. There is a book called *Aurora Medicorum*, very fit to be read in this kind. Among writers of physic, I do especially commend, after Hippocrates and Galen, Fernelius,* Lud. Mercatus, and Dan. Sennertus, and Heurnius: I could name many more, but I conceive these may suffice. As for the chemic or spagyric medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity: there being neither emetic, cathartic, diaphoretic, diuretic medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely performed by vegetables; but hereof enough, since I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity. In the meanwhile I conceive it is a fine study, and worthy a gentleman to be a good botanic, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow creatures, and made for the use of man; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good herbal all the icones together, with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England, and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the sea-side; for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withal, especially if the said flowers be truly coloured. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens, and are exotics, and are transplanted hither. As for those plants which will not endure our clime, though the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the virtues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a druggist as medicinal, yet the icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medicaments; in which case, it is good to have recourse to not only the botanics, but also to Gesnar's Dispensatory, and to *Aurora Medicorum*, above mentioned, being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs: and thus much of medicine may not only be useful but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him. I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which whosoever considers, I believe will never be an atheist; the frame of man's body, and coherence of his parts, being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature; though when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, lest it should be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it

* Antidotaries usually make a part of the old dispensatories; for when poisons were in fashion, antidotes were equally so.

† Josephus Quercetanus published a *Pharmacopœia dogmaticorum restituta*, 1607, 4to Paris. Bricius Banderonus, *Pharmacopœia, et Praxis Medica*, 1620, Paris. Johannes Renadæus, *Dispensatorium Medicum, et Antidotarium*, 1609, 4to. Paris. Valerius Cordus, *Dispensatorium*. Antw. 1568.

* Johannes Fernelius (Physician to Henry II. of France) published *Opera Medicinalia, et Universa Medicina*, 1564, 4to, and 1577, fol. Lud. Mercatus (Physician to Philip II. and III. of Spain) was author of *Opera Medica et Chirurgica*, fol. Francof. 1620. Daniel Sennertus published, *Institutiones Medicinæ*, 1620; and Johannes Heurnius a work with the same title, 1597. Lugduni.

would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his Morals hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonics, Stoics, and other philosophers, and in general by the Christian church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in its first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience, and in the religion and law is taught elsewhere; and this I dare say, that a virtuous man may not only go securely through all the religions, but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meet, obtain both an inward peace and outward welcome among all with whom he shall negotiate or converse. This virtue, therefore, I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter: there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can; so that if human frailty do interrupt this union, by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repentance, to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest, trust to the mercy of God, his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will, I doubt not, commiserate those transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his Divine Majesty, and together rectify our understanding through his grace; since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived, by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us; wherein, though it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite Majesty and Power, yet as, upon better consideration, he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance, yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; though I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despiteful and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposedly, and with an high hand against the eternal Majesty of God; so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe, either, that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say, sold ingeniously over to sin) God's mercy will accept of their endeavours to return into a right way, and so make their peace with him by all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of virtue, as the most necessary knowledge and useful exercise of man's life, I shall observe, that even in the employing of our virtues, discretion is required; for every virtue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore, though a wary and discreet wisdom be most useful where no imminent danger appears, yet, where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing. On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, &c. since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one, or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of persons forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me; for though whensoever my honour hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where, with my honour I could forgive, I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies will inflict * so much the more punishment on them; and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me:—

1. That he that cannot forgive others, breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man had need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an entire and accomplished virtue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deeds in others amounteth to no less than virtue in us; that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man; for, though when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself. And these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness; whereof, though I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbours, have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby; since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise would have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper; as on the other side, a foolish pity is not to be preferred before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parsimony or frugality is more requisite; as on the other side it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare where expending of

* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment, on the hope of its being doubled? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakspeare is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that he will not kill the King at his prayers, lest he send him to Heaven.—"And so am I revenged." Such sentiments should always be marked and condemned, especially in authors, who certainly do not mean to preach up malice and revenge. His Lordship's other reasons are better founded, though still selfish. He does not appear a humane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, though he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of virtue consists in doing right though to one's own prejudice.

money would acquire unto him advantage, credit or honour; and this rule in general ought to be practised, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That, therefore, wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving them as unto her members life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue, on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrained to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question; among which yet temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace; for, as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond unless it is polished and cut out into its due angles, and a foil be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate its native lustre and rays; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colours which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and recommendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to every body; there being no true use of speech, but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily; there being no little vigour and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided; it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or inkhorn; so that, in general, one may observe, that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtful of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with its due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece which may perchance contain a baser metal under it; and prefer a well-favoured wholesome woman, though with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's wit is best shewed in his answer, and his valour in his defence; that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts, which are or can be made against him, so it will be fitting to debate and resolve beforehand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, lest otherwise you should be surprised. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak; neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations, but that a middle style will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live; as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak, so that he that could attain most wisdom and power, would quickly rule his fellows; for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand; which was anciently the office of the constables de France. In law also the judge is in a sort superior to his king as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity also, he to whom the king commits the charge of his conscience, is his superior in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a wilful obstinacy be interposed; in which case recourse must be had to strength, where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian. As for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful; howbeit, I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order.

That dancing may be learnt first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, in so much as they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies, more than any others, who, standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joints or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only, that when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and graceful, that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is, how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter.

how to put off and hold his hat; all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man should learn (but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age) is fencing; for the attaining of which the Frenchman's rule is excellent, *bon pied bon œil*, by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their feet when they would make a thrust against their enemy, lest either should overstride themselves, or, not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home. The second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixed eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy that lieth naked and open to him.

The good fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a foyle or fleuret to their scholars, tell him it hath two parts, one of which he calleth the fort or strong, and the other the foyble or weak. With the fort or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the sword about a third part of the whole length thereof, he teacheth his scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the thrusts and blows of his enemy; and with the other two third parts to strike or thrust as he shall see occasion; which rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his enemy doth, and briefly to take his measure and time upon his adversary's motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use both in the fleuret, or foyle, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequel of my life. And, indeed, I think I shall not speak vain-gloriously of myself, if I say, that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions; since I found no man could be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man, as giving his rider all the advantages of which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion for the overcoming of his enemy, in so much, that a good rider on a good horse, is as much above himself and others as this world can make him. The rule for graceful riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod over the left ear of his horse, which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot, and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right foot and help of his rod also (if needs be,) to turn him on the left hand; but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions, than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being sufficient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way. That a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sidewards, it will be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a touch upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup to make him go sideway either way, without either advancing forward, or returning backwards.

The most useful *aer*, as the Frenchmen term it, is territerr; the courbettes, cabrioes, or *un pas et un soult*, being fitter for horses of parade and triumph than for soldiers; yet I cannot deny but a demivolte with courbettes, so that they be not too high, may be useful in a fight or meslee; for, as Labroue hath it in his book of horsemanship, Monsieur de Montmorency having a horse that was excellent in performing the demivolte, did with his sword strike down two adversaries from their horses in a tournay, where divers of the prime gallants of France did meet; for taking his time when the horse was in the height of his courbette, and discharging a blow, then his sword fell with such weight and force upon the two cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus. We had each of us a reasonable stiff riding rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other; he as the more expert sat still to pass me and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body; and he that can do this handsomely, is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant; and to get this advantage, which they call in French *gagner la crouppe*, nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward until his enemy be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary in the manner I formerly related; but of this art let Labroue and Pluvinel * be read, who are excellent masters in that art, of whom I must confess I learned much; though, to speak ingenuously, my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those *aers* of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts.

To make a horse fit for the wars, and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful: to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum. When he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender. You must also cause his groom to put on bright armour, and so to rub his heels and dress him. You must also present a sword before him in the said armour, and when you have done, give

* Antoine de Pluvinel, principal Ecuyer de Louis treize Roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French and Dutch, intituled, *Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval*. Paris, 1619. It consists of dialogues between the young King, the Duc de Bellegarde, and himself; and is adorned with a great number of beautiful cuts, by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the manege; and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that court.

him still some more provender. Lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armour must be fastened upon a stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible; which being done, the rider must put his horse on until he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down; which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in the field, and then the rider to put the horse to it until he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming; which you may do, either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer in a linen waistcoat and breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions; howbeit, I must confess, in my own particular, that I cannot swim; for, as I was once in danger of drowning, by learning to swim, my mother, upon her blessing, charged me never to learn swimming, telling me further, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it; which reason, though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback; they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long bow, as being both an healthful exercise and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it; for, bring an hundred archers against so many musqueteers, I say if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots, but two hits for one.

The exercises I do not approve of are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind; neither do I see why a brave man should delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge; it is enough, therefore, to know the sport, if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice; and, indeed, of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it. And upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling; so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn, are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them; or use to come to meetings in dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I could say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work would grow too big; and that many precepts conducing thereunto may be had in *Guazzo de la Civile Conversation*, and *Galeteus de Moribus*.

It would also deserve a particular lecture or *recherche*, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbours; and I am confident, that precepts in this point will be found more useful to young gentlemen, than all the subtleties of schools. I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here; because, if God grant me life and health, I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points. I shall return now to the narration of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house, and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate, or such young beginners as we were; especially, since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having either made no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, although she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters; which, to gratify my mother, as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far, as to give my six brothers thirty pounds a-piece yearly, during their lives, and my three sisters one thousand pound a-piece, which portions married them to those I have above mentioned. My younger sister, indeed, might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex, related in our history, followed; which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here. Not long after this, curiosity, rather than ambition, brought me to court; and, as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber, when she passed by to the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded, who is this? Every body there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter. The queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that, from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I attended my studies seriously; the more I learnt out of my books, adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged king, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his Majesty at Burley, near Stamford. Shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used; but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity. The Earl of Shrewsbury, seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me, and said, Cousin, I believe you will be

a good knight, and therefore I will put on your spur; whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knight errantry.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffety (in which habit I am painted in my study), and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall, with our esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or until some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, I will answer he shall prove a good knight. I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and, certainly, in most men's opinion, the handsomest,* took mine off, and said she would pledge her honour for mine. I do not name this lady, because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to silence; though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral, who went to Spain to take the king's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns. Howbeit, by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered; and, instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under sheriff, as also other places in my gifts freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life; in so much that when I was ambassador in France, and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part; although sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times. For, living with my wife in all conjugal loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608, my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florance, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that, although in their mere childhood, they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, well; I demanded then, whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would? whereupon, she replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told her, that, for my part, I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman; that our lives were in the hands of God; that, if he pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof, I thought fit to motion to her, that if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from three hundred pounds a year to one thousand, I would do the like. But my wife not approving hereof, answered, in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon, I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made; to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then, that I should make another motion to her; which was, that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above mentioned, I would never depart from her. She answered, that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she should be sorry I went beyond sea; nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries. So that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's, according to her father's desire to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her; reserving mine own, partly to pay my brothers and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign countries; especially, since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward; and now coming to court, I obtained a licence to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish, in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber, who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journeyed without any memorable adventure, until I came to Fauxbourg St. Germans in Paris, where Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the king, lived; I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Ventadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, Grand

* It is impossible, perhaps, at this distance of time, to ascertain who this lady was; but there is no doubt of her being the same person mentioned afterwards, whom he calls "the fairest of her time."

Constable de France. Many visits being exchanged between that duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about twenty-four miles from Paris; and here I found much welcome from that brave old General,* who being informed of my name, said he knew well of what family I was; telling, the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quintence, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William Earl of Pembroke, was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening, that a daughter of the duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady wearing a knot of ribband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and fastened it to his hatband. The young lady, offended herewith, demands her ribband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady, addressing herself to me, said, Monsieur, I pray get my ribband from that gentleman; hereupon, going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour, that I may deliver the lady her ribband or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me, Do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her? I replied, Nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force; whereupon also, putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and, after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the ribband on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, It was I that gave it. Pardon me, quoth she, it is he that gives it me. I said then, Madam, I will not contradict you; but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him. The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the ribband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath* taken when I was made knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also, that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen; one was in defence of my cousin Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir† * * * * * * * * * * * * sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered; and would have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister the Lady Jones of Abarmarlas. I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides. Hereupon, I coming to the King's Head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least an hundred persons, partly sent by the Lords of the Privy Council, who gave orders to apprehend me. I hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin, James Price of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spite of that multitude, made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us, while we got up on horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated; which I perceiving, rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go any where rather than to follow me. Riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there; which, as I heard afterwards, happened because the Lords of the Council, taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his Majesty's name not to fight with me; since otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a ribband in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore, a maid of honour, as was done from the young lady above mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich, she likewise desired me to get her the said ribband; I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company

* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the great Constable Anne de Montmorency, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis, 1567, and brother of Duke Francis, another renowned warrior and statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. He was made constable by Henry IV. though he could neither read nor write, and died in the habit of St. Francis, 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate Duke Henry, the last of that illustrious and ancient line, who took for their motto, *Dieu ayde au premier Chretien*. The Duchess of Ventadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, second daughter of the Constable, and wife of Anne de Levi, Duke of Ventadour.

* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age calling itself enlightened still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connection with any thing holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It would be more strange, if every knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a Miss lost her top-knot!

† This space is left blank, because there is certainly something wanting in the original.

came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed, by Hyde Park; but this also was interrupted by order of the Lords of the Council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together, both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held myself to my oath of knighthood; since, for the rest, I can truly say, that, though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for my own sake; so that, although in mine own nature I was ever choleric and hasty, yet I never without occasion quarrelled with any body, and as little did any body attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself; but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave Constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases, which were well stored with wild boar and stag; and that I might hunt them when I pleased. He told me also, that if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France; and that his escuyer, called Monsieur de Disancour, not inferior to Pluvenel or Labrove, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses; and, as for hunting in his forests, I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game. He commanded also his escuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear; there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duel.

Mennon desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him: "Friend, it is not time yet to marry; I will tell you what you must do. If you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and engender two or three children, so the world will neither have got nor lost by you;" of which strange counsel Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example at least of the former part; it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now, as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoon I many times went a hunting, the manner of which was this: The Duke of Montmorency having given orders to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a hunting, they, upon my summons, usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and muskets, to the number of sixty or eighty, and sometimes one hundred or more persons; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and beating their said drums, we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds to the number of twenty or thirty, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood. If stags or wild boars came forth, we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts; the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run fast, yet would fight with our dogs; the grey hound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, although when he was overtaken, easily killed by us, without making much resistance. Of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner. The boar being roused from his den, fled before our dogs for a good space; but finding them press him hard, turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously: I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be. The boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endangered my horse; which I perceiving, rid a little out of the way, and leaving my horse with my lackey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs, and here happened a pretty kind of fight; for, when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in, and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving, ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chase Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend; yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle Sir Francis Newport in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having past a whole summer, partly in these exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly; which, for its extraordinary fairness and situation, I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds in a country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencies, to ease the river of this labour, made divers channels through this rock to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures, and statues; all which buildings united as I formerly

told, were encompassed about with water, which was paved with stone, (those which were used in the building of the house were drawn from thence.) One might see the huge carps, pike, and trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily; yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the house. For being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwood, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag, and roe deer, was cut out into long walks every way; so that, although the dogs might follow their chase through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art, that they led to all the parts in the said forest; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son, the Duke of Montmorency, succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labyrinth; telling me I should look upon what side the trees were roughest and hardest, which being found, I might be confident that part stood northward, which being observed, I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand; and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert. Charles V. the great emperor, passing in the time of Fransoy I. from Spain into the Low Countries, by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house, by a duke of Montmorency, who was likewise constable de France; after he had taken this palace into his consideration, with the forests adjoining, said he would willingly give one of his provinces in the Low Countries for such a place; there being, as he thought, nowhere such a situation.

Henry IV. also was desirous of this house, and offered to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than his estate thereabouts was worth; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer: *Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge;* which in English sounds thus: Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you.

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attained, as was thought, the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at St. Ilee,* and, after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris; whereupon, the good old prince embracing me, and calling me his son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify his love and esteem for me; telling me further, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me. From hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection; whereupon also a genet, for which the Duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there five hundred crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value, to him, but that I thought them too mean a present; but the Duke also suspecting that I meant to do so, prevented me, saying, that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital, while I stayed in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him; I told the messenger I should strive both that way and every way else to declare my thankfulness, and so dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the Lord Ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar Isaac Cawsabon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself; besides I did apply myself much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry IV., who upon information of me in the garden at the Thuilleries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret, at the Hostel called by her name; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another who was wont to have that favour. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person; when he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, *C'est Monsieur Balagny*, or, it is Monsieur Balagny; whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen one after another invite him to sit near them, and, which is more, when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, you have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now; at which bold civility of theirs, though I was astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth. Informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour. This cavalier, though his head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years; whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt

* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

him and me at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having passed thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them) we came on our way as far as Dieppe in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night; the master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought, by the course of his glasses, we were near approached; and now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover rising by times in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards; we coming thus in extreme danger straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it; the master said, *Mes amies nous sommes perdus;* or, my friends, we are cast away; when myself, who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick) and climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover having this sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offered to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword; whereupon a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half-dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bid the shallop make away for shore, and the rather that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, where, falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not on the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us, had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two, unto the land. I must confess myself, as also the seamen that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt; but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave thirty pounds towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing, he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London, and afterwards to court, I kissed his majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her majesty from the Princess of Conti, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person: but her majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more at large with me at some other time; for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit, not many weeks after, I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished. No horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten, that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse; his true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by me,

Me totum bonitas bonum suprema
Reddas; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.

This horse as soon as ever I came to the stable would neigh, and when I drew nearer him would lick my hand, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me 200*l.* for this horse, which, though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus: hearing that a war about the title of Cleave, Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low Countries and Germany should be made by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself would come with a great army into those parts; it was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandois * and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege; making all haste thither, we found the siege newly begun; the Low Country army assisted by 4000 English under the command of Sir Edward Cecill. We had not been long there, when the Marshal de Chartres, instead of Henry IV. who was killed by that villain Ravailliac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

My Lord Chandois lodged himself in the quarters where Sir Horace Vere was; I went and quartered

* Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos, made a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York 1604; and called, for his hospitality and magnificence, the King of Kotswold.

with Sir Edward Cecill, where I was lodged next to him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches; we making our approaches to the town on one side, and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch; we lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about 4000 men, besides the burghers; Sir Edward Cecill, (who was a very active general) used often during the siege to go in person in the night time, to try whether he could catch any sentinels perdues; and for this purpose still desired me to accompany him; in performing whereof, both of us did much hazard our lives, for the first sentinel retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us, before we could do anything, though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecill and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecill and divers English and French captains then present, said, *Monsieur, on dit, que vous êtes un des plus braves de vôtre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui faira le mieux;* they say you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best; whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow him, both of us in the meanwhile striving who should be foremost, which being perceived by those of the bulwark and cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, *Par Dieu il fait bien chaud*, it is very hot here. I answered briefly thus: *Vous en irez primier, autrement je n'iray jamais;* you shall go first, or else I will never go; hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again; which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during the siege; but do forbear, lest I should relish too much of vanity: it shall suffice, that my passing over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts, master of arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden,* eldest son to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family; howbeit, to avoid misreports, I have thought fit to set it down truly. That lord having been invited to a feast in Sir Horace Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecill's quarters, at which time I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving, did more than half-way meet him; but the company were so vigilant upon us, that before any blow past we were separated; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him, that if he had any thing to say to me, I would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us. Shortly after this Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my Lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword; and, said he, I will be his second; where is yours? I replied, that neither his Lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself: howbeit, as soon as he shewed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot; whereupon both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time, break of day, the next morning: I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rid on; and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who, I know, will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side; but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted lest the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the meantime to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far, when by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where finding in a stable a very fair horse of service I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money; but a soldier replying it was their captain's, Sir James Areskin's, chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me; this lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man; I told him that I would very fain buy a horse, and, if it were possible, the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands 100 pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me-

* Theophilus, Lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was Knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover Castle, and Captain of the Band of Pensioners.

suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse. I told him I would use no second, and I desired him to accept 100 pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he should hear from me shortly again; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should ever more rest much obliged to him; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse, and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there till morning; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who I heard afterwards was sent by the lady of Walden, who as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place. About two hours after Sir William St. Leiger, now lord president of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were thirty or forty sent after us, to hinder us from meeting; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden; I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French quarters, till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew how bravo a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another; saying I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his; Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, If we shall try who is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man; and that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel; I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier; to which he answering nothing, I rid my ways, and afterwards went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden. I came no sooner thither, but I found Sir Thomas Sommerset* with eleven or twelve more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarrelling with the Lord of Walden; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lackey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw, but he drew his, and also all the company with him; I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular, put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside; but I, recovering myself again, ran at him a second time, which he perceiving, retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him; but they being all at last got within the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and every body preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword; but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him.)

After having taken leave of his Excellency Sir Edward Cecill, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was, either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake, or if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him. Having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be. Lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back,

* He was third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal to Queen Elizabeth and King James. Sir Thomas was Master of the Horse to Queen Anne, was made a Knight of the Bath in 1604, and Viscount Somerset of Cassel in Ireland.

met in a cross street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying diverse of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St. Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the chirurgeons there; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied, (as Hamilton told me afterwards,) I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter past; whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business past, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorp, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of losing his place, and desired me to make means to his excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone; I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussels; and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there, when the Lords of the Council sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city; many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard Earl of Dorset* to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset-house, where bringing me into his gallery, and shewing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta, and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture; whereupon demanding how his Lordship came to have it, he answered, that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my departure to the Low Countries for Sir Thomas Lucy. But not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person† than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres, knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac* the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner; which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to any thing which might wrong him or his lady; since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me. It is true, that as she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was beside of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person; howbeit little more than common civility ever passed betwixt us, though I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall allege this passage:—

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her through the curtains lying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me; myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion than I could have easily believed, especially since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her: I could willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed: howsoever, yet I must before the Eternal God clear her honour. And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingenuously, because that affection passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health; being thus upon my amendment, the Lord Lisle† afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person; the same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy Countess of Bedford,‡ and the

* Richard Sackville Earl of Dorset, grandson of the Treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

† This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears from the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

* Isaac Oliver.

† Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney.

‡ Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the wits and poets of that age.

Lady Hobby* shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof; howbeit, if he had anything to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs; Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could, since, as he said, though falsely, I had whored his wife. Finding no means thus to surprise me, he sent me a letter to this effect; that he desired to meet me somewhere and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolved to assassinate me in this manner; hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback with two lackeys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland-yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall-gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone; my horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword. His men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me; which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger; instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt. Hereupon some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, ride away, ride away; but I, scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I could from my horse. I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand. Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs, pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head; one of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup, the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault. This gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon. Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends, or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk. Observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres; but he, knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceived but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards. His men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them; a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also. All I could well do to those two which remained was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab with his dagger, on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger, so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Faulkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out. This while I being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me; for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times. His friends now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carried him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him. His servants, brother, and friends, being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons; having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble

* Probably Anne, second wife of Sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden

visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley * to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though I thought he had not so much honour left in him, that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand: the answer that he sent me was, that I had whored his wife, and that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him and the company then present.

The lords of the privy council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres; when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published every where, that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honour, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt the Lady Crook, to this purpose: that her husband Sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever whored her; but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely as I was going to the council table before the lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his quarrel against me, found him still persist in his wife's confession of the fact; and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the Duke of Lennox,† afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner; I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room. This letter being publicly read by a clerk of the council, the Duke of Lennox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living; for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof; for all which reasons, he commanded me, in the name of his majesty and all their lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting, which commandment I observed. Howbeit I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would, I believe, have cut him into pieces, but that I hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free out of the town; which courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me, the news thereof was carried, I know not how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatched a gentleman with a letter to me, which I keep, and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his own son; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman, that the duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publicly declare themselves, which indeed was true, and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, That I rendered most humble thanks for his great favour in sending to me; that no enemies, how great or many soever, could force me out of the kingdom; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come; for performance whereof, it happening there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman who attended me unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over 100 horse at my own cost and charges to him, which that good old duke and constable took so kindly, that, as the duchess of Antador,* his daughter, told me afterwards, when I was ambassador, there were few days till the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I past my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favours than I desired, and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident; but only that it happened one time going from St. Gillian's to Abergaveney, in the way to Montgomery Castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse, but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream. My servants that were before me seeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand. Coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that perchance the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his council, and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did

* Knight of the Bath and Master of the Mint.

† Lodowic Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, was Lord Steward of the Household, and Knight of the Garter.

* Ventadour.

formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon I remember cost me 40*l.* and was the same horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim excellently well, carrying me and his back above water; whereas that little nag upon which Richard Griffiths rid, swam so low, that he must needs have drowned, if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my cousin Fowler of the Grange, because it is memorable. I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrooke, which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge not far from the middle; my horse, although lusty, yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a sudden he had put half his body lengthways over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his fore-foot and hinder-foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapt my left foot, together with the stirrup and spur, flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence, after some three or four plunges, he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood that the Low Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat anywhere but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a waggon, after the Low Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders, who expected that honour. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honour nor their monastery, whereupon I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted; but, said he, we will go and see them ourselves; and thus his excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his excellency marched with his army on till we came near the city of Emerick, which upon summoning yielded. And now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march towards Rice;* this place having the Spanish army, under the command of Monsieur Spinola, on the one side, and the Low Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that whichsoever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency, that if we intended to take Rice, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, till he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field. While his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leapt over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they could, believing perchance that more would follow me; having thus past to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting as I could perceive. In the meantime, his excellency having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were come according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army: his excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front with his army into the middle of the field, from whence sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, in so much that I was without any meat but what my footman spared me out of his pocket; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a waggon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rice, into which his excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way entrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this betwixt those two great generals for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favour his excellency did me at this time; for a soldier having killed his fellow soldier, in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him; the poor fellow comes to me, and desires me to beg his life of his excellency; whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I lose my life! This piece of eloquence moved me so much, that I went straight to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton,* as also Sir Edward Cecill, and Sir

* Rees, in the duchy of Cleve, near Emerick.

* Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He

Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders; to whom his excellency turning himself said, in French, Do you see this cavalier? with all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier; though I had never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request; so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes from the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, That if any cavalier in our army would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard would meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge being brought early in the morning, was accepted by nobody till about ten or eleven of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went straight to his excellency, and told him I desired to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind; one was of those who, having lost perchance some part of their honour in the field against the enemy, would recover it again by a single fight. The other was of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind; howbeit, if this man was a person, without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew, upon whom he would sooner venture the honour of his army than myself; and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, That if the person who would be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I would answer him with such weapons as we should agree upon, in the place he offered; but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army, when another trumpeter came to ours from Spindla, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he would not permit it. This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, this is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recal it. I should be glad if I knew the true causes of it. Sir, said I, if you will give me leave, I will go to their army, and make the like challenge as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in their own: his excellency said, I should never have persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honour. Hereupon taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir Humphrey Tufton,* a brave gentleman, to bear me company, thus we two, attended only with two lackies, rode straight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel, coming thither without any disturbance, by the way I was demanded by the guard at the entering into their camp, with whom I would speak; I told them with the Duke of Newbourg; whereupon a soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, who remembering me well, since he saw me at the siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me, and therewithal demanding the cause of my coming thither; I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down: to which he replied only, he would acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith; who coming shortly after to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner entered but he turned to me and said, that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the Prince of Orange's camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I should be better welcome to him than I would be, and thereupon intreated me to come and dine with him; I, finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer, and so attended him to his tent, where a brave dinner being put upon his table, he placed the Duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself sitting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his carver offered him. He demanded of me then in Italian, *Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere;* of what died Sir Francis Vere? I told him, *Per aver niente à fare*, because he had nothing to do; Spinola replied, *E basta per un Generale*, and it is enough to kill a general; and indeed that brave commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war but of peace.

Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an army against the infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that would die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications, as well as I could; and so returning shortly after to his excellency, related to him the success of my journey. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence, after a night's stay, I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kysarswert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way. From hence I went to Cullin,* where, among other things, I saw the monastery of St. Herbert; from hence I went to Heydelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom, having received much good usage, I went to Ulme, and so to Augsbourg, where extraordinary honour was done me; for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flaggons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me; and withal some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and

had been attainted with the Earl of Essex, but was restored by King James, and made Knight of the Garter.

* Third son of Sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas Earl of Thanet.

* Cologne.

from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton,* with much honour; among other favours shewed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who, being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a room opposite unto the cloister, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she departed, neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her, for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we had both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, *Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni facia per esser un angelo;* die whensoever you will, you will neither need to change voice, nor face, to be an angel: these words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford † and Sir Benjamin Rudier: ‡ having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by virtue of a tincture into which it was put, I went to Siena, and from thence a little before the Christmas holidays to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English college, where, demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language, I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town. The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard any body before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honour; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion, received none; whereupon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only; lest they should think me a factious person, I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides are greater bonds of amity betwixt us than that the points disagreed on could break them; that for my part I loved every body that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors, on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences; the articles of confession and absolving sinners being a greater *arcanum imperii* for governing the world, than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum. After that I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly; which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a bye way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English college telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse, and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence. I saw Sir Robert Dudley,* who had the title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the emperor, and handsome Mrs. Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town; taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning; when I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I would accept the same pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand ducats per annum, the duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Sigr. Loty, my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honour, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his excellency in the Low Country war.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries. I went by boat to Venice. The lord ambassador,

* Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, Secretary of State, and Viscount Dorchester.

† Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625, of a sickness contracted at the siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

‡ Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue, in that age, a wit, and poet, and intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose poems Sir Benjamin's are printed.

* See an account of this extraordinary person in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. Handsome Mrs. Sudel was Mrs. Southwell, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, who had followed Sir Robert Dudley rom England, under the disguise of a page.

Sir Dudley Carlton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there. Here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner; another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did; hereupon also being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw no body, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done; her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she shewed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas, consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table; the meat in it being heightened up artificially, pyramid-wise, to a sparrow which was on the top. The second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark. The third was in sweetmeats dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the duke was then in war; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me from the Duke,* and brought a letter to this effect: That the duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him I should make my own conditions. Finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the duke's charges in the English ambassador's house. The duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carnival, when the duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which his own daughters, among divers other ladies, danced; and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians. He did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct 4,000 men of the reformed religion, who had promised their assistance in his war, unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about 70*l.* or 80*l.* among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heydelberg, which I granted, on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated; for though the duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney; and, finally, every single person by the poll, which amounted to a pistole, or 14*s.* a head or person, yet he wanted money; at which I did not so much wonder as at the patience of his subjects, of whom I demanded how they could bear their taxations? I have heard some of them answer, We are not so much offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us.

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight when the count and I came near a solitary inn, on the top of a mountain; the hostess hearing the noise of horses, came out with a child new-born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand: she presently knowing the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, Ah, Signior, you are come in a very ill time, the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing I looked sadly upon the count, when he coming near to me whispered me in the ear, and said, It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done: go you into the house, and see whether you can find anything; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken; entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, I protest before God that is true which I told the count, here is nothing to eat; but you are a gentleman, methinks it is pity you should want; if you please I will give you some milk out of my breasts,

* Charles Emanuel.

into a wooden dish I have here. This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of any thing. My answer was, God forbid I should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms; howbeit, I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of; and therewithal, giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of 14s., Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again and rid another post, and came to an inn, where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there a while; and the rather, to speak truly, that I had heard divers say, and particularly Sir John Finnet* and Sir Richard Newport,† that the host's daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn, the Count Scarnafigi wished me to rest two or three hours, and he would go before to Lyons to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc. The host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered that she was gone to a marriage, and should be presently sent for, wishing me in the meanwhile to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards, I found her sitting by me, attending when I would open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description: Her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that a curious woman would have dressed it, for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small ribband of a naccarine, or the colour that the Knights of the Bath wear, gave a very graceful mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them not unlike that which the ribband which tied up her hair exhibited; I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth, or whiter teeth; briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other, neither was there anything that could be misliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which yet from the shadow was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks. Her gown was a green Turkey grogram, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth, everywhere with the same ribband, with which her hair was bound; so that her attire seemed as bizare as her person. I am too long in describing an host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other beauties, held to be the best and fairest of the time, whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility; and indeed, after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went straight to Lyons. Entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went? to which, while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a paper he had in his hand. This having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture; for the Queen-mother of France having newly made an edict, that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet,* French ambassador of Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men. I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me, apparelled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came? I answered, from Turin. He demanded then, whither I would go? I answered, I was not yet resolved. His third question was, what news at Turin? to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church, brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor; I replied, I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville† (now Earl of Dorset) hearing only that an Englishman was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor, not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my

* Master of the ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Bradford.

* This gentleman, I believe, was husband of Madam de Rambouillet, whose assemblies of the wits and poets were so much celebrated in that age. They were parents of the famous Julie d'Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier, well-known by Voiture's Letters to her.

† Well-known by his duel with the Lord Bruce.

short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer (after he had a little touched upon both) as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me embraced me, saying, Ned Herbert, what doest thou here? I answered, Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here. He again said, hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy? I replied, not so much as one; then, said he, I will warrant thee, though I must tell thee the governor is much offended at thy behaviour and language in the church; (I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore). I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed. Hereupon returning to the governor, he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only: That it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages past, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with t em to the governor. Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him? when his noble lady, answering for me, said, how could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you? which civility of hers, though I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him, he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The governor turning back, I likewise, after an humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do; I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous language, that he could not refuse it: Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and indeed the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect: That whereas he had given me great offence, without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honour on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding nobody in town for two or three days by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me; I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they would never refuse or dislike any thing that was done in an honourable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door, which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they would break it; besides, through the chinks thereof I saw light. This made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door, and demanded who they were; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half-a-dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I drest myself, and went with them. They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency, and divers other cavaliers, had been dancing with the ladies; I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office; nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I could reasonably desire. Hereupon, bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me that now he knew who I was, he could do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction: the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, *C'est assez;* it is enough. I then

turning to him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case? He said, yes. After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments past between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries, but that wheresoever I was I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flaggons of wine, desiring me (if I staid there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest; which was on the hilly part, where indeed they had made great fortifications; yet as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied, that divers great soldiers had told them the same; and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physic (my health being a little broken with long travel) I departed, after a fortnight's stay, to Basil, where taking a boat upon the river, I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heydelberg, where I was received again by the Prince Elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other raritics of that place; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandelands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence Sir George Calvert* and myself went by water, for the most part, to the Low Countries, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange past his time at playing at chess with me after dinner; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great horses; or in making love; in which also he used me as his companion, yet so that I saw nothing openly, more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavour to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him that if he would send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, that he expected money in England, and that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would pay an hundred horse. But a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompence.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards secretary of state, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again. Returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now, after some three or four days, the wind serving, he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, insomuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high, and together contrary; we were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape; saying, he believed certainly, that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven, when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer; hiring a small bark, therefore, I went to the Sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company, I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted: sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me, or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters in Italian, Spanish, and French; and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of king James, my master, in a very scornful manner; I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, *Son Inglese;* I am an Englishman; and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the King my master; and therewithal turning myself to those who had injured the king, I said, You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all. Those at the

* Afterwards Lord Baltimore. See an account of him in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii.

upper end of the table, finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness, wherewith also the king's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to Calais; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea; howbeit, my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go? he answered, his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides, that it was old; but, saith he, I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service.

I was now scarce out of the haven, when a high grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best way we could; notwithstanding which, we expected every minute to be cast away; it pleased God yet, before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where, after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London. I had not been here ten days when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall: the good days I had during all this sickness, I employed in study, the ill being being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me. It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where, meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonour; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stept a little aside, and drew my sword in the street; Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, being not far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side. All that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I would offer to fight; howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk house, and afterwards informed the lords of the council of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight, being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favour: this cavalier meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanhope's * house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if, by his credit with the king, he could do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him, that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

* Catherine, daughter of Francis Lord Hastings, first wife of Philip Lord Stanhope, afterwards created Earl of Chesterfield.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the king having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him; the king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his privy council, who, confirming his majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them. Myself little knowing then the honour intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly? wishing him to tell the lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined when another messenger was sent; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of lord ambassador of France; I told their lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about six or seven hundred pounds, towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house; when the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself, my wife, and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another house not far off: as soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money; howsoever, I thought fit to rise, and go to the window to know who they were; the first word I heard was, Darest thou come down, Welchman? which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this country, some harsh words past betwixt us, which occasioned him, at the persuasion of others, whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge; this was brought me at my house in Blackfryars, by Captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday, about one of the clock in the afternoon.

When I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless that I would meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother Sir Henry Herbert, then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking boat presently, came to the place, where, after we had staid about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily; hereupon my brother went, and after a while, returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet; I attended then about an hour and a half longer, but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I catched cold, nevertheless that I would stay there till sunset: my brother yet could not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we staid together till half an hour after sun-set, and then returned home.

The next day the Earl of Worcester,* by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withal, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us, for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the clock; at which time, after the earl had told me, that being now made ambassador, and a public person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels; after which, without much ado, he ended the business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself. It was thought by some, that this would make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, told me he would warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants, as I think ever followed an ambassador; when some of my private friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman: coming to his house, I demanded whether he would help me with monies in France, as he had done the last ambassador; he said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was. Departing thus from him, I went to Sigr. Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honour, and I had kept my word with every body; whereupon also going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for 2000*l.* sterling: I then demanded what security he expected for this money? he said, he would have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey; the day I went out of London I remember was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial, which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honour her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage formerly mentioned came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment. I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet, in Paris; I asked then what they were worth? he said, above one hundred thousand pounds sterling; I demanded for how much this letter of credit was? he said, for as much as I should have need of: I asked what security he required? he said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of an hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap. From whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence, to St. Dennis near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches that were sent to receive me, as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion, and therefore intreated him to stay till some more convenient time: the secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit, that his respect to me was such, that he would prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations; howsoever I put him off till Monday following.

Not long after, I took a house in Fauxbourg St. Germains, Rue Tournon, which cost me 200*l.* sterling yearly; having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was: being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen, which being granted, I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry the Fourth and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child: I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms; and therefore that it were a great fault in me, if I

* Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, lord privy seal and knight of the garter.

behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his majesty: this being done, I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master: the king assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my particular welcome to his court: his words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while before he could speak so much as one word; he had besides a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted; neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or hernioeus; for he was noted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lackies, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold: his understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incidental to all who were ignorantly brought up—suspicion and dissimulation; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles by which they should govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which, though it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negociate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps: howbeit, I must observe, that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion; his favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his non-age gained much upon the king, by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butter-flies; and had the king used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom, repined that his advices to the king should be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea? And thus much for the present of the king and his favourite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from the queen, being sister to the king of Spain; I had little to say unto her, but some compliments on the king my master's part; but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the house of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause would bear. She had now been married divers years without having any children, though so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she shewed publicly at my audiences that favour to me, as not only my servants, but divers others took notice of it. After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place concerning my negociation with the king and state, my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my despatches in a great trunk, in my house in London; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed with my Lord of Buckingham, and others, through France into Spain; and the business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment; I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing, to them who have it not from a better hand. I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expenses of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts, after the French manner, and after all this, a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly. The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years: I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man; my chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low Countries; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France. The gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a thousand horse, in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman. Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver; Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under-secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the lord chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland; I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris, the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckly coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pont Neuf, only because he was an Englishman: nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch, that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day that my cousin, Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion. It happened my cousin, Oliver Herbert, had for his opposite a fencer belonging to the Prince of Conde, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the house, or hostel, of the Prince of Conde was not far off, and himself well beloved in these quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates; I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered. Howsoever, the Prince of Conde, his fencer, was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer 200 crowns, or 60*l.* sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted. Removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montaterre of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate. In both their castles, likewise, were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement, when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission; nevertheless the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the meanwhile Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him no less than to his brother in the Low Countries. This prince, and all his train, were feasted by me at Paris with one hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all, 100*l.*

The French king at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony, betwixt the two crowns above mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage, that I remember it cost me one way or another above 1000*l.* And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof. This being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without entering yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negociation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits. The like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom the Venetian, Low Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany, ambassadors, did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my house, to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time: for as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect an universal monarchy, all the above-mentioned ambassadors did, in one common interest, strive to oppose him. All our endeavours yet could not hinder, but that he both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over, by letters of exchange, the monies the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France; for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors above mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail: though yet afterwards we found means together to reduce affairs to their former train; until some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all. Howbeit divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself; in one of which he told me, that though our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; for, said he, it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master. I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him, that I would maintain the dignity of the king my master the best I could: and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English, in the time of Henry IV., in this fashion: They both meeting in an antichamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador, leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly, I hold this place in the right of the king my master; which small punctilio being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag, that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchful to regain the honour which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein; so that though the ambassador, in his visits, often repeated the words above mentioned, being in Spanish, *Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo*, Let every man do the best he can for his master, I attended the occasion to right my master. It happened one day, that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador, between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons

on horseback, I following him in my coach, with about ten or twelve horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hasted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honour of the king my master some way or other, demanding further, whether they would assist me? which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on. The Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me; which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who, alighting from his coach, attended me in the middle of the highway; which being perceived by me I alighted also, when, some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretence of making water, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach; which being observed by me, I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, though yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another, in a confused manner: my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it. It happened this while, that one of my coach-horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe could not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront. Attending, therefore, the smith's leisure, he staid in the highway, to our no little admiration, until my horse was shoed. We continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I should scarce have mentioned this passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their pundonores; for confirming whereof I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip II. King of Spain, who, finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he could not agree with the French ambassador about some such pundonore as this, said to him, *Como a dexado una cosa di importancia per una ceremonia!* How have you left a business of importance for a ceremony! The ambassador boldly replied to his master, *Como por una ceremonia! Vuessa Majesta misma no es sino una ceremonia;* How, for a ceremony? your majesty's self is but a ceremony.

Howsoever, the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publicly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, till he could find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I rendered to the grandees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf. His first words to me were, Monsieur, you must do me the honour to speak high, for I am deaf: my answer to him was, You was born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have ears to hear you. This compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which, though they may seem scarce credible, yet, before God, are true: I had been now in France about a year and a half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly of Basil, who now lives in Blackfryars, demanded of me half a yard of satin, to make me a suit, more than I was accustomed to give; of which I required a reason, saying I was not fatter now than when I came to France. He answered, it was true, but you are taller; whereunto, when I would give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places. I told him I knew not how this happened; but howsoever he should have half a yard more, and that when I came into England I would clear the doubt; for a little before my departure thence, I remember William Earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together, at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger. At my return, therefore, into England, I measured again with the same earl, and, to both our great wonders, found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger; which growth of mine I could attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented, and do still repent of; but as my wife refused to come over, and my temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable. Howsoever I can say truly, that, whether in France or England, I was never in a bawdy-house, nor used my pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that dissimulation and falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women. To conclude this passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again, before God, that I never delighted in that or any other sin; and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater ill; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I should have fallen into no extravagancy. I could extenuate my fault by telling circumstances which would have operated, I doubt, upon the chastest of mankind; but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of; for though the philosophers have accounted this act to be *inter honesta factu*, where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the *turpia dictu*. I shall, therefore, only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed. I had also, and have still, a pulse on the crown of my head. It is well known to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body, are sweet, beyond what either easily can be be-

lieved, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which, towards my latter time, I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrhs, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and king James being that pacific prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negociations I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calm weather one might find all the noble and good company in Paris, of both sexes, either in the garden of the Thuilleries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes; they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome clothes, and a good equipage. When foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each other's houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard music, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that country, all the reasonable liberties they could with their honour, while their manner was, either in the garden of the Thuilleries, or elsewhere, if any one discoursing with a lady did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he would leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also, and going to some other that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part; neither was exception made, or quarrel begun, upon these terms.

It happened one day, that I being ready to return from the Thuilleries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a despatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the garden; I staid on one side of an alley, there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen perceiving me, staid a while, as if she expected I should attend her; but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her, but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present despatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her; whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the duchess; but the queen then also staying, I left the princess, and, with all due humility, went to the queen, and led her by the arms, walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here discoursing with her majesty bareheaded, some small shot fell on both our heads; the occasion whereof was this: the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us; the queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him, came to the queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur le Grand,* who, finding the queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again; turning hereupon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was could find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her, and came home. All which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be paralleled.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Conde coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the king my master, in whom, though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing: I answered that it was out of his gentleness; but the prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness? I replied, yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luynes† continuing still the king's favourite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France, saying, he would neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor could justly style himself the Most Christian King, as long as he permitted such heretics to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by public edict were assigned to them; and therefore that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countries, as we may find in their histories. This counsel, though approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the chancellor Sillery, and the president Jannin, who thought better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luynes

* Roger duc de Bellegarde, grand Escuyer.
† Charles Albret, Duc of Luynes.

was applauded, not only by the Jesuit party in France, but by some princes, and other martial persons, insomuch that the Duke of Guise* coming to see me one day, said, that they should never be happy in France, until those of the religion were rooted out: I answered, that I wondered to hear him say so; and the duke demanding why, I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom, would be next; and that, though the present king were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants, when they had nothing to fear; which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke of Guise first of them all; so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervour; neither could I dissuade it, although using, according to the instructions I had from the king my master, many arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where, they observed, we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, music in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God, and giving honour and reward to learning, they could much better have tolerated it; but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved; whereunto I answered, that, though the causes of departing from the Church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate; which reason I found did not displease them. I added further then, that the reformed religion in France would easily enough admit an hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholics had, they would use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and choirs of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion. As for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons and ministers of their religion would approve it much better than the common people, who, being labourers, and artizans for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman Catholics for getting their living; howsoever, that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman Catholic priests, if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions; it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman Catholics had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of their power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the king's authority in government of all affairs; whereas the other side held the regal power, not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal. Nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luynes or the king from their resolutions.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together, to let the French king know, that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandees of France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return any thing by way of answer but thanks. The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch, that by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St. Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances, that the effect of my negociation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither; howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to Monsieur de Luynes, by whom I should know his majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavours for those of the religion; for, hiding a gentleman, called Monsieur Arnaud, behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised a revolt to the king's side, this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers which Monsieur de Luynes made me. Sitting thus in a chair before Monsieur de Luynes, he demanded the effect of my business; I answered, that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms, which might stand with the honour of France, and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms; to which he returned this rude answer only: What hath the king your master to do with our actions? why doth he meddle with our affairs? My reply was, that the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit, if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction; to which, though he answered no more than the word *bien*, or well, I, pursuing my instruction, said, that the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry the Fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message; and that he had not only testi-

* Charles, son of Henry, Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.

fied this his pious inclination heretofore, in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to shew how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown. His reply to this was; We will have none of your advices: whereupon I said that I took those words for an answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good will of the king my master; and since they rejected it upon those terms, I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well what we had to do. Luynes seeming offended herewith, said, *Nous ne vous craignons pas*, or, we are not afraid of you. I replied hereupon, that if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but should have returned you another answer; in the meanwhile, that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was, that we knew what we had to do. This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, *Par Dieu, si vous n'éties Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traiterois d'un' autre sorte;* by God, if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another fashion. My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman; and therewithal, laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him, there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair; to which Monsieur de Luynes made no reply, but, arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony, after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him. From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline, in making approaches to towns; at what time I remember, that going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman, that he durst drive no farther; whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger; and notwithstanding many more shots made against me, went on foot to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, shewed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Country manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king, being at Cognac, the city of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him. Coming thus to a village not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers; so that alighting in the market-place, I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company, or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining: I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honour accept it, since I knew it would endanger him, my business to those parts being in favour of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being *jealous of my* holding intelligence with him; however, if he would procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly; whereupon, sending his servants round about the town, he found at last, in the house of one of his tenants, a chamber, to which, when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies, the king's soldiers, had possessed. All which was not so silently carried, but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court, upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luynes, who was the king's favourite, desiring me withal to advise what I had to do: I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had my sword by my side, and that I intended to demand audience of the king; which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, insomuch that I parted with his majesty, to all outward appearance, in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there, and noblemen, who either envied the greatness, or loved not the insolencies of Monsieur de Luynes; by whom also I was told, that the said Luynes had intended to send a brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect whereof should be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repealed; and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he would charge me with giving the first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would justify it with my sword; at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.*

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train, in a sumptuous manner and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchants, who had assisted me now with 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the Duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French Ambassador; to which when I had made my defence in the manner above related, I added, that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my sword; and shortly after, I did, in the presence of his Majesty and the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to Monsieur de Luynes, to offer him the combat, upon terms that passed betwixt us; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice

* Howell thus mentions the author's recall: "My Lord Hayes is by this time, 'tis thought, with the army; for Sir Edward Herbert is returned, having had some clashings and counterbuffs with the favourite Luynes, wherein he comported himself gallantly." *Familiar Letters*, Book I. Sect. 3. Letter V.

being publicly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me; but the duke of Luynes' death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the monies due to me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlisle* this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luynes and myself; Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch, that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message, that his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumspection, as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence, which besides that they would be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Christendom, and that these things, therefore, must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity. Whereupon I told his lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me; howbeit, that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power and latitude to err, and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events, in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his majesty did so much confide in me, that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion, promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to anything rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage; when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed; to which, though I answered that I had paid all, yet, as Monsieur Savage replied, that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he could furnish me with a letter only for three thousand pounds, and nevertheless, that he was confident I should have more if I required it, which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more, as made in the whole five or six thousand pounds.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, nobody that I found there being either offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luynes, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him: whereupon also, I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen, I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luynes? she replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, *No ay feurce por las a reynas;* there is no force for queens; at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all public affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honour me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negociations in the mean while proving so successful, that during the remainder of my stay there, his majesty received much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honour and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom; which work being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his majesty's ambassadors and agents everywhere gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts; insomuch, that from Sir Henry Wotton, his majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy; as also from Sir Isaac Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy, Valentina,* and Switzerland; from Sir Francis Nethersole, his majesty's agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes there, on the behalf of his son-in-law, the palatine, or king of Bohemia, I received all the news of Germany; from Sir Dudley Carlton, his majesty's ambassador in the Low Countries, I received intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state; and from Mr. William Trumball, his majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston, his majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him, from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had intelligence from the Spanish court: out of all whose relations being compared together, I found matter enough to direct my judgment in all public proceedings; besides, in Paris, I had the chief intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low Country ambassador, or Monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany, and Sigr. Contarini, ambassador for Venice, and Sigr. Guiscardi my particular friend, agent for Mantoua, and Monsieur Gueretin, agent for the palatine, or king, of Bohemia, and Monsieur Villers, for the Swiss, and Monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva, by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the queen of Bohemia, whose service

* James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, knight of the garter, master of the great wardrobe, and ambassador in Germany and France.

* The Valteline

they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I could: howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the Imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time, the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the Spaniard; to which I answered, God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the same which you are now; which speech of mine, being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countries should be but under the same severe government to which the Duke of Crouy, and those within the Spanish dominions, were subject.

It happened one day that the agent from Brussels, and ambassador from the Low Countries, came to see me, immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces, which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred, and galled; and that I thought the Low Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would; which freedom of mine displeased neither: or, if the Low Country ambassador did think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when, continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the united provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which compliment I found did please him.

About this time, the French being jealous that the king my master would match the prince, his son, with the king of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town; I told him, after a free and merry manner, he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuntio, the emperor's ambassador, the duke of Bavaria's agent, and others, having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to their's. Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said, I will dine with you yet; I told him, by his good favour, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boiled meat, and an oven, with store of pies in it, and a dresser board, covered with all manner of good fowl, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them after the French manner; after which, being conducted to another room, they were shewed a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table. The Spaniards returning now to Gondomor, told him what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomor again that I desired to be excused if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I should entertain him after a much better manner. Gondomor hereupon coming near me, said, he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under shew of civility; and that I ever should find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he could in England, which also he really performed, as the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Pembroke confirmed to me; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomor being an able person, and dexterous in his negociations, had so prevailed with King James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose, to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the match, when, after some debate whether he should go in a public or private manner, it was at last resolved, that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses, they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised among them whether they should send for me to attend them; after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets; and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended; besides, that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner: on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavoured to keep his journey as secret as possible; howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court, and city of Paris, without that any body did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales, but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him: the next day after, they took post horses, and held their way towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the prince? when I demanding what prince? for, said I, the Prince of Conde is yet in Italy; he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until with many oaths he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me in the meanwhile, on the part of the king my master, to serve his passage the best I could. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, to demand present audience; Puisieux hereupon intreated me to stay an hour, since he was in bed, and had some earnest business to dispatch for the king his master, as soon as he was ready; I returned answer, that I could not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside; this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber, where I attended him. His first words to me were, I know your business as well as you; your prince is departed this morning post to Spain; adding further, that I could demand nothing for the security of his passage, but it should be presently granted, concluding with these very words: *Vous serez servi au point nommé*, or, You shall be served in any particular you can name. I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised, he would see punctually performed; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I could demand more, than that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after, or interrupting him. He replied, that the prince should not be interrupted, though yet he could do no less than send to know what success the prince had in his journey. I was no sooner returned out of his chamber, but I dispatched a letter by post to the prince, to desire him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and that though the French secretary had promised he should not be interrupted, yet that they would send after his highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The prince, after some examination at Bayonne, (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the prince was) held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived. Many of the nobility, and others of the English court, being now desirous to see the prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom I acquainted his highness in Spain how much it grieved me that I had not seen his highness when he was in Paris, which occasioned his highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name, your friend Charles, in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his highness's arrival thither, though they were well known to me for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince. I had from her also, intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the pope, and the pope's messages to them; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his highness. Many judgments were now made concerning the event which this treaty of marriage was likely to have; the Duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was, *Un tiro di quelli cavallieri antichi che andavano cosi per il mondo a disfare li incanti*; that it was a trick of those ancient knight errants, who went up and down the world after that manner to undo enchantments; for as that duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the imperial house, he conceived that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the king my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France: howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, though how the match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplexed and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the prince taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St. Andrews in Spain, where, shipping himself, with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October, 1623; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done any thing to break his match elsewhere; I answered, that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, Père Segnerand, confessor to the king, made a sermon before his majesty upon the text, "That we should forgive our enemies," upon which argument, having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said, We were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God; such as were heretics, and particularly those of the religion; and that his majesty, as the most Christian king, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the queen mother without further ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I would, without demanding audience, and to tell her, that though I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because Père Segnerand, who had the charge of the king's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion, that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the king my master; I could not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her majesty well knew that a treaty of marriage betwixt our prince and the princess her daughter, was now begun, for which reason I could do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition she might please to give to Père Segnerand, or others that might speak to this

purpose. The queen, though she seemed very willing to hear me, yet handled the business so, that Père Segnerand was together informed who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distempered, that by one Monsieur Gaellac, a provençal, his own countryman, he sent me this message; that he knew well who had accused him to her majesty, and that he was sensible thereof; that he wished me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the world, he would hinder my fortune. The answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was, That nothing in all France but a friar or a woman durst have sent me such a message.

Shortly after this, coming again to the queen mother, I told her, that what I said concerning Père Segnerand, was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting message, adding, after a merry fashion, these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious, that his malice was beyond the malice of women: the queen, being a little startled hereat, said, *A moy femme, et parler ainsi?* To me a woman, and say so? I replied gently, *Je parle a vôtre majesté comme reyne, et non pas comme femme;* I speak to your majesty as a queen, and not as a woman, and so took my leave of her. What Père Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words, though, as I ever loved my book, and a private life, more than any busy preferments, I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book, *De veritate prout distinguitur à revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso*, having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was about this time finished; all the spare hours which I could get from my visits and negociations, being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur Tieleners * also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book; I must confess it did not a little animate me, that the two great persons above mentioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book, *De Veritate*, in my hand, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words:

O thou eternal God, Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book, *De Veritate;* if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the sereneat sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it; though afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furtheat parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised any thing I should desire by way of return; but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof, that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.

* In the little book of Lord Herbert's verses, published after his death, is a copy addressed to Tilenus "after the fatal defluxion upon my arm." Daniel Tilenus was a theologic writer of that time. He wrote about Antichrist, and animadversions on the synod of Dort. Some of his works were published at Paris. He was, however, a Silesian, and his true name might be Tieleners, latinized into Tilenus, according to the pedantry of that time; as Groot was called Grotius, the similitude of whose studies might well connect him with Tieleners.

THE END.